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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1778.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1778.

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PREFACE.

THE very favourable reception that the Annual Regiſter has been honoured with from an indulgent Public, has made it no leſs our duty than our intereſt to exert our utmoſt endeavours to make our work as worthy of their attention as we are able. The time of publication we are ſenſible is a point which it is our duty and intereſt to attend to; and it is never without extreme regret that we have found the publication delayed beyond the beginning of the ſummer. But for the lateneſs of the preſent publication we have only one excuſe to make —a very ſevere illneſs which for ſeveral

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ral weeks confined the gentleman principally concerned in the work to his bed. This created an unavoidable delay; but the firſt efforts of his returning health were employed in endeavours that the diligence and attention in the execution might in ſome meaſure compenſate for the lateneſs of the publication.

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THE ANNUAL REGISTER For the YEAR 1775.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of affairs in the colonies in the year 1764. *General effect of the late laws. Impeachment of Mr. Oliver. Assembly of Massachusett's Bay dissolved. General Gage arrives at Boston. Great consternation on receiving the Boston port bill. New assembly meet at Boston, and are adjourned to Salem. Provincial and town meetings. Assembly of Virginia dissolved. Philadelphia. New York. Address from Gentlemen, &c. of Boston to the new governor. Address from the council rejected. Transactions of the house of representatives at Salem. The assembly dissolved. Address from the town of Salem. General temper and disposition of the people throughout the continent. Solemn league and covenant. Proclamation against it. Measures relative to the holding of a general congress. Resolutions passed in different places. Address from the justices of Plymouth county. Uneasiness excited by the arrival of troops. False alarm. Proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, &c. Hostile appearances. New judges incapable of acting. New counsellors compelled to renounce their offices. Fortification on Boston Neck. Provincial magazine seized. The people in a violent ferment. Company of cadets disband themselves, and return the standard. Sundry resolutions passed by the delegates of the county*

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of Suffolk. Remonstrance. Answer. Writs for holding a general assembly countermanded by proclamation. The representatives meet notwithstanding at Salem; vote themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourn to the town of Concord. Remonstrance from the provincial congress; governor's answer. State of affairs at Boston. Further proceedings of the provincial congress. Proclamation.

IT happens most unfortunately this year, that our own public affairs not only take the lead among those of Europe, but have in a great degree absorbed all other matter of political speculation. A cessation seems to take place in the animosities and designs of other states. The great disturbers of mankind appear to forget their rapacity and ambition, whilst they contemplate the new and unthought-of spectacle we exhibit to the world, and perhaps eagerly predict the advantages which they may derive from its fatal consequences.

It need scarcely be mentioned, that the unhappy contest in which we are involved with our colonies, is the event which has thus excited the attention of mankind. Those colonies, which were so long our strength and our glory, whose rapid growth and astonishing increase mocked the calculations of politicians, and outstripped the speculations of philosophers; those colonies, which equally excited the apprehensions of our enemies, and the envy of our friends, still attract the eyes of the world, to them and to us, as to a common centre; but present a very different appearance of things to observation. Happy will it be, if this general attention is productive of no other sentiment, than the admiration which arises from novelty, or the generous sympathy which feels for the miseries of mankind.

The penal laws, which we saw passed, in the last session of the last parliament, relative to the colony of Massachusett's Bay, and which were intended to operate both as a chastisement for past, and a preventative of future misdemeanors in that province, were unfortunately productive of effects very different from those which the sanguine promoters of those bills had hoped, and which administration had held out to the nation. Other purposes were expected from them besides punishment and prevention. It was expected, that the shutting up of the port of Boston would have been naturally a gratification to the neighbouring towns, from the great benefits which would accrue to them, by the splitting and removing of its commerce; and that this would prove a fruitful source of jealousy and disunion within the province. It was also thought, that the particular punishment of that province would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that from the selfishness and malignancy incident to mankind, as well as from their common jealousies, they would quietly resign it to its fate, and enjoy with pleasure any benefits they could derive from its misfortunes. Thus it was hoped, that besides their direct operation, these bills would eventually prove a means of dissolving that band of union, which seemed of late too much to prevail amongst the colonies.

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The act called the Military Bill, which accompanied these laws, and which was formed to support and encourage the soldiery in beating down all possible resistance to the other acts, it was imagined, would complete the design, and bring the colonies to a perfect submission. In confidence of the perfection of this plan of terrors, punishments, and regulations, and of the large force by sea and land (as it was then thought) which was sent to strengthen the hands of government, administration reposed in the most perfect security; and ended the session in the most triumphant manner, and with the mutual congratulations of all concerned in those acts, which may be well remembered, and which we have described in our last volume.

The event, in all these cases, was however very different. The neighbouring towns disdained every idea of profiting in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boston. The people of the province, instead of being shaken by the coercive means which were used for their subjugation, joined the more firmly together to brave the storm; and seeing that their ancient constitution was destroyed, and that it was determined to deprive them of those rights, which they had ever been taught to revere as sacred, and to deem more valuable than life itself, they determined at all events to preserve them, or to perish in the common ruin. In the same manner, the other colonies, instead of abandoning, clung the closer to their devoted sister as the danger increased; and their affection and sympathy seemed to rise in proportion to her misfortunes and sufferings.

In a word, these bills, (as had been too truly foretold by their opposers at home) instead of answering the purposes for which they were intended, spread a general alarm from one end to the other of the continent, and became the cement of a strict and close union between all the old colonies. They said it was now visible, that charters, grants, and established usages, were no longer a protection or defence; that all rights, immunities, and civil securities, must vanish at the breath of an act of parliament. They were all sensible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or lesser degree, of those unpardonable sins which had drawn down fire upon Boston; they believed, that vengeance, tho' delayed, was not remitted; and that all the mercy, the most favoured or the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured.

It may be remembered in the last session, that the minister had announced in the House of Commons, the appointment of General Gage to the government of the province of Massachusett's Bay, and to the command in chief of the army in North-America. As this gentleman had borne several commands with reputation in that part of the world; had lived many years there, and had sufficient opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the people, and was besides well approved of by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects which would have resulted from his administration; and it is little to be doubted, if his appointment had been at a happier time, and his government free from the necessity of enforcing measures which were generally odious to the people, but

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these expectations would have been answered.

The jealousy and ill blood between the governors and governed in the province of Massachusett's Bay, which we have formerly taken notice of, had ever since continued. The House of Representatives had presented a petition and remonstrance to the Governor, early in the spring, for the removal of Peter Oliver, Esq. Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, from his office; this request not being complied with, they exhibited articles of impeachment against him of high crimes and misdemeanors, in their own name and that of the province, which they carried up to the Council-board, and gave the Governor notice to attend as judge upon the trial. The charge against the Chief Justice was, the betraying of his trust, and of the chartered rights of the province, by accepting a salary from the crown, in consideration of his official services, instead of the customary grant from the House of Representatives. The Resolution for carrying up this impeachment was carried by a majority of 92 to 8; from whence some judgment may be formed of the general temper of the province, and their unanimity, even in this strong and extraordinary measure.

The Governor refused to receive the articles, and totally disclaimed all authority in himself and the Council to act as a judicatory, for the trial of any crimes or misdemeanors whatever. The House of Representatives, far from giving up the matter, only changed their mode of attack; and the Governor finding that they would persist in a prosecution under some form or other, and that every new attempt would only serve to involve things in still greater difficulty, or at least to increase the animosity, thought it necessary, at the conclusion of the month of March, to dissolve the Assembly.

Such was the state of things in the province of Massachusett's Bay, when Gen. Gage arrived in his government. The hopes that might have been formed upon a change of administration, and the joy that generally attends the coming of a new Governor, were however nipped in the bud, by the arrival just before of a ship from London, which brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill; and a Town-meeting was sitting to consider of it, at the very time he arrived in the harbour. As this fatal news was totally unexpected, the consternation which it caused among all orders of people was inexpressible. The first measure was the holding of the Town-meeting we have mentioned, at which resolutions were passed, and ordered to be immediately transmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain and Ireland, and every part of the West-Indies, until the act was repealed, as the only means (they said) that were left for the salvation of North-America and her liberties. They besides expatiated on the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, and appealed from it to God and the world.

May 13th, 1774.

In the mean time, copies of the act were multiplied with incredible expedition, and dispatched to every part of the continent with equal celerity.

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celerity. These had the effect which the poets ascribe to the Fury's torch; they set the countries in a flame through which they passed. At Boston and New-York, the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning-paper with a black border, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity.

There was, however, a very surprising mixture of sobriety with this fury; and a degree of moderation was blended with the excess into which the people were hurried.

This extraordinary combustion in the minds of all ranks of the people did not prevent the Governor's being received with the usual honours at Boston. The new Assembly of the province met of course a few days after, the Council, for the last time, being chosen according to their charter. The Governor at their meeting laid nothing more before them than the common business of the province; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament. The Assembly, to evade this measure, were hurrying through the necessary business of the supplies with the greatest expedition, that they might then adjourn themselves to such time as they thought proper; but the Governor having obtained some intelligence of their intention, adjourned them unexpectedly to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had presented a petition to the Governor, for appointing a day of general prayer and fasting, which he did not think proper to comply with.

In the mean time, Provincial or Town meetings were held in every part of the continent; in which, tho' some were much more temperate than others, they all concurred in expressing the greatest disapprobation of the measures which were pursued against Boston, an abhorrence of the new act, and a condemnation of the principles on which it was founded, with a resolution to oppose its effects in every manner, and to support their distressed brethren, who were to be the immediate victims.

The House of Burgesses, of the province of Virginia, appointed the 1st of June, the day on which the Boston Port Bill took place, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the Divine interposition to avert the heavy calamity, which threatened destruction to their civil rights, with the evils of a civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppose every injury to the American rights. This example was either followed, or a similar resolution adopted, almost every where, and the 1st of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This measure, however, procured the immediate dissolution of the Assembly of Virginia; but before their separation, an association was entered into and signed by 89 of the members, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all British America, and threatened

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ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congress, and to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the interests of their fellow-subjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boston. Their letter was temperate, but firm. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice upon that sad occasion; wished first to have the sense of the province in general; observed, that all lenient applications for obtaining redress should be tried before recourse was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the sense of a General Congress, before the desperate measure of putting an entire stop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right, at any rate, to reserve that measure as the last resource, when all other means had failed. They observed that if the making of restitution to the East-India Company for their teas, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they should act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in consideration.

A Town-meeting was also held at New-York, and a committee of correspondence appointed; but they were as yet, in general, very temperate in their conduct; and Government had a much stronger interest in that colony than in any other. The case was far different at Anapolis in Maryland, where the people of that city, though under a proprietary government, exceeded the other colonies in the violence of their resolutions; one of which was to prevent the carrying on of any suits in the courts of the province, for the debts which were owing from them in Great Britain. This resolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the Provincial meeting which was held soon after; nor was it any where carried into practice.

In general, as might have been expected in such great commercial countries, the proposal for shutting up the ports (former resolutions of this kind having been much abused for the private gain of individuals) was received with great seriousness, hesitation, and coldness; and considered as the last desperate resort, when all other means of redress should fail. In other respects, upon the arrival of the news from Boston, moderation was little thought of any where, and the behaviour of the people was nearly similar in all places. At the numberless public meetings which were held upon that occasion, throughout the continent, they passed every resolution, and

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and adopted every measure they could for the present think of, to shew their utmost detestation of the Boston Port Bill, and to express their determination of opposing its effects in every possible manner.

In this state of general dissatisfaction, complaint, and opposition, General Gage had the temporary satisfaction of receiving an address of congratulation, signed by 127 gentlemen, merchants and inhabitants of Boston, who were either the best addicted to government, the most moderate, or to whom the present measures seemed the least obnoxious. Besides the compliments customary upon these occasions, a declaration of the strong hopes which they had founded upon the General's public and private character, and a disavowal, as to themselves, of all lawless violences, they lamented, that a discretionary power was not lodged in his hands, to restore trade to its former course, immediately upon the terms of the late law being fully complied with; and shewed, that as the act stood at present, notwithstanding the most immediate compliance, so much time would be lost, before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, and produce the wished-for effect, as would involve them in unspeakable misery, and they feared in total ruin.

A few days after, an address from the Council was presented to the Governor, which contained some very severe reflections on his two immediate predecessors, to whose machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progress of the disunion between Great-Britain and her Colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgment; and these, as it was the indispensable duty of that board, so it should be their constant endeavour to maintain, to the utmost of their power, in perfect consistence, however, with the truest loyalty to the crown, the just prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to support.

This address was rejected by the Governor, who would not suffer the chairman of the committee to proceed any further, when he had read the part which reflected on his predecessors. He afterwards returned an answer to the Council in writing, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an address which contained indecent reflections on his predecessors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. That he considered the address as an insult upon his Majesty, and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront to himself.

The House of Representatives, upon their meeting at Salem, passed a resolution, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the several colonies, and specified the purposes which rendered such meeting necessary. By another, they appointed five gentlemen, of those who had been the most remarkable in opposition, as a committee to represent that province. And by a third, they voted the sum of 500l. to the said committee, to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they were appointed.

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As neither this appointment, nor disposal of the public money, could be at all agreeable to the Governor, he accordingly refused his concurrence to the latter; upon which the assembly passed a resolution, to recommend to the several towns and districts within the province, to raise the said 500l. by equitable proportions, according to the last provincial tax. A recommendation, which, at present, had all the force of a law.

The assembly foreseeing that their dissolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public testimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to prescribe rules for their conduct, which they knew would be more punctually complied with than the positive injunctions of laws. They accordingly passed a declaratory resolution, expressive of their sense of the state of public affairs, and of the designs of government, in which they advanced, that they, with the other American colonies, had long been struggling under the heavy hand of power; and that their dutiful petitions for the redress of intolerable grievances had not only been disregarded; but that the design totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to slavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined. They then recommended in the strongest terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the consumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East-Indies and Great Britain, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed. And the more fully to carry this essential purpose into effect, it was strongly recommended, that they should give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

Though the committee, that was appointed to conduct this business, endeavoured to carry it on with the greatest privacy, the Governor, notwithstanding, obtained some intelligence of it, and on the very day upon which they made their report, he sent his Secretary to pronounce their immediate dissolution. The Secretary, upon his arrival, finding the door locked, sent the House-messenger to acquaint the Speaker, that he had a message from the Governor, and desired admittance to deliver it. The Speaker, in some time, returned for answer, that he had acquainted the House with the message which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the door fast. Upon this refusal of admittance, the Secretary caused proclamation to be made, upon the stairs, June 17th. of the dissolution of the General Assembly. Such was the issue of the final contest between the Governor of Massachusett's Bay, and the last Assembly which was holden in that province, upon the principles of its charter.

The day after the dissolution of the Assembly, a most pathetic, but at the same time firm and manly address, was presented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the Governor. We cannot forget that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, in the place of Boston; and that the General Assembly, the Courts of Justice, the Custom-House, and so far as it could

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could be done by power, the trade of that port was removed thither; so that they were already in possession of a principal share of those spoils, which it was supposed would have effectually influenced the conduct of that people, and thereby have bred such incurable envy, jealousy and animosity, between the gainers and sufferers, that the refractory capital finding herself abandoned, and being left alone to ruminate upon her forlorn situation, would soon be reclaimed, and brought to as full a sense of her duty, as of her punishment.

Whether this opinion was founded upon a thorough knowledge of human nature in general, or took its rise from particular instances, which were extended in speculation to the whole, may perhaps, in a certain degree, be determined from the following generous sentiments of the inhabitants of Salem. They say, "We are deeply afflicted with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration: and we hope your excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people."——"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

This whole address is remarkable for the propriety with which it is conducted, and the justness of its sentiments. They treat the governor with the highest respect, and hope much from his general character, as well as from his conduct in a former government; they express the strongest attachment to the mother country, the deepest concern for the present unhappy troubles, and the most fervent wishes for a speedy and happy reconciliation, to obtain which, they are willing to sacrifice every thing, compatible with the safety and dignity of British subjects.

The general had formed considerable hopes upon the conduct of the merchants; who he expected would have entered into the spirit of the late law, and by removing their commerce along with the custom-house to Salem, have thereby the sooner induced the capital to the compliances which were wished by government. In these expectations he was disappointed. It is probable, that the merchants thought it fit and necessary to keep fair with government, and in general disapproved of all violences; but it seems evident, that they did not enter heartily into the new measures. It seems also probable, that he believed the friends of the system of government now adopted, to be stronger and more numerous than they really were. An experiment was however made, which set this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boston, and attempted to pass resolutions for the payment of the tea, and for

dissolving

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dissolving the committee of correspondence; but they found themselves lost in a prodigious majority; and had no other resource, than the drawing up of a protest against the proceedings of that assembly.

In the mean time, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Massachusett's-Bay, as well as of that for quartering the troops in America, all of which were in agitation in England, at the time that the last ships sailed from thence, were received in Boston, and immediately circulated throughout the continent. The knowledge of these bills filled up whatever was wanting before, of violence and indignation in most of the colonies. Even those who were moderate or seemed wavering, now became sanguine. The idea of shutting up the ports became common language, and to be considered as a matter of necessity. Nothing was to be heard of, but meetings and resolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their distressed brethren in Boston were every where recommended, and soon reduced into practice. Numberless letters were written from towns, districts, and provinces, to the people of Boston, in which, besides every expression of sympathy and tenderness, they were highly flattered for their past conduct, and strongly exhorted to a perseverance in that virtue, which brought on their sufferings.

The people of America at this time, with respect to political opinions, might in general be divided into two great classes. Of these, one was for rushing headlong into the greatest extremities; they would put an immediate stop to trade, without waiting till other measures were tried, or receiving the general sense of the colonies upon a subject of such alarming importance; and though they were eager for the holding of a congress, they would leave it nothing to do, but to prosecute the violences which they had begun. The other, if less numerous, was not less respectable, and though more moderate, were perhaps equally firm. These were averse to any violent measures being adopted until all other means were ineffectually tried; they wished further application to be made to Great-Britain; and the grievances they complained of, with the rights which they claimed, to be clearly stated, and properly presented. This, they said, could only be done effectually by a general congress, as in any other manner it might be liable to the objection of being only the act of a few men, or of a particular colony. We, however, acknowledge a third party, which were the friends to the administration in England, or more properly, those who did not totally disapprove of its measures; but their still small voice was so low, that except in a very few particular places, it could scarcely be distinguished.

The more violent, who had not patience to wait for the result of a congress, entered into other measures. An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, which they entitled a solemn league and covenant, wherein the subscribers bound themselves in the most solemn manner, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with

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with Great-Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Boston Port-Bill, and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusett's-Bay fully restored to its chartered rights. They also bound themselves in the same manner, not to consume, or to purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the specified time, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of such goods. They renounced in the same manner, all future intercourse and connection with those who should refuse to subscribe to that covenant, or to bind themselves by some similar agreement, with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names published to the world.

The covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boston, was circulated with the usual activity, and the people, not only in the New England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the greatest eagerness. It seems, however, that similar agreements had been entered into about the same time, in various parts of the continent, and without any previous concert with each other, any more than with those at Boston.

General Gage was much alarmed at this proceeding; to which its name, as well as its tendency, might possibly contribute. He accordingly published a strong proclamation against it, in which it was stiled an unlawful, hostile, and traiterous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, destructive of the lawful authority of the British parliament, and of the peace, good order, and safety of the community. All persons were warned against incurring the pains and penalties due to such aggravated and dangerous offences, and all magistrates charged to apprehend, and secure for trial, such as should have any share in the publishing, subscribing, aiding, or abetting the foregoing, or any similar covenant.

June 29th.

This proclamation had no other effect than to exercise the pens and the judgment of those who were versed in legal knowledge, by endeavouring to shew, that the association did not come within any of the treason-laws, and that the charges made by the governor were consequently erroneous, unjust, and highly injurious. They said he had assumed a power, which the constitution denied even to the sovereign, the power of making those things to be treason, which were not considered as such by the laws; that the people had a right to assemble to consider of their common grievances, and to form associations for their general conduct towards the remedy of those grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Measures were now every where taken for the holding of a general congress; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its situation, as well as its security, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of September the time, for meeting. Where an assembly happened to be sitting, as in the case of Massachusett's-Bay, they appointed deputies to represent the province in the congress. But as this happened to be the case in very few instances,

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stances, the general method was, for the people to elect their usual number of representatives, and these, at a general meeting, chose deputies from among themselves; the number of which, in general, bore some proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the least, and seven the greatest number, that represented any colony. But whatever the number of representatives were, each colony had no more than a single vote.

At these county or provincial meetings, a number of resolutions were constantly passed, among which a declaration that the Boston Port-Act was oppressive, unjust, unconstitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of America, was always among the foremost. At Philadelphia, a petition signed by near 900 freeholders was presented to Mr. Penn, the Governor, intreating him to call a general assembly as soon as possible. This request being refused, the province proceeded to the election of deputies, who soon after met at Philadelphia. As the resolutions passed at this meeting carry more the marks of cool and temperate deliberation, as well as of affection to the mother country, than those of many others, and are at the same time equally firm in the determination of supporting what they thought their rights, we shall be the more particular in our notice of them.

July 15th.

They set out with the strongest professions of duty and allegiance to the sovereign, which could be well devised, and declare their abhorrence of every idea of an unconstitutional independence on the parent state; upon which account, they say, that they view the late differences between Great-Britain and the colonists with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, as fruitless to her, grievous to them, and destructive of the best interests of both. They then, after expressing the most ardent wishes for a restoration of the former harmony, declare that the colonists are entitled to the same rights and liberties within the colonies, that the subjects born in England are within that realm.

They reprobated in the strongest terms the late bills relative to the province of Massachusett's-Bay, and declare that they consider ther brethren at Boston, as suffering in the common cause of all the colonies. They also declare the absolute necessity of a congress, to consult together, and to form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the colonies, for the purposes of procuring relief for their suffering brethren, obtaining redress of their general grievances, preventing future dissentions, firmly establishing their rights, and the restoration of harmony between Great-Britain and her colonies upon a constitutional foundation.

They acknowledge, that a suspension of the commerce of that large trading province with Great-Britain, would greatly distress multitudes of their industrious inhabitants; but declare that they are ready to offer that sacrifice, and a much greater, for the preservation of their liberties; that, however, in regard to the people of Great-Britain, as well as of their own country, and in hopes that their just remonstrances might at length have effect, it was their earnest desire, that the congress should first try

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try the gentle mode of stating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redress. They conclude with warning dealers not to raise the price of their merchandise beyond the usual rates, on account of any resolutions that might be taken with respect to importation; and by a declaration, that that province would break off all dealing and commercial intercourse whatsoever, with any town, city or colony, on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who should refuse, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as should be agreed upon in the congress.

August 1st. At a meeting of the delegates of the several counties of Virginia at Williamsburgh, which lasted for six days, besides professions of allegiance and loyalty, of regard and affection for their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, equally strongly expressed with those which we have mentioned, and several resolutions in common with the other colonies, they passed others which were peculiar, and considering the state and circumstances of that province, with its immediate dependence on the mother country for the disposal of its only staple commodity, must be considered very deserving of attention, because strongly indicating the true spirit of that people.

Among these, they resolved not to purchase any more slaves from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place; that their non-importation agreement should take place on the first of the following November; and that if the American grievances were not redressed by the 10th of August 1775, they would export, after that time, no tobacco, nor any other goods whatever, to Great Britain; and to render this last resolution the more effectual, they strongly recommended the cultivation of such articles of husbandry, instead of tobacco, as might form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts; and particularly to improve the breed of their sheep, to multiply them, and to kill as few of them as possible. They also resolved to declare those enemies to their country, who should break through the non-importation resolution. The people of Maryland, the other great tobacco colony, were not behindhand with those of Virginia in their determinations; and the two Carolinas, whose existence seemed to depend upon their exportation, were by no means among the least violent.

Thus the Boston Port-Bill and its companions had even exceeded the prognostications of their most violent opponents. They had raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cause. A similar language was every where held; or if there was any difference in the language, the measures that were adopted were every where directed to the same object. They all agreed in the main points, of holding a congress, of not submitting to the payment of any internal taxes, that were not, as usual, imposed by their own assemblies, and of suspending all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and those of Massachusett's-Bay in particular, were fully redressed.

The people, as is always the case, were, from circumstances or temper,

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temper, more or less violent in different places; but the resolution as to the great object of debate, the point of taxation, was every where the same, and the most moderate, even at New-York, seemed determined to endure any evils, rather than submit to that. At Newport, in Rhode Island, the flame burned higher than in some other places; an inflammatory paper was there published, with a motto in capitals, "Join or Die;" in this piece the state of Boston was represented as a siege, and as a direct and hostile invasion of all the colonies; "the generals of despotism," it says, "are now drawing the lines of circumvallation, around our bulwarks of liberty, and nothing but unity, resolution, and perseverance can save ourselves and our posterity from what is worse than death,—Slavery."

What rendered this state of affairs the more dangerous was, that it did not arise from the discontent of a turbulent or oppressed nobility, where, by bringing over a few of the leaders, the rest must follow of course, or persist only to their ruin; nor did it depend upon the resolution or perseverance of a body of merchants and dealers, where every man habitually studious of his immediate interest, would tremble at the thought of those consequences, which might essentially affect it; and where a few lucrative jobs or contracts, properly applied, would split them into numberless factions; on the contrary, in this instance, the great force of the opposition to government consisted in the land-holders throughout America. The British lands in that vast continent are generally portioned out in numberless small freeholds, and afford that mediocrity of condition to the possessors, which is sufficient to raise strong bodies and vigorous minds: but seldom that superabundance, which proves so fatal to both in old and refined countries. The American freeholders at present, are nearly, in point of condition, what the English Yeomen were of old, when they rendered us formidable to all Europe, and our name celebrated throughout the world. The former, from many obvious circumstances, are more enthusiastical lovers of liberty, than even our Yeomen were. Such a body was too numerous to be bribed, and too bold to be despised without great danger.

In this untoward state of public affairs, General Gage had the consolation to receive a congratulatory address from the Justices of the Peace of Plymouth county, assembled at their general sessions, in which, besides the customary compliments, they expressed great concern at seeing that the inhabitants of some towns, influenced by certain persons, calling themselves committees of correspondence, and encouraged by some whose business it was, as preachers of the Gospel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league, calculated to increase the displeasure of the sovereign, to exasperate the parent country, and to interrupt the harmony of society. A protest was also passed by several gentlemen of the county of Worcester, against all riotous disorders, and seditious practices. These efforts had however no other effect, than probably to lead the governor as well as administration into an erroneous opinion, as to the strength and number of

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of the friends of government in that province.

Though liberal contributions were raised in the different colonies for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Boston; yet it may be easily conceived, that in a town, containing above 20,000 inhabitants, who had always subsisted by commerce, and the several trades and kinds of business subservient to it, and where the maintenance of numberless families depended merely upon locality, that the cutting off of that grand source of their employment and subsistence, must, notwithstanding any temporary reliefs, occasion great and numerous distresses. Even the rich were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property consisted in wharfs, warehouses, sheds, and all those numerous erections, which are destined to the purposes of commerce in a great trading port, and were no longer of any value.

They, however, bore their misfortunes with a wonderful constancy, and met with a general sympathy and tenderness which much confirmed their resolution. Their neighbours, the merchants and inhabitants of the town and port of Marblehead, who were among those who were to profit the most by their ruin, instead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their calamity, sent them a generous offer of the use of their stores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of transacting all the business they should do at their port, without putting them to the smallest expence; but they at the same time exhorted them to persevere in that patience and resolution, which had ever been their characteristic.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a small detachment of the artillery, and some cannon were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common, which lies within the Peninsula on which the town stands. These troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of several regiments from Ireland, New York, Hallifax, and at length from Quebec. It may be easily conceived, that the arrival and station of these troops was far from being agreeable to the inhabitants; nor was the jealousy in any degree less, in the minds of their neighbours of the surrounding counties. This dissatisfaction was further increased by the placing of a guard at Boston Neck: (which is the narrow Isthmus that joins the Peninsula to the continent), a measure of which the frequent desertion of the soldiers was either the cause, or the pretext.

In this sate, a trifling circumstance gave the people of Boston a full earnest of the support they might expect from the country in case of extremity, and an opportunity of knowing the general temper of the people. A report had been spread, perhaps industriously, that a regiment posted at the neck had cut off all communication with the country, in order to starve the town into a compliance with any measures that might be proposed to them. Upon this vague report, a large body of the inhabitants of the county of Worcester immediately assembled, and dispatched two messengers express to Boston, to discover the truth

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of the intelligence. These envoys informed the town, that if the report had been true, there were several thousand armed men, ready to have marched to their assistance; and told them further, that they were commissioned to acquaint them, that even though they might be disposed to a surrender of their liberties, the people of the country would not think themselves at all included in their act. That by the late acts of the British parliament, and the bills which were pending therein, when the last intelligence was received, their charter was utterly vacated; and that the compact between Great-Britain and the colony being thus dissolved, they were at full liberty to combine together in what manner and form they thought best for mutual security.

Not long after, the governor issued a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing and punishing of vice, prophaneness, and immorality. This proclamation, which was avowedly in imitation of that issued by his majesty upon his accession, seems, like most acts of government about this time, to have been wrong placed, and ill-timed. The people of that province had always been scoffed at, and reproached by their enemies, as well as by those of loose manners, for a pharisaical attention to outward forms, and to the appearances of religious piety and virtue. It is scarcely worth an observation, that neither proclamations or laws can reach farther than external appearances. But in this proclamation "Hypocrisy being inserted among the immoralities, against which the people were warned, it seemed as if an act of state were turned into a libel on the people; and this insult exasperated greatly the rage of minds already sufficiently discontented.

August 4th.

Along with the new laws, which did not arrive till the beginning of August, Governor Gage received a list of 36 new counsellors, who in conformity to the new regulations of them, were appointed by the crown, contrary to the method prescribed by the charter, of their being chosen by the representatives in each assembly. Of these gentlemen, about 24 accepted the office, which was a sufficient number to carry on the business of government, until a fresh nomination should arrive for filling up the vacancies.

Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that crisis, which was to put an end to all established government in the province. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the semblance of resistance and war; in Berkshire and Worcester counties in particular, nothing was to be seen or heard of, but the purchasing and providing of arms, the procuring of ammunition, the casting of balls, and all those other preparations, which testify the most immediate danger, and determined resistance. All those, who accepted of offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, were every where declared to be enemies to their country, and threatened with all the consequences due to such a character. The people of Connecticut, looking

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looking upon the fate of their neighbouring colony to be only a prelude to their own, even exceeded them in violence.

The new judges were rendered every where incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the province, unanimously refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, under the new judges and the new laws. The acting otherwise was deemed so heinous that the clerks of the courts found it necessary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for issuing the warrants by which the juries were summoned to attend, and not only to declare, that let the consequences be what they may, they would not act so again; but that, they had not considered what they were doing, and that if their countrymen should forgive them, they could never forgive themselves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and some other places, the people assembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-house and avenues in such a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way for the court, they answered, that they knew no court, nor other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of their country, and to none other would they submit, or give way upon any terms.

The new counsellors were still more unfortunate than the judges. Their houses were surrounded by great bodies of the people, who soon discovered by their countenance and temper, that they had no other alternative than to submit to a renunciation of their offices, or to suffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Most of them submitted to the former condition; some had the fortune to be in Boston, and thereby evaded the danger, while others, with great risque, were pursued and hunted in their escape thither, with threats of destruction to their houses and estates.

The old constitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one being rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law and government in the province of Massachusett's-Bay, and the people were reduced to that state of anarchy, in which mankind are supposed to have existed in the earliest ages. The degree of order, however, which by the general concurrence of the people, was preserved in this state of anarchy, will for ever excite the astonishment of mankind, and continue among the strongest proofs of the efficacy of long established habits, and of a constant submission to laws. Excepting the general opposition to the new government, and the excesses arising from it, in the outrages offered to particular persons who were upon that account obnoxious to the people, no other very considerable marks appeared of the cessation of law or of government.

In the mean time, General Gage thought it necessary for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important post and town of Boston, to fortify the neck of land, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This measure, however necessary, could not but increase the jealousy,

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suspicion, and ill blood, which were already so prevalent; but was soon succeeded by another, that still excited a greater alarm. The season of the year was now arrived for the annual muster of the militia; and the general, having probably some suspicion of their conduct when assembled, or, as they pretended, being urged thereunto by those secret advisers and tale-bearers, to whose insidious arts, and false information, for a long time past, as well as the present, the Americans attributed all their own calamities, and the troubles that had arisen between both countries; however it was, he seized upon the ammunition and stores, which were lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boston. He also, at the same time, seized upon the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charles-Town, and some other places, being partly private property, and partly provincial.

This excited the most violent and universal ferment that had yet been known. The people assembled to the amount of several thousands, and it was with the greatest difficulty, that some of the more moderate and leading gentlemen of the country, were able to restrain them from marching directly to Boston, there to demand a delivery of the powder and stores, and in case of refusal to attack the troops. A false report having been intentionally spread about the same time, and extended to Connecticut, in order, probably, to try the temper of that province, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston, and were then firing upon it, when the pretended bearers of the news had come away, several thousands of those people immediately assembled in arms, and marched with great expedition, a considerable distance, to the relief, as they supposed, of their suffering neighbours, before they were convinced of the mistake.

About this time, the governor's company of cadets, consisting wholly of gentlemen of Boston, and of such, in general, as had always been well affected to government, disbanded themselves, and returned to the general the standard, with which, according to custom, he had presented them upon his arrival. This slight to the governor, and apparent disrelish to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away Mr. Hancock's commission, who was the colonel of that corps. A Colonel Murray of the militia, having accepted a seat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day; so general was the spirit which was now gone forth.

The late measure of seizing the powder, as well as the fortifications which were erecting on Boston-neck, occasioned the holding of an assembly of delegates, from all the towns of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town and capital. In this assembly a great number of resolutions were passed, some of which militated more strongly with the authority of the new legislature, than any that had yet appeared. They are, however, introduced by a declaration of allegiance; but they also declare it to be their duty, by all lawful means to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties; that the late acts are gross infractions of those

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those rights; and that no obedience is due from that province, to either, or any part of those acts; but that they ought to be rejected as the wicked attempts of an abandoned administration to establish a despotic government. They engaged that the county should support and bear harmless all sheriffs, jurors, and other persons who should suffer prosecution for not acting under the present unconstitutional judges, or carrying into execution any orders of their courts; and resolved, that those who had accepted seats at the council-board, had violated the duty they owed to their country, and that if they did not vacate them within a short limited time, they should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country.

They also past resolutions against the fortifications at Boston-neck; the Quebec bill; for the suspension of commerce; for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; for the holding of a provincial congress; and to pay all due respect and submission to the measures which should be recommended by the Continental Congress. They recommended to the people to perfect themselves in the art of war, and for that purpose, that the militia should appear under arms once every week. That, as it had been reported, that several gentlemen who had rendered themselves conspicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were to be apprehended; in case so audacious a measure should be carried into execution, they recommend, that all the officers of so tyrannical a government, should be seized, and kept in safe custody, until the former were restored to their friends and families.

Then followed a recommendation, which in the present state of things amounted to a peremptory command, to the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as usual to the treasurer; but to detain it in their hands, until the civil government of the province was placed on a constitutional foundation; or until it should be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress. They, however, declare that notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which they most sensibly feel and resent, they are determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason, and the principles of self-preservation. They conclude by exhorting the people to restrain their resentments, to avoid all riots and disorderly proceedings, as being destructive of all good government; and by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince their enemies, that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, *their conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age, and of every country.*

They then appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, with a remonstrance against the fortifying of Boston-neck; in which they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themselves oppressed by some late Acts of the British parliament, and are resolved, by *divine assistance*, never to submit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majesty's Sept. 9th.

troops,

troops. They impute the present extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people, besides the new fortification, to the seizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the insults and abuse offered to passengers by the soldiers, in which, they say, they have been encouraged by some of the officers; and conclude, by declaring, that nothing less than a removal or redress of those grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that situation of peace and tranquillity, which every free subject ought to enjoy. In this address they totally disclaimed every wish and idea of independency, and attributed all the present troubles, to misinformation at home, and the sinister designs of particular persons.

To this address General Gage answered, that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of any person to and from the town of Boston; that he would suffer none under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects; but that it was his duty to preserve the peace, and to prevent surprize; and that no use would be made of the cannon, unless their hostile proceedings should render it necessary.

Before public affairs had arrived at their present alarming state, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October; but the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the resignation of so great a number of the new mandamus counsellors, as deprived the small remainder of all efficacy, made him think it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the assembly to a fitter season. The legality of the proclamation was however called in question, and the elections every where took place without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem, pursuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any substitute for him attending, to administer the oaths, and open a session, they voted themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such others as had been, or should be elected for that purpose; after which Mr. Hancock, so obnoxious to the Governor's party, was chosen chairman, and they adjourned to the town of Concord, about 20 miles from Boston.

Among their earliest proceedings, they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonstrance, in which they apologised for their present meeting, by representing, that the distressed and miserable state of the colony, had rendered it indispensably necessary to collect the wisdom of the province by their delegates in that Congress; thereby to concert some adequate remedy to prevent impending ruin, and to provide for the public safety. They then express the grievous apprehensions of the people from the measures now pursuing. They assert, that even the rigour of the Boston port bill is exceeded, by the manner in which it is carried into execution. They complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to licence murders; of the number of troops in the

Oct. 11th.

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the capital, which were daily increasing by new accessions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and *hostile* preparations in Boston-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boston, but of the province in general. They conclude by adjuring the general, as he regards his majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and happiness of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to desist immediately from the construction of the fortress at the entrance into Boston, and to restore that pass to its natural state.

The general was involved in some difficulty in giving them an answer, as he he could not acknowledge the legality of their assembling. The necessity of the times however prevailed. He expressed great indignation that an idea should be formed, that the lives, liberties, or property of any people, except avowed enemies, should be in danger from English troops. Britain, he said, could never harbour the black design of wantonly destroying or enslaving any people; and notwithstanding the enmity shewn to the troops, by withholding from them almost every necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered the resentment which might justly be expected to arise from such hostile treatment. He reminded the Congress, that while they complain of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they are themselves, by their present assembling, subverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own constitution; he therefore warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.

By this time Boston was become the place of refuge to all those friends of the new government, who thought it necessary to persevere in avowing their sentiments. The commissioners of the customs, with all their officers, had also thought it necessary, towards the conclusion of the preceding month, to abandon their head quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a custom-house, to a place which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade. Thus the new acts of parliament on one hand, and the resistance of the people on the other, equally joined to annihilate all appearance of government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations.

Upon the approach of winter, the general had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly, perhaps, for safety, and partly to prevent the disorders and mischiefs, which in the present state and temper of both, must be the unavoidable consequences of their being quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the dislike to their being provided for in any manner, that the select-men and the committees obliged the workmen to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown. The general had as little success in endeavouring to procure carpenters from New York, so that it was with the greatest difficulty he could get those temporary lodgements erected; and having endeavoured also to procure some winter covering from the latter city, the offer to purchase it was presented to

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every merchant there, who to a man refused complying with any part of the order, and returned for answer, "that they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country."

Every thing now tended to increase the mutual apprehension, distrust, and animosity between government and the people. Those of Boston, either were, or pretended to be under continual terror, from the apprehensions of immediate danger, to their properties, liberties, and even their lives. They were in the hands of an armed force whom they abhorred, and who equally detested them. The soldiers on the other hand, considered themselves in the midst of enemies, and were equally apprehensive of danger from within and without. Each side professed the best intentions in the world for itself, and shewed the greatest suspicion of the other. In this state of doubt and profession, things were rendered still worse, by a measure, which did not seem of sufficient importance in its consequences, to justify its being hazarded at so critical a season. This was the landing of a detachment of sailors by night from the ships of war in the harbour, who spiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

In the mean time the Provincial Congress, notwithstanding the cautions given, and dangers held out by the governor, not only continued their assembly, but their resolutions having acquired, from the disposition and promptitude of the people, all the weight and efficacy of laws, they seemed to have founded in effect something like a new and independent government. Under the style of recommendation and advice, they settled the militia; they regulated the public treasures; and they provided arms. They appointed a day of public thanksgiving, on which, among the other enumerated blessings, a particular acknowledgment was to be made to the Almighty, for the union which so remarkably prevailed in all the colonies.

These and similar measures, induced General Gage to issue a proclamation, Nov. 10th. in which, though the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings, which are generally understood as nearly tantamount to treason and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly, in the king's name prohibited from complying, in any degree, with the requisitions, recommendations, directions, or resolves of that unlawful assembly.

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CHAP. II.

General Congress held at Philadelphia. Previous instructions to some of the deputies. Acts of the Congress. Approbation of the conduct of the province of Massachusett's Bay, and of the late resolutions passed by the county of Suffolk. Resolutions. Declaration of rights. Letter to General Gage. Association. Resolution for a future Congress. Petition to the king. Memorial to the people of Great-Britain. Address to the inhabitants of Canada. Address to the colonies. The Congress breaks up.

DURING these transactions in the province of Massachusett's-Bay, the twelve old colonies, including that whole extent of continent which stretches from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the General Congress, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774. Such was the unhappy effect of the measures, pursued, perhaps somewhat too avowedly, and for that reason the less wisely, for reducing America by division, that those twelve colonies, clashing in interests, frequently quarrelling about boundaries and many other subjects, differing in manners, customs, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions incident to neighbouring states, were now led to assemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Whatever may be the event, it was undoubtedly a dangerous experiment to bring matters to this crisis.

Several of the colonies had given instructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in congress. In general, they contained the strongest professions of loyalty and allegiance; of affection for the mother country; of constitutional dependance on her; and of gratitude for benefits already received in that state. They totally disclaimed every idea of independence, or of seeking a separation; acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and declared their readiness and willingness to support them with life and fortune, so far as they are warranted by the constitution. The Pensylvanians, in particular, declare that they view the present contests with the deepest concern; that perpetual love and union, an interchange of good offices, without the least infraction of mutual rights, ought ever to subsist between the mother country and them.

On the other hand, they were unanimous in declaring, that they never would give up those rights and liberties which, as they said, descended to them from their ancestors, and which, they said, they were bound by all laws, human and divine, to transmit whole and pure to their posterity; that they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of British-born subjects; that the power lately assumed by parliament is unjust, and the only cause of all the present uneasiness; and that the late acts respecting the capital and province of Massachusett's-Bay, are unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous.

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The instructions, however, of the several colonies that pursued that mode, differed considerably from each other. In some great violence appeared. Others were more reasonable. In some nothing was spoken of but their grievances. Others proposed likewise terms on their part to be offered to Great-Britain—Such as an obedience to all the trade laws passed, or to be passed, except such as were specified; and the settling an annual revenue on the crown for public purposes, and disposable by parliament. The deputies however were instructed, that in these and all other points, they were to coincide with the majority of the congress. This majority was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a vote, without regard to the number of deputies which it should send.

The debates and proceedings of the congress were conducted with the greatest secrecy, nor have any parts of them yet transpired, but those which they thought proper to lay before the public. The number of delegates amounted to fifty-one, who represented the several English colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusett's-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina.

Sept. 17th. The first public act of the Congress was a declaratory resolution expressive of their disposition with respect to the colony of Massachusett's-Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people. In this they expressed, in the most pathetic terms, how deeply they felt the sufferings of their countrymen in that province, under the operation, as they said, of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; they thoroughly approved of the wisdom and fortitude with which their opposition to these ministerial measures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the resolutions passed, and measures proposed, by the delegates of the county of Suffolk; and earnestly recommended a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, according to the determinations of that assembly. This was immediately published, and transmitted to that province, accompanied with an unanimous resolution, That contributions from all the colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of their brethren at Boston, ought to be continued in such manner, and so long, as their occasions may require.

By the subsequent resolutions of the Congress, they not only formally approve of the opposition made by that province to the late acts; but further declare, that if it should be attempted to carry them into execution by force, all America should support it in that opposition.—That if it be found absolutely necessary to remove the people of Boston into the country, all America should contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they might thereby sustain.—They recommend to the inhabitants of Massachusett's Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, as it cannot be procured in a legal manner under the rules of the charter, until the effects of the application of the Congress for a repeal

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repeal of those acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.—And that every person who shall accept, or act under, any commission or authority, derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, hath given to America. They besides recommended to the people of Boston and Massachusett's-Bay, still to conduct themselves peaceably towards the general, and the troops stationed at Boston, so far as it could possibly consist with their immediate safety; but that they should firmly persevere in the defensive line of conduct which they are now pursuing. The latter part of this instruction evidently alluded to and implied an approbation of the late resolutions of the county of Suffolk, relative to the militia, and to the arming of the people in general. The Congress conclude by a resolution, that the transporting, or attempting to transport any person beyond the sea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

These resolutions being passed, the Congress wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the complaints which had been before repeatedly made by the town of Boston, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Massachusett's Bay, they declare the determined resolution of the colonies, to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppressed; that, in consequence of their sentiments upon that subject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern, that, whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the Congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a civil war. In order to prevent these evils, and the people from being driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the king's troops, if they could be assured of their own safety, they intreated, that the general would discontinue the fortifications in Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communications between the town and country should be open, unmolested, and free.

The Congress also published a declaration of rights, to which, they say, the English colonies of North-America, are entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts.

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pacts. In the first of these are life, liberty, and property, a right to the disposal of any of which, without their consent, they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever. That their ancestors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born subjects; and that by such emigration, they neither forfeited, surrendered, nor lost, any of those rights. They then state, that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and proceed to shew, that as the colonists are not, and, from various causes, cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as had been heretofore used and accustomed.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legislative power in their assemblies, which might seem to leave no means of parliamentary interference for holding the colonies to the mother country, they declare that from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, they cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, bona fide, restrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects of America, without their consent.

They also resolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances. That they are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws. That they have a right to assemble peaceably, consider of their grievances, and petition the king for redress; and that all prosecutions, and prohibitory proclamations for so doing, are illegal. That the keeping of a standing army, in times of peace, in any colony, without the consent of its legislature, is contrary to law. That it is essential to the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature should be independent of each other; that, therefore the exercise of legislative power, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

They declared in behalf of themselves and their constituents, that they claimed, and insisted on the foregoing articles, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own con-

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consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures. They then enumerated the parts, or the whole, of eleven acts of parliament, which had been passed in the present reign, and which they declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts of parliament thus reprobated, was the Quebec bill, which had already been the cause of so much discussion at home, and which they termed, "An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there;" to the great danger, (as they asserted) from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure that country was conquered from France.

After specifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, they declared, that, to obtain redress of the latter, which threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North-America, a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation, agreement, would prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure; they accordingly entered into an association, by which they bound themselves, and of course their constituents, to the strict observance of the following articles.—1st. That after the first day of the following December, they would import no British goods or merchandize whatsoever, nor any East-India tea, from any part of the world; nor any of the products of the British West-India islands; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western islands; nor foreign indigo.—2. That, after that day, they would wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and neither hire vessels, nor sell commodities or manufactures to any concerned in that trade.—3. That from the present date, they will use no tea on which a duty had been or shall be paid; nor after the 1st of March ensuing, any East-India tea whatever, nor any British goods, imported after the 1st of December, except such as come under the rules and directions which we shall see in the 10th article.—4. By this article, the non-exportation agreement is suspended to the 10th of September, 1775; after which day, if the acts of parliament which they had before recited are not repealed, all exportation is to cease, except that of rice to Europe.—5. The British merchants are exhorted not to ship any goods in violation of this association, under penalty of their never holding any commercial intercourse with those that act otherwise.—6. Owners of ships are warned to give such orders to their captains, as will effectually prevent their receiving any of those goods that are prohibited.—7. They agree to improve the breed of sheep, and to increase their number, to the greatest possible extent.—8. This article tends to encourage frugality, œconomy, and industry; to promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures; to discountenance all expensive shows, games, and entertainments; to lessen the expences of funerals; to discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs, and the wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.—9. Ven-

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Venders of goods are to sell them at the usual prices, without taking any advantage of the present situation of affairs.—10. This article seems in a certain degree to soften the rigour of the first, and permits a conditional importation for two months longer, at the option of the owner; who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the first of February, to the committee of the place that they arrive at, they are to be sold under their inspection, and the prime cost being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the sufferers at Boston. All goods that arrive after that day, to be sent back without landing, or breaking any of the packages.——The three following articles relate to the appointing of committees, to prevent any violation of the foregoing, and to publish the names of the violators in the Gazette, as foes to the rights, and enemies to the liberty of British America; they also regulate the sale of domestic manufactures, that they may be disposed of at reasonable prices, and no undue advantages taken of a future scarcity of goods.—By the 14th and last article, any colony or province, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate the association, is branded as inimical to the liberties of their country, and all dealings or intercourse whatever with such colony is interdicted.

This association was subscribed by all the members of the congress; and the foregoing resolutions were all marked, *nemine contradicente*. They afterwards resolved, that a congress should be held in the same place, on the 10th day of the following May, unless the redress of grievances, which they have desired, should be obtained before that time; and they recommended to all the colonies to chuse deputies, as soon as possible, for that purpose. They also, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented, declared their most grateful acknowledgments, to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to his majesty, a memorial to the people of Great-Britain, an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majesty contained an enumeration of their grievances; among which are the following, viz. The keeping of a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the assemblies; and the employing of that army, and of a naval force, to enforce the payment of taxes. —The authority of the commander in chief, and of the brigadiers general, being rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.—The commander in chief of the forces, in time of peace, appointed governor of a colony.—The charges of usual offices greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices, multiplied. —The judges of the admiralty courts impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves; and the officers of the customs to break open and enter houses, without the authority

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authority of the civil magistrate.—The judges rendered entirely dependent on the crown for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions. Counsellors, who exercise legislative authority, holding their commissions during pleasure.——Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people fruitless.—The agents of the people discountenanced, and instructions given to prevent the payment of their salaries, assemblies repeatedly and injuriously dissolved; commerce burthened with useless and oppressive restrictions.

They then enumerate the several acts of parliament passed in the present reign for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, and of extending the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; whereby, their property is taken from them without their consent, the trial by jury, in many civil cases abolished, enormous forfeitures incurred for slight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

They complain of the parliamentary vote for reviving the statute of the 35th Henry VIIIth, and extending its influence to the colonists; and of the statute of the 12th of his present majesty, whereby the inhabitants of the colonies may, in sundry cases, by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage. They then recite the three acts of the preceding session, relative to Boston and the province of Massachusett's-Bay; the Quebec act, and the act for providing quarters for the troops in North-America.

The petition repeatedly contains the strongest expressions of loyalty, of affectionate attachment and duty to the sovereign, of love and veneration for the parent state; they attributed these their sentiments to the liberties they inherited from their ancestors, and the constitution under which they were bred; while the necessity which compelled, was the apology for delivering them. They at the same time promised themselves a favourable reception and hearing from a sovereign, whose illustrious family owed their empire to similar principles.

They declare, that from the destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and they defy their most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and them from an earlier period, or from other causes than they have assigned. That they ask but for peace, liberty, and safety; they wish not for a diminution of the prerogative, nor do they solicit the grant of any new right in their favour; the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great-Britain, they shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain. That, "appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly profess, that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction."

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They conclude by imploring his majesty, in the name of all America; and a solemn adjuration by all that is sacred and awful; that, "for the glory, which can be advanced only by rendering his subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of his family, depending in an adherence to the principle that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained."

This petition was subscribed by all the delegates.

In the memorial to the people of this country, they pay the highest praise to the noble and generous virtues of their and our common ancestors; but they do it in a manner, that instead of reflecting any comparative honour on the present generation in this island, rather reproaches us with a shameful degeneracy. They afterwards say, that born to the same rights, liberties, and constitution, transmitted to them from the same ancestors, guarantied to them by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, it is no wonder they should refuse to surrender them to men, whose claims are not founded on any principles of reason, "and who prosecute them "with a design, that, by having "their lives and property in their "power, they might with the "greatest facility enslave us." They complain of being oppressed, abused, and misrepresented; and say, that the duty they owe to themselves and to their posterity, to our interest, and to the general welfare of the British empire, leads them to address us on this very important subject.

After complaining of grievances in the style and substance of the petition, they recall the happy state of the empire on both sides of the Atlantic, previous to the conclusion of the late war; and state the advantages which we derived, and to which they willingly submitted, from the system of colony government then pursued; they say, they looked up to us as to their parent state, to which they were bound by the strongest ties; and were happy in being instrumental to our prosperity and grandeur. They call upon ourselves to witness their loyalty and attachment to the common interests of the whole empire: their efforts in the last war: their embarking to meet disease and death in foreign and inhospitable climates, to promote the success of our arms; and our own acknowledgments of their zeal, and our even reimbursing them large sums of money, which we confessed they had advanced beyond their proportion, and far beyond their abilities.

They ask to what causes they are to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery, which was prepared for them at the restoration of peace; they trace the history of taxation from that time, and assert, that those exactions,

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exactions, instead of being applied to any useful purpose, either for this country or that, have been lavishly squandered upon court favourites and ministerial dependants; that they ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide for the necessary support of their own government; and, whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, they shall, as they have heretofore done, chearfully contribute their full proportion of men and money.

They then proceed to state and examine the measures and the several acts of parliament, which they consider as hostile to America, and subversive of their rights; or, in their words, the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving them. They represent the probable consequences to this country of a perseverance in that scheme, even supposing it attended with success; addition to the national debt; increase of taxes; and a diminution of commerce, must attend it in the progress; and if we are at length victorious, in what condition shall we then be? What advantages, or what laurels shall we reap from such a conquest?

They artfully endeavour to render theirs a common cause to both countries, by shewing that such success would in the event, be as fatal to the liberties of England as to those of America. They accordingly put the question, May not a minister with the same armies that subdued them enslave us? If to this it be answered, that we will cease to pay those armies, they pretend to shew, that America reduced to such a situation, would afford abundant resources both of men and money for the purpose; nor should we have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of them, they should refuse to assist in reducing us to the same abject state.——In a word (they say) "Take care that you do not fall "into the pit that is preparing for "us."

After denying the several charges, of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency, all of which they assert to be calumnies; they, however, declare that, if we are determined, that our ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain our hands from the shedding of human blood in such an impious cause, they must tell us,—"That they never will submit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

They afterwards make a proposal, which it were much to be wished had been more attended to, as it affords at least no unfavourable basis for negociation.—— "Place us" say they, "in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

They conclude this memorial, by expressing the deepest regret for the resolutions they were obliged to enter into for the suspension of commerce, as a measure detrimental to numbers of their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and Ireland; they account and apologize for this conduct, by the over-ruling principles of self-preservation; by the supineness, and inattention to our common interest, which we had shewn for several years; and by

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by the attempt of the ministry, to influence a submission to their measures by destroying the trade of Boston. "The like fate," they say, "may befall us all; we will endeavour therefore, to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries and some of the conveniencies of life." They finally rest their hopes of a restoration of that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true American, upon the magnanimity and justice of the British nation, in furnishing a parliament of such wisdom, independency, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office.

Of all the papers published by the American congress, their address to the French inhabitants of Canada, discovers the most dextrous management, and the most able method of application to the temper and passions of the parties, whom they endeavour to gain.—They state the right they had, upon their becoming English subjects, to the inestimable benefits of the English constitution; that this right was further confirmed by the royal proclamation in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of those advantages. They impute to succeeding ministers an audacious and cruel abuse of the royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus justly entitled.—That as they have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations; and as the Canadians, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of that, from which they are debarred, the congress think it their duty, for weighty reasons, to explain to them some of its most important branches.

They then quote passages on government from the Marquis Beccaria and their countryman Montesquieu, the latter of whom they artfully adopt as a judge, and an irrefragable authority upon this occasion, and proceed to specify and explain, under several distinct heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the English constitution; and these rights, they truly say, defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

They state, that without these rights, a people cannot be free and happy; and that under their protecting and encouraging influence, the English colonies had hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. And, that these are the rights which a profligate ministry are now striving by force of arms to ravish from themselves; and which they are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with their lives.

They again remind the Canadians that they are entitled to these rights, and ought at this moment to be in the perfect exercise of them.

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them. They then ask, what is offered to them by the late act of parliament in their place. And from thence proceed to a severe examination of the Quebec act, in which they attempt to shew, that it does not afford them, and has not left them a civil right or security of any kind, as every thing it seems to grant, and even the laws they possessed before, are liable to be altered and varied, and new laws or ordinances made, by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and consequently wholly dependent on, and removeable at the will of a minister in England; so that all the powers of legislation, as well as that of granting and applying the public supplies, and disposing of their own property, being thus totally out of the hands and controul of the people, they are liable to the most abject slavery, and to live under the most despotic government in the universe.

After pretending to point out numberless deformities in that law, and placing them in such points of view, as were sufficient to render it odious to mankind, as well as hideous to the Canadians, they represent, as an insult added to their injuries, the hopes upon which, they said, it had been founded by the minister; he expecting, that, through an invincible stupidity in them, and a total inability of comprehending the tendency of a law, which so materially affected their dearest interests, they should, in the excess of a mistaken gratitude, take up arms, and incur the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming willing tools in his hands, to assist in subverting the rights and liberties of the other colonies; without their being capable of seeing, that the unavoidable consequences of such an attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes to themselves and their posterity of being ever restored to freedom; for idiotcy itself, (say they) "cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is perfomed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves."

They again apply to their passions, and partiality for their countryman, by calling up the venerable Montesquieu, and desiring them to apply those maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to their own state; they suppose him alive, and consulted by the Canadians as to the part they should act in their present situation. They are told (after expatiating on the subject of freedom and slavery) that they are only a small people, compared with their numerous and powerful neighbours, who with open arms invite them into a fellowship; to seize the opportunity in their favour, which is not the work of man, but presented by Providence itself; that it does not admit of a question, whether it is more for their interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America their unalterable friends, or their inveterate enemies; that as nature had joined their countries, let them also join their political interests; that they have been conquered into liberty, if they act as they ought; but that their doing otherwise will be attended with irremediable evils.

They endeavour to obviate the jealousies and prejudices which might arise from the difference of

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their religious principles, by instancing the case of the Swiss cantons; whose union is composed of Catholic and Protestant states; who live in the utmost concord and peace with each other, and have been thereby enabled to defeat all attempts against their liberties. This instance, though perhaps the most apposite that could have been brought for the purpose, would not, however, have borne the test of much examination.

They declare, that they do not require them to commence acts of hostility against the government of their common sovereign; that they only invite them to consult their own glory and welfare, and not to suffer themselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism. They conclude by informing them, that the congress had with universal pleasure, and by an unanimous vote, resolved, that they should consider the violation of their rights, by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they should be invited to accede to their confederation, which had no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles before mentioned.

In the address to the colonies they inform them, that, as in duty and justice bound, they have deliberately, dispassionately, and impartially examined and considered all the measures that led to the present disturbances; the exertions of both the legislative and executive powers of Great-Britain, on the one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other. That upon the whole, they find themselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those they wish to revere. In making their choice of these distressing difficulties, they prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of their country.

After stating and examining the several laws that were passed, and the measures pursued with respect to America, from the year 1764, to the present period, they enquire into the motives for the particular hostility carried on against the town of Boston, and province of Massachusett's-Bay, though the behaviour of the people in other colonies, had been in equal opposition to the power assumed by parliament, and yet no step whatever had been taken against any of them by government. This they represent as an artful systematic line of conduct, concealing among others the following designs: 1st. That it was expected, that the province of Massachusett's would be irritated into some violent action, that might displease the rest of the continent, or that might induce the people of England to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province should disappoint that part of the plan, it was in that case hoped, that the other colonies would be so far intimidated, as to desert their brethren, suffering in

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in a common cause, and that thus disunited, all might be easily subdued.

After examining the Quebec act, and pretending to assign the motives on which it was founded, they say, that from this detail of facts, as well as from authentic intelligence, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now is carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of the colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

They then proceed to state the importance of the trust which was reposed in them, and the manner in which they have discharged it. Upon this occasion, they say, that though the state of the colonies would certainly justify other measures than those which they have advised; yet they have for weighty reasons given the preference to those which they have adopted. These reasons are, that it is consistent with the character which the colonies have always sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore they were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America.—That from a sense of their tender affection for the people of the kingdom from which they derive their original, they could not forbear to regulate their steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the colonists are equally dear to them. That they ardently wish the social band between that body and the colonies may never be dissolved, and that it cannot, until the minds of the former shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and, in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every guard but that of self-preservation.—That, notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point; that they do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; and they have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other side of the Atlantic.

That, they deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses them to an immediate interruption of commerce, which may prove injurious to their fellow-subjects in England; but trust they will acquit them of any unkind intentions, by reflecting that they subject themselves to similar inconveniencies; that they are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that they are contending for freedom, so often contended for by their ancestors.

They conclude by observing, that the people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning their cause. "That in their piety, "generosity, and good sense, they "repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, "be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the "assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their

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"affectionate Protestant brethren "in the colonies, in favour of "their open and our own secret "enemies, whose intrigues, for se- "veral years past, have been wholly "exercised in sapping the founda- "tion of all civil and religious li- "berty."

These public acts being passed, the delegates put an end to their session, on the 52d day from the opening of the congress.

October 26th.

Without examining the truth of their allegations, or pretending to form any opinion upon a subject, on which the first names in this country have differed so widely, it must be acknowledged, that the petition and addresses from the congress have been executed with uncommon energy, address, and ability; and that, considered abstractedly, with respect to vigour of mind, strength of sentiment, and the language, at least of patriotism, they would not have disgraced any assembly that ever existed.

CHAP. III.

State of affairs previous to the dissolution of Parliament. The new Parliament meets. Speech from the Throne. Addresses. Amendments proposed. Debates. Protest. Apparent irresolution with respect to America. Estimates of supply formed upon a peace establishment. Reduction in the naval department.

WHILST matters of this magnitude were transacting in America, an unexampled supineness with regard to public affairs, prevailed among the great body of the people at home. The English nation, which used to feel so *tremblingly alive*, upon every contest that arose between the remotest powers in Europe, and to interest itself so much in the issue, as scarcely to be with-held from becoming a party where-ever justice or friendship pointed out the way, by a strange reverse of temper, seemed, at this time, much more indifferent to matters, in which were involved its own immediate and dearest interests. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who must be the first to feel, and the last to lament any sinister events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foresight and provident sagacity in whatever regards their interest, seemed now to be sunk in the same carelessness and inattention with the rest of the people.

Several causes concurred to produce this apparent indifference. The colony contests were no longer new. From the year 1765, they had, with but few, and those short intermissions, engaged the attention of parliament. Most of the topics on the subject were exhausted, and the vehement passions which accompanied them had subsided. The non-importation agreement, (by divisions within the colonies, which, if not caused, were much forwarded by the concessions with regard to several of the taxes laid in 1767) had broken up, before it had produced any serious conse-

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consequences. Most people therefore flattered themselves, that as things had appeared so very frequently at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, that now, as formerly, some means would be found for accommodating this dispute. At worst it was conceived, that the Americans would themselves grow tired. And as an opinion was circulated with some industry and success, that a countenance of resolution, if persevered in for some time, would certainly put an end to the contest, which (it was said) had been nourished wholly by former concessions, people were in general inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perseverance and resolution, to a ministry who valued themselves on those qualities. The court had also with great tenaciousness adhered to this system for some years. It frequently got the better, not only of the regular opposition, but of parties in the ministry itself, who were from time to time inclined to relax either from fear, weariness, or change of opinion. All these things had hitherto indisposed the body of the nation from taking part in the sanguine manner they had hitherto done on other subjects, and formerly on this.

From these causes, administration being totally disengaged at home, was at full leizure to prosecute the measures which it had designed against America, or to adopt such new ones, as the opposition there rendered necessary towards carrying the new laws into execution. The times indeed were highly favourable to any purpose, which only required the concurrence of that parliament, and the acquiescence of the people.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances on the one side, and that general indifference which prevailed on the other, it was not totally forgotten by either, that the time for a general election was approaching, and that the parliament had but one session more to complete its allotted term. In some few places, where the popular spirit ran high, tests were already proposed to be signed by their future candidates, previous to their receiving any assurance, or promise of support from the electors. At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, a test was proposed to Mr. Wilkes and Serjeant Glynne, and by them signed, in which they engaged their utmost endeavours to promote bills for shortening the duration of parliaments, for the exclusion of placemen and pensioners from the house of commons; for a more fair and equal representation of the people; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of that county, and through them of all the electors in the kingdom; for procuring a repeal of the four late American acts, viz. That for the province of Quebec, and the three which affected the town of Boston, and the province of Massachusett's-Bay; besides binding themselves, so far as in them lay, to restore and defend that excellent form of government, which had been modelled and established at the revolution.

Tests, upon much the same principles, were proposed in London and some other places; and it is still the opinion of some of those, who were sanguine in that mode

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of proceeding, that the apprehension of its becoming general, influenced the subsequent conduct of administration to the dissolution of parliament. This opinion, however, seems ill founded. There was no reason then to expect, nor is there now to imagine, that the mode of subscribing to tests would have become general, or even extensive. The influence of administration, in a great number of the boroughs, and in many of the counties, is at all times too well known to be called in question; and the principal and most celebrated leaders in opposition totally disclaimed all tests whatever, as unworthy of themselves, derogatory of their character as senators, and restrictive of their rights as men.

Other more probable causes must be sought, for the measure of dissolving the parliament. The civil list was again become deeply in debt, and the distresses of the lower part of the houshold, from the withholding of their wages, were become so notorious, and so much spoken of, that it seemed disgraceful to the nation, as well as grievous to the sovereign. It was therefore thought, and probably rightly, that it was intended, in the ensuing session, not only to demand a large sum of money for the discharge of the standing debt, but also that a requisition would be made, for such a considerable and certain yearly addition to the civil-list revenues, as would prevent all such mortifying applications for the future.

Though no doubt could be entertained of the good will and compliance of the then parliament, it was, perhaps, not thought prudent, to load them with so disagreeable a task, at the eve of a general election. Recent experience had shewn, that this was a subject which would excite much general discussion; and that however a majority might, from their zeal to the ease of their sovereign, overlook all the difficulties that could be raised within doors, such a settlement, attended with the payment of a great present balance, and loaded with an entailed irredeemable future incumbrance, would not at all be satisfactory without. People are apt to be out of humour at the parting with their money, and an application for future trust and favour, in such a temper, would seem, at least, ill timed. On the other hand, such a measure would be nothing in the hands of a new parliament, and would be worn out of memory, or become only an historical reference, at the time of their natural demise. The sinister events which have since taken place have, however, hitherto prevented the making of any requisition of this nature.

Another motive may, perhaps, be supposed, for the measure of dissolution. That parliament had already passed the most hostile laws against America; and as they could not, with so good a grace, rescind their own acts, the minister was, in some degree, tied down to a perseverance in the support of those measures on which they were founded; whereas, in a new House of Commons, he would be somewhat at large in chusing or altering his line of conduct, as circumstances varied, and they, if necessary, might throw all the odium of those laws upon their predecessors.

It may also be supposed, that as the issue of the American measures became every day more precarious, it was thought a right measure to have

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have the elections over, before any unfortunate event could change the temper, or irritate the minds of the people. If this should coincide with the time of a general election, there was no doubt but the opposition must carry every thing before it. This, in all likelihood, was the strongest and most prevalent motive to this resolution, though the others might have had their share. And it may be safely concluded, that a saving to the friends of government, by curtailing the time for contest and expence, particularly in the counties, was not at all overlooked upon this occasion. Indeed, the opposition complained that they did not receive fair play; that some places were lost by surprize; and, they said, that those in the secret had infinite advantages, by setting out betimes for the scene of action, and taking the necessary measures to strengthen their interest, before even a suspicion of the design was formed on the other side.

However it was, very unexpectedly, and much to the surprize of the nation in general, (as it had not been a measure much practised of late years, no similar instance having occurred since the year 1746, and even that being an unique in the long reign of George II.) a proclamation was issued for the dissolution of the parliament, and the calling of a new one, the writs for which were made returnable on the 29th day of the following November. Notwithstanding the surprize, and shortness of the time, some of the elections were contested with extraordinary perseverance and ardor.

September 30th.

In London, the popular party carried every thing before them, and returned all the members. Mr. Wilkes was again elected to represent the county of Middlesex, without a shadow of opposition from the court, and Lord Mayor of that city for the ensuing year; and there was no doubt that the court party, grown somewhat wiser by long and bitter experience, would no longer controvert his seat. The dispute, concerning that single seat, had produced to them more troubles, vexation, and disgraces, than the contest with the twelve united colonies of America. It would have been an imprudence, of the grossest kind, to mix these disputes in the present crisis; and thus, after near fourteen years struggle, it was thought the best way to leave him master of the field.

It was said, by some of those who are curious in attending to such observations, that notwithstanding the surprize, and the shortness of the time, a greater number of the old members were thrown out than was common at general elections. However the fact might be, those who were the best acquainted with men and things, did not augur any change of system from this circumstance. The court, notwithstanding all the ill success of all the measures from which the best success was so confidently expected, seemed firmly resolved to persevere in the same course. It is said, that private advices from America encouraged them to set a light value on the public appearances.

On the meeting of the new parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton was, without opposition, appointed Speaker. In the speech from the throne, the two Houses were informed, that a most daring spirit of

Nov. 30th. 1774.

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resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusett's-Bay, and had, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in others of the colonies, and unwarrantable attempts made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations; that such measures had been taken, and such orders given, as were judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, for the protection and security of commerce, and for restoring and preserving peace, order and good government, in the province of Massachusetts Bay; that they might depend upon a firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was considered as essential to the dignity, the safety and the welfare of the British Empire; his Majesty being assured of receiving their assistance and support while acting upon these principles.

The greatest satisfaction was expressed, at the peace concluded between Russia and the Porte, whereby the general tranquillity of Europe was rendered complete; and the usual assurance given of every endeavour to preserve that tranquillity, of which there was the greater hope, as other powers gave the strongest assurances of an equally pacific disposition.

No particular supply was demanded; but it was not doubted that the same affectionate confidence, and the same proofs of zeal and attachment, would be met with in this House of Commons, which had been constantly received from others. The speech concluded, by particularly recommending to both Houses, at this time, to proceed with temper in their deliberations, and with unanimity in their resolutions. To let the people, in every part of the dominions, be taught, by their example, to have a due reverence for the laws, and a just sense of the blessings of our excellent constitution.

An address, in the usual form, having been moved for, an amendment was proposed, on the side of opposition, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, to the House, as well as the letters, orders, and instructions upon that business. The proposal for this amendment was productive of some considerable debate, as well as of a division.

The supporters of the original address went, in the first place, upon the old ground, that addresses were no more than general compliments, matters of course at the beginning of every session, which did not preclude any future enquiries; that particular measures were not at that time, in any degree, objects of their consideration: and that American affairs would come in their due order before them, when there would be sufficient time for deliberation, and considering them either separately or in general.

On the other side, it was contended, that though no particular measures were immediately under consideration, yet, the address being drawn up in very general terms, it

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it implied, or even contained, a general approbation of all the late measures pursued with respect to America; that this general judgment could not, nor ought not, to be given without the fullest and clearest information; that a delay in forming such judgment, while the most important concerns both of England and America were hanging upon it, might be fatal to both in its consequences; and that it was a deception to the inexperienced, and an insult to the House, to pretend that their addresses were words without meaning, and to be considered only as echoes to the speech.

This speech, they said, was not merely a compliment. It included a scheme of policy. It included a scheme of unfortunate policy; from whence nothing good had sprung, and from which nothing good could rationally be expected. They had hitherto been grossly deceived, and this expression of good humour and confidence, (for it was that at least, or it was nothing) must belie the genuine feelings of a new parliament, which ought to be cautious in committing itself in the measures of the old, before it had time or means of examining them. They said that this caution would be but decent, even though the acts of the former parliament had not left the empire in a flame; but when they met in the midst of the conflagration it was absolutely incumbent on them to know something of the true nature of the affair, before they took any measures for heaping on new combustible matter. However pretenders to moderation might delude themselves, or attempt to delude others, with an idea of the unopetative nature of an address, they would certainly find their previous approbation pleaded against a subsequent dissent,—and an advantage taken from thence, to infuse an opinion into the nation in general, into Europe, and into America, that parliament had, that day, solemnly adopted all the former proceedings with regard to the colonies. That this opinion would alienate more and more the affections of the colonies from this nation, and therefore it would be necessary to lay a ground for their future system, by an examination into the true nature and effects of the past.

The minister said, that it was not a proper time for entering into any discussion of the affairs of America; he seemed to acknowledge, that a reconciliation was highly desirable, but that as no terms had yet been proposed by America, nor concessions offered, it could not be presumed, that England would make offers of submission; and that as matters were in this state of suspense, he hoped the motion for an amendment would be withdrawn.

Several gentlemen who make a merit of being considered as totally disengaged from all parties and connections, said they would vote for the original address; not that they would in any degree be considered to approve of the late measures against America, or that this vote should be at all supposed an engagement with regard to their future conduct on that subject; but they would do it merely as a matter of business and course, and hold themselves, notwithstanding, entirely at liberty upon all future questions.

In the course of this debate, the conduct of the late parliament underwent

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derwent much severe animadversion, and the minister was reminded of the mighty effects he had predicted from the late acts against America; they were to humble that whole continent in the dust, without any further trouble, and the punishment of Boston was to strike an universal panic on all the colonies; that refractory town would be totally abandoned; and instead of obtaining relief, a dread of the same fate would prevent even the appearances of pity; that the event has, in every instance, been the direct reverse of the expectations thus held out. The cause of Boston is now become the cause of all America; her sufferings have given her a kind of pre-eminence and supremacy, which she could never otherwise have acquired; and these measures, instead of dividing the colonies, have joined them in a closeness of friendship and union, which perhaps no other means in nature could have done. The great speakers in opposition never distinguished themselves in a more striking manner, than in this day's debate.

The division shewed, that opposition had not gained any great accession of strength by the general election, and also, that the temper of the House at present, with respect to America, was not essentially different from that of the late parliament. The numbers in support of the address, as it originally stood, were 264, and those who voted for the amendment, amounted to 73 only.

The address from the Lords was not less warmly debated than that from the House of Commons. It was couched in very strong terms, and declaratory of their abhorrence and detestation of the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws, which so strongly prevailed in the province of Massachusett's Bay, and of the unwarrantable attempts in that and other provinces of America, to obstruct, by unlawful combinations, the trade of this kingdom.

A noble Duke, who has long been distinguished by his manly, resolute, and inflexible spirit in opposition, moved an amendment in the following words: "To desire "his Majesty would be graciously "pleased to give directions for an "early communication of the ac- "counts which have been received "concerning the state of the colo- "nies, that we may not proceed "to the consideration of this most "critical and important matter, "but upon the fullest information; "and when we are thus informed, "we shall, without delay, apply "ourselves with the most earnest "and serious zeal to such measures "as shall tend to secure the honour "of his Majesty's crown, the true "dignity of the mother country, "and the harmony and happiness "of all his Majesty's dominions."

The Lords in opposition argued, that they could not agree to commit themselves with the careless facility of a common address of compliment, in expressions, which may lead to measures in the event fatal to the lives, properties, and liberties of a very great part of their fellow-subjects. They considered an address, in the present situation, as necessarily carrying a considerable influence upon their future proceedings, and as impressing the public with certain ideas of the measures which they mean to support; that whatever measures they shall think it adviseable to pursue,

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it will certainly add greatly to the weight and efficacy of their proceedings, if they appear the result of full information, mature deliberation, and temperate enquiry; that no materials for such an enquiry have been laid before them, nor even so much as promised; that in this situation they are called upon to make an address, arbitrarily imposing qualities and descriptions upon acts done in the colonies, of the true nature and just extent of which they are as yet in a great measure unapprized; a procedure, which, they think, by no means consonant to that purity which they ought ever to preserve in their judicial, and to that caution which ought to guide them in their deliberate capacity.

They besides objected to the address, its implying an approbation of the unfortunate system adopted with regard to the colonies in the last parliament; a system which, they represented, as conceived without prudence, and pursued without temper, consistency, or foresight. After enlarging upon the mischiefs it had produced, without a rational prospect of advantage, they said that it afforded a melancholy prospect of the disposition of Lords in the present parliament, when they see the House, under the pressure of so severe and uniform an experience, again ready, without any enquiry, to countenance, if not to adopt, the spirit of the former fatal proceedings.

To this, besides the general observations on addresses, it was answered by the ministerial side, that the proceedings in America had been such, that if they were not met by something spirited in the language of parliament, immediately at its meeting, the cause would seem to be given up; and this would be a declaration without enquiry, as that proposed in the address; that for their part, nothing was farther from their thoughts, than a concession either expressed or implied; that they hoped this parliament would shew the same regard for its dignity, by which the late parliament had acquired so much honour; and one minister confessed, that he had advised the dissolution, lest popular dissatisfaction, arising from untoward events, should break the chain of those public measures which were necessary to reduce the colonies to due obedience. The sooner the new parliament spoke out upon the subject, the better.

The debate was long and vehement, though the minority was but 13 to 63 on the division. It was rendered memorable by the circumstance of having produced a protest, the first we remember to have heard of upon an address, and that too very strong and pointed. The protest concluded with the following remarkable declaration:

"But whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects, and their future tendency, and who are not in haste, without enquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Notwithstanding the hostile tone of the speech, and the great majority that supported the addresses in both houses, there appeared the most glaring irresolution on the side

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side of ministry, with respect to American affairs. It seemed as if no plan had yet been formed, nor system adopted upon that subject. The minister appeared less than usual in the House of Commons, and studiously avoided all explanation. Many imagined that he was thwarted and overruled by what, in the cant phrase, is called the interior cabinet, and did not approve of the violent measures that were there generated. It was even at this time supposed, that he was feeling his own strength, and had some thoughts of making an effort to emancipate himself from those shackles, which rendered him answerable for the acts of others, who were not themselves in any degree responsible.

Other causes might, perhaps with more probability, be assigned for this irresolution. The minister might still have his doubts with respect to the temper of the new parliament. The landed interest, which must first contribute to the support of coercive measures, was not yet prepared to look in the face the direct avowal of a war; and an increase of the land-tax, where there was no incitement of national glory, and even the question of interest sufficiently doubtful, might meet with a general and fatal opposition. The whole weight of the mercantile interest, and of the great manufacturing body of the nation, was also to be apprehended.

However it was, whether it proceeded from irresolution, a want of system, or a difference of opinion in the cabinet, there was a strange suspension of American business previous to the Christmas recess, and the minister seemed evidently to shrink from all contest upon that subject. The national estimates were entirely formed upon a peace establishment. The land-tax was continued at three shillings in the pound; no vote of credit was required; the army remained upon its former footing, and a reduction of 4000 seamen took place, only 16,000 being demanded for the ensuing year.

Upon the last of these articles it was observed on the side of opposition, that there was no reconciling the conduct of administration in a reduction of 4000 seamen, with the speech from the throne, which announced the affairs of America to be in a most critical and alarming situation, and seemed to call for the most vigorous and decisive measures. That this had all the appearance of being a ministerial trick; a forming of estimates, in the first instance, which were only designed as waste-paper, and never intended to be adhered to, and afterwards to surprize and drive the house into grants of an improper and burdensome nature; that gentlemen could not face their constituents in the recess, without being able to give them any information, either relative to future burdens, or to what would be necessarily involved in such an enquiry, whether compulsive measures were really intended to be pursued against the Americans, for that to talk of enforcing the acts upon a reduced establishment, either naval or military, was a sort of language fit to be held only to children.

The minister not being then in the House, a noble Lord who sat upon the same bench with him, said, he had authorized him to acquaint the House, that he had no information whatever to lay before it, nor measures to propose respecting

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ing America. Other gentlemen on the same side said, that this was not a proper time for a discussion of American affairs; that when they came before them in a parliamentary way, every gentleman would be at full liberty to declare his sentiments, and support his opinions, when it was not to be doubted but the minister would give very good reasons as well for the delay, as for the naval reduction.

An attempt was made in those debates, and supported with pleasantry, to turn the tables upon the gentlemen in opposition, who had for several years been complaining of the greatness of our peace establishment both by sea and land, and now seemed to oppose a reduction as soon as it was attempted by the ministers. But they justified their conduct on the appearance of public affairs, as well as the speech from the throne; they said, an imposition upon the House and the public, by delusive estimates, was not a method of shewing respect to the one, or attention to the other, and the heavy loss and expence that might be incurred in that mode, under the several heads of an increased navy debt, services not provided for, and perhaps a vote of credit, were fully shewn. The strange inconsistency of administration, with respect to American affairs, was severely scrutinized. It was asserted, that the whole was a cheat, in order to delude the people into a war, rendered doubly ruinous and disgraceful by a defective preparation; that the ministers obstinately resolved not to make peace by any reasonable political concession, nor war by any vigorous military arrangement; but by fluctuating between both, deprived the nation of a possibility of deriving benefit from either. Far from saving for the public, this delay of incurring timely charge would certainly aggravate the future expence, as they would assuredly feel in due time. That they were far from desiring war; as little did they relish large peace establishments: but if, against their will, war *must* be carried on, common sense dictated, that it ought to be carried on with effect; and that if a peace establishment, and even lower than a peace establishment, was sufficient to support a war, this afforded a demonstrative proof, that the peace establishment had been shamefully prodigal.

In answer to this, the minister of the naval department publicly asserted, in the House of Lords, that he knew the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. He spoke with the greatest contempt both of the power and the courage of the Americans. He held, that they were not disciplined nor capable of discipline, and that formed of such materials, and so indisposed to action, the numbers of which such boasts had been made, would only add to the facility of their defeat.

Although on these grounds the establishment stood, or seemed to stand as reduced, the ministers did not disclaim any further arrangements of a political nature. By being frequently urged, some explanation was drawn out on that subject in the House of Commons. A gentleman called publicly upon the minister in that House to know, whether he had any information to lay before them, or any measures to propose respecting America, for if

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if he had not, he thought it the duty of parliament to interpose, to call for papers, and to proceed on such information, however defective, as they could obtain. He concluded, by totally reprobating the measures adopted by the late parliament, as equally impolitic and impracticable; and said, that they never could be prudently or effectually carried into execution.

The lord at the head of the treasury did not enter much into a justification of the measures of the late parliament. He said the subject would require the utmost diligence and attention, as a matter of the greatest magnitude ever debated within their walls; that he could not entirely acquiesce in the condemnation of measures hastily, which had been taken up and adopted upon such weighty motives; that at the time, it was impossible to foretel precisely how they might answer; but that they should have a fair trial before they were reprobated; and that the wisdom and policy of them could be only finally known in the event. That he had information which he would lay before the House soon after the holidays; and that he would so far adopt the gentleman's ideas who had called upon him, as to propose the appointment of a committee for taking the affairs of America into consideration.

Much altercation arose upon this delay in business of such vast importance as the American, and that the papers and all necessary means of information should be so long retained from the House. Upon these occasions, the ridiculous and distressing situation in which General Gage and his little army stood in Boston; at the same time, in a certain degree, besieging, and themselves besieged, was a subject productive of much animadversion, as well as raillery.

A gentleman in office, and who not long since had become a convert to the principles of administration, just before the recess pulled the mask a little aside, both with respect to the American business, and to the state of the estimates. He said, that any increase of the one, however necessary, or the explanations required on the other, would, in the present season, be highly improper; that such proposals at the eve of an adjournment, could only be intended to embarrass administration; that a compliance with them, would spread such an alarm among the merchants, with respect to their property, as might be productive of the most dangerous consequences; and that they were matters only to be entered upon, when the measures at large, and the means of carrying them into execution, were brought together, and connected in one view.

Nothing of any consequence was transacted in the House of Lords from the passing of the address, except that a motion was made, and at length carried, for putting an end to that scandalous contention with the commons, by which, ever since the year 1770, the members of each house were interdicted from the other.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

Lord Chatham's motion. Debates. Petitions. London petition withdrawn. Petitions offered from the American agents. Rejected.

THE apprehensions of the ministry, that they would meet with a vigorous opposition from the mercantile interest in the pursuit of their American measures, were not ill founded. During the recess, a general alarm was spread, and several meetings of the great bodies of North-American merchants in London and Bristol were held, where those measures by which they were so deeply affected, were fully discussed, their consequences explained, and petitions to parliament prepared and agreed upon in both places. The times were, however, altered, and such an opposition now, was not productive of the efficacy or danger, which till very lately would have rendered it terrible.

The minister found the opposition reinforced from another quarter, which in other times, and other situations, would have been formidable. The Earl of Chatham, after a long absence, appeared in the House of Lords, to express his utmost dissent and disapprobation to the whole system of American measures. Though his power and influence were from many causes much lessened, his appearance could at no time be wholly without effect.

Jan. 20th. 1775. On the first day of the meeting after the recess, the nobleman at the head of American affairs, having laid the papers belonging to his department before the Lords, Lord Chatham moved an address to his majesty, for recalling the troops from Boston. This motion was ushered in and supported by a long speech, in which he represented this measure as a matter of immediate necessity; an hour now lost in allaying the ferment in America, might produce years of calamity; the present situation of the troops rendered them and the Americans continually liable to events, which would cut off the possibility of a reconciliation; this conciliatory measure, thus well timed; this mark of affection and good-will on our side, will remove all jealousy and apprehension on the other, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both. He announced this motion to be introductory to a plan he had formed for a solid, honourable, and lasting settlement between England and America; he now only set his foot upon the threshold of peace.

He severely reprehended administration for eight weeks delay in communicating the American papers, at so very critical a period. He charged them with deluding and deceiving the people of this country in several instances; by general misrepresentations of the colonies; by persuading them that the disputes there were the affair of Boston only, in which the rest were totally unconcerned; and that the appearance of a single regiment there, would restore every thing to quiet. He attributed the sudden dissolution of the parliament, to the same principle of deception,

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ception. He condemned the whole late series of American laws and measures; said he contended not for indulgence, but justice to America; that if we consulted either our interest or our dignity, the first advances to peace and concord should come from us; that concession comes with a better grace, and more salutary effects, from the superior power; and warned them of the humiliating disgrace, of repealing those acts through necessity, which they refused to do from other motives. He is said to have concluded the speech with the following remarkable words, "If the "ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the king, I "will not say that they can alienate "the affections of his subjects from "his crown, but I will affirm, that "they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*.—I will not "say that the king is betrayed, but I "will pronounce that—*the kingdom is undone*."

Whatever difference of opinion in the cabinet might have produced an apparent irresolution previous to the recess, it now became evident, that measures were finally settled with respect to America. Though the military and naval strength was not increased, a plan of coercion seemed to be determined on. The language of the Lords in administration was high and decisive. They condemned the conduct of the Americans in the strongest and most unreserved terms; and justified all the acts of administration, and all the late laws without exception. They insisted, that all conciliating means having proved ineffectual, it was high time for the mother country to assert her authority, or for ever to relinquish it. If the task be difficult now, what must it be in a few years? Parliament must be obeyed, or it must not; if it be obeyed, who shall resist its determinations? If it be not, it is better at once to give up every claim of authority over America. The supremacy of the British legislature cannot be disputed; and the idea of an inactive right, when there is the most urgent necessity for its exercise, is absurd and ridiculous. If we give way on the present occasion, from mistaken notions of present advantages in trade and commerce, such a concession will infallibly defeat its own object; for it is plain, that the navigation act, and all other regulatory acts, which form the great basis on which those advantages rest, and the true interests of both countries depend, will fall a victim to the interested and ambitious views of America. In a word, it was declared, that the mother country should never relax till America confessed her supremacy; and it was avowed to be the ministerial resolution, to enforce obedience by arms.

In this debate it did not appear that the Lords in the minority were fully agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. Some Lords, who were the most earnest for peace, did not think it at all just or wise, to leave those who had risqued their lives in favour of the claims of this country, however ill-founded, or improperly exercised, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed and incensed populace; and that too, before any previous stipulations were made for their safety. They thought that if proper concessions were made, the troops then at Boston were not numerous

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merous enough to raise an alarm on account of a supposed ill faith in keeping them up, and could by no means prevent the restoration of peace. It was wrong at first to send the force; but it might be dangerous to recal it before that was accomplished. They however supported the motion because it looked towards that great object; and because, they said, they thought any thing better than a perseverance in hostility. In argument, it was denied that lenient means had been ineffectually tried with the colonies; and on the contrary insisted, that they had been continually irritated by a series of absurd, contradictory, wanton, and oppressive measures. That the proscription of Boston, untried and unheard, whereby 30,000 people were consigned to famine and beggary, for the alleged crimes of a few, was an injustice and cruelty scarcely to be paralleled. That, as if it had been done to inflame them to madness, and to keep hostility always in their eyes, an army, merely of irritation, as it evidently could answer no other purpose, was sent amongst them. That unfortunately, passion, obstinacy, and ill-will, under the direction of inability and ignorance, had been made the principles for governing a free people. That America only wants to have safety in property, and personal liberty; and the desire of independency was falsely charged on her. It was also insisted on, that the colonies never denied or questioned the acts of navigation, except when excited to it by injury.

That the specious language, of the supremacy of the British legislature, the interests of Great-Britain, of her authority over the colonies, and other phrases equally sounding, was artfully held out to deceive and delude both parliament and people; they were pompous words, and might swell the importance of the meanest mechanic; but they would neither prevent the miseries of a civil war, preserve our commerce, nor restore our colonies if once lost.

After a pretty long debate, for that House, the question was rejected by a vast majority, there appearing upon a division, no less than 68 who opposed, to 18 only, who supported the motion. This division was rendered remarkable, by having a prince of the blood, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, for the first time in the minority.

This decisive victory restored the confidence of the minister, and perhaps encouraged him to measures in the other House which he would not otherwise have hazarded. Upon laying the American papers before the House of Commons, a celebrated gentleman in the opposition, desired they might be informed, whether these papers contained all the intelligence the ministers had received from America. The minister replied, that he would not undertake to say they did, as those he had brought were extracts, containing only the facts in the original letters; that the writers opinions were not mentioned, it having been frequently found, that the making public the private opinions of people in office, had been attended with bad consequences; therefore his majesty's servants had determined, for the future, never to mention the private opinion of any person.

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The gentleman who proposed the question said, that in some cases it might be proper to keep a person's private opinion secret; but, in so critical and alarming an affair as that of the Americans, the opinions of people in power, on the spot, must be of great service. Their judgments must operate here as facts; at least, facts unconnected with the opinions of those who best knew the spirit and tendency of each action, would be of little use, tending only to mislead: an act of violence is committed—if we know neither the motive to it—to what it is likely to lead—or what force will probably support it—how can a true judgment be made of it? As to the opinion concerning the measures proper to be pursued for quieting these troubles; there too the opinion of those on the spot, and possessing every means of information, was of the first importance. That things were gone too far, to think it necessary to manage the opinions of any man in office in America. The risque to be run (at such a time) is a necessary consequence of their situation; and they would be more endangered by the ignorance of parliament concerning their sentiments, than by any sentiments they could deliver. That in 1766 (the year, he said, of happy reconciliation) every paper, without reserve, had been laid before the House, and no man suffered by it. He therefore was of opinion, that the whole of the information received from America ought to be laid before the House, and not extracts of particular letters, such as suited the minister's purpose.

This proposition not being admitted, the minister moved, that the papers should, on the 26th instant, be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House. They consisted principally of letters between some of the ministers, and the governors of most of the colonies: and were transmitted in this mutilated state to the committee.

The principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, having waited to regulate their conduct as to American affairs, by that of the merchants of London and Bristol, now accordingly followed the example of those two great commercial bodies, and prepared petitions upon that subject to be presented to parliament. The petition from the merchants of London, was of course the first delivered, and being presented by one of the aldermen of that city, who was likewise a member of parliament, he moved, that it should be referred to the committee, who were appointed to take into consideration the American papers. Jan. 23d.

This seemed to be so natural, and so much a matter of course, as scarcely to admit of a controversy. The ministers had, however, by this time, hit upon a manœuvre, which, though successful for the present, may not in all seasons be so happily drawn into practice; but by which, the shower of petitions was so effectually thrown off, that they became a matter of sport rather than of concern. It was discovered, that this matter was to be taken up in a political, not a commercial light. That therefore, as there was little connection between the views of the House, and those of the merchants, it would be the highest absurdity, that a committee, whose thoughts were occupied

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occupied by the first, should be at all broke in upon or disturbed by the latter. It was accordingly proposed, to appoint a separate committee for the consideration of the merchants petition, and for that purpose an amendment was moved, that it should be referred to a committee on the 27th, the day succeeding that on which the committee was to take the American papers into consideration.

It was represented, that the committee for the consideration of the American papers was appointed with a view to their coming to some speedy resolution, suited to the dignity of parliament, and to the present state of affairs in America; that the restoration of peace in that country, depended as much upon the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the measures determined; that the great variety of facts, and mass of matter, which of course must come under consideration in the committee to which the petition was referred, would be a work of tedious enquiry, and long toil; that such a length of enquiry was incompatible with the dispatch necessary in the business with which it would be coupled by the motion; that the hands of government would thereby be tied up, and the powers of parliament restrained from giving that speedy relief, which the pressure of public affairs requires; and that the views and objects of the enquiry originating with the American papers, and the petition, being totally distinct in their nature, the determinations and execution arising from both must be different.

On the other side, administration was very severely handled. They said, that it would be fairer and more manly to reject the petition at once, than to endeavour in this manner to defeat it; that the pretence of appointing a committee was a shameful pitiful evasion; that while to avoid the rejection of a petition which had nothing exceptionable in the matter or the form, they suffered it into the House, they, at the same time, took care it should never be heard; or, what was more insulting to the petitioners, and more disgraceful to parliament, to hear it, after a determination. Is it then true, said they, that in a question concerning the colonies, politics and commerce are separate and independent considerations? But if they are, still the information which the merchants may give in their evidence of matters merely political, may be of advantage to the House. Their correspondencies are of all kinds. They do not scruple to offer to the House all they know of the state of that country, without those fears which it seems affect our officers in America. And as the minister had refused to give them the whole correspondence, this supplemental information became the more necessary. That if there was not sufficient time to enquire into and settle the American business, why was a month lost in dissipation during the Christmas recess, for which the dearest interests of the empire were to be sacrificed, and perhaps its existence as an empire hazarded. That after all, what time would be lost? One day, perhaps—One petition contained the merits of the whole—and all the evidence might be examined to that. This, they said, was the course in the year 1766, when an act of reconciliation, which in its nature

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required more haste, was before the House. Much larger correspondence, and infinitely more evidence, than probably would now appear, was then before them. It did not delay a business which experience had shewn to be beneficial; that therefore, they need not be in such a violent haste, to new coercive measures, which the same experience had shewn, in late instances, to be highly pernicious.

The question being at length put, the motion for the amendment was carried by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 197, who voted for the latter, against 81 who supported the original motion.

A similar fate attended the petitions from Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and some other places, all of which were in turn consigned to what the opposition termed the committee of oblivion.

On the day appointed for taking the American papers into consideration, a second, and very strong petition was presented from the merchants of London, in which they argue, that the connection between Great-Britain and America, originally was, and ought to be, of a commercial kind; and that the benefits derived therefrom to the mother country are of the same nature; that observing the constant attention which the British legislature had for more than a century given to those valuable objects, they had been taught to admire the regulations by which that connection had been preserved, and those benefits secured, as the most effectual institution which human wisdom could have framed for those salutary purposes; that presuming therefore on that opinion, and supported by that observation, they represent, that the fundamental policy of those laws of which they complain, and the propriety of enforcing, relaxing, or amending them, are questions inseparably united with the commerce between Great-Britain and America; and consequently, that the consideration of the one cannot be entered on, without a full discussion of the other.

They then lament the late decision, by which their petition was referred to a separate committee, and by which, they say, they are absolutely precluded from such a hearing in its support, as could alone procure them that relief, which the importance and present deplorable state of their trade required. They conclude by praying, that they may be heard, by themselves or their agents, in support of their former petition, and that no resolution respecting America may be taken by the House, or by any committee thereof, until they shall be fully heard.

It was then moved, that the order for referring the merchants petition to a separate committee should be discharged, and that it should be referred to the committee of the whole House, who were appointed to consider the American papers.

This motion was supported by the gentlemen in the minority, as they contended, on the principles of law, justice, reason, and expediency. The indignity and mockery offered to so great a body as the merchants of London by the late resolution, which with an insidious affectation of civility, received the petition

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petition with one hand, and threw it out of the window with the other, was painted in strong colours. It was said, that the matter of that petition, was not merely the business of the merchants, nor even of this kingdom in particular; it was the business of the whole empire, every part of which was concerned in the event; yet this matter of such momentous concern, was referred to a committee, called up, nobody knew why, for the framing of commercial regulations, which were neither wanted, nor applied for; while this committee did not even pretend to have the remotest concern with those great points of commercial policy, which were the objects of the petition. That to complete this system, and render its wisdom equally conspicuous in all its parts, the committee, to whose consideration those objects were avowedly referred, to which the petition applied, were doomed to grope their way in the dark, without a single ray of information; the probable, and almost inevitable consequence of which, must be the involving us in a most destructive and ruinous civil war.

In further supporting the motion on the merchants petition, it was observed, that the reason given by those who sent the petition to that committee (which was described by various appellations of mockery and derision), for not referring them to that on American papers, was of a most extraordinary and unheard of nature; it was, that the resolutions of that committee were to be solely on the grounds of policy, and that the commercial examination would delay the measures necessary for the coercion of America. That this was to anticipate and predetermine the future proceedings in a committee, as a reason for keeping information from it; how did it know what measures would be pursued there, and on what principles? Was there any instruction to the committee so to confine itself? Or was it that the ministry had already not only resolved what that committee was to do, but reckoned upon it so much as a certainty, and as a matter so justifiable, that they did not scruple to avow it, and to make it a ground of argument for what the House ought, or ought not to have brought before its committee. This proceeding was represented to be of a most alarming and unprecedented nature. It was further added, that if they meant hostility, the reason they gave for not hearing, was the strongest for it; that as their war must ever be dependent on their finances, and their finances must depend upon their commerce, the true state of that commerce was necessary to be known, especially as colonies and commerce are inseparably connected.

The arguments on the other side were partly personal; partly political. In either way they did not seem to furnish reasons against hearing the merchants; and from the nature of the measure which afterwards was adopted, it did not seem very material whether it passed a month earlier or later. It was said, that interested and factious people had induced the merchants to sign their petitions. That they came too late, and as the merchants had confided so long in parliament, they ought to do so still. That the American trade was destructive, unless the supremacy of

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parliament, and the rights of sovereignty, were vigorously asserted. That if in this attempt commerce should be suspended, the funds sustain a shock, and the landed property experience a diminution, such evils must be patiently submitted to, and the merchants must forego their interest, for the permanent advantages which they may expect when the Americans are subdued. It was also mentioned, that the merchants might be quieted, by passing a law to compel the several colonies to pay all the debts, which any individuals of those provinces owed here.

All the debates on this subject of the petitions, were attended with an unusual degree of asperity, and even acrimony on the side of opposition. The charges of negligence, incapacity, and inconsistency, were rung in the ears of the minister. The acts of the last parliament were arraigned in the severest terms, and said to be framed on false information, conceived in weakness and ignorance, and executed with negligence. The ministers were told, that a bitter day of reckoning would come, when they would be convicted of such a chain of blunders and neglects, as would inevitably draw vengeance on their heads. A pathetic picture was drawn and deplored, of the miseries of that civil war, which must be incurred through their rashness and blind precipitation. Trade destroyed—The revenue impoverished—The poor starving—Manufactures stagnating—The poor-rate running into the land-tax, and both devouring the estates.

The conduct also of the late parliament was scrutinized without mercy in the course of these debates, and its memory was treated with more than want of respect. A gentleman, who is remarkable for a sarcastic poignancy in his observation, in sketching a short history of that parliament, said, that they began their political life with a violation of the sacred right of election in the case of Middlesex; that they had died in the act of popery, when they established the Roman Catholic religion in Canada; and that they had left a rebellion in America, as a legacy.

In endeavouring to obviate some of the charges brought against him, the minister attributed the delay before the holidays, in the first place, to the want of necessary information, and in the second, to his having understood from several persons, who had means of being well informed, that a petition was on its way to the throne, from the meeting which the Americans called a continental congress, which was of so conciliatory a nature, as to make way for healing and lenient measures, and for reconciling all matters in an amicable manner. As to other charges upon the American subject, he said, that it was impossible for him to have foreseen the proceedings in America respecting the tea; that the duty had been quietly collected before; that the great quantity of teas in the warehouses of the East-India Company, as appeared by the report of the Secret Committee, made it necessary to do something for the benefit of the Company; that it was to serve them that nine-pence in the pound weight draw-back was allowed; that it was impossible for him to foretell that the Americans would resist at being able to drink their tea at nine-pence in the pound cheaper.

This

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This defence called up a gentleman of great weight in the East-India Company, and who has been long celebrated for his knowledge in its affairs. He said, that he got up merely to speak to a matter of fact; that he could not sit still and hear the noble Lord plume himself on actions which, of all others, were the most reprehensible in this train of political absurdities; that it was unbecoming to allege that this dangerous measure had been adopted to serve the East-India Company, when it was notorious, that the Company had requested the repeal of the three-pence per pound in America, and felt and knew the absurdity of giving a draw-back here, and laying a duty there; a measure equally a solecism in commerce and politics. That the Company offered their consent, that government should retain 6d. in the pound on the exportation, if the 3d. was remitted in America. That the gentleman himself, then speaking, had, in his place, requested and intreated the noble Lord, to remove the cause of dispute; and that he then foretold to him the consequence of persevering in error.

After some severe reflections, he shewed, that the Company had thus presented the happiest opportunity which could have offered, for removing with credit the cause of difference with America. The supporting the authority of parliament was the only cause assigned by the minister himself, for retaining the duty on tea; at the same time, that he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax, as any of those which he had repealed upon that principle. Here, then, sprung the happiest occasion of doing right, without interfering on the claims on either side. The East-India Company ask; their situation required the relief. It could not be alleged that it was done at the instance of American discontent. But the golden bridge was refused. New contrivances were set on foot to introduce the tea into America. That various intrigues, solicitations, and counter-solicitations, were used to induce the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman of the Company, to undertake this rash and foolish business; that it had been protested against, as contrary to the principles of their monopoly: yet the power of ministry prevailed, and they would, notwithstanding, cover all those facts, which are ready, from their consequences, to convulse the whole empire, under a pretence of the purest intentions in the world, merely of serving the East-India Company.

These facts were considered as incontrovertible, as none of them were denied at that time or afterwards. The question was rejected upon a division by a very great majority, there appearing in support of the motion, for rescinding the former resolution relative to the merchants petition, only 89, to 250 who opposed that measure. Jan. 26th.

Though it was then late, a petition was offered from Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, stating, that they were authorized by the American continental congress, to present a petition from the congress to the King, which petition his Majesty had referred to that House; that they were enabled to throw great light upon the subject, and prayed to be heard at the bar, in support

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of the said petition. On this a violent debate arose, partly on the same grounds with the former, partly on different.—The ministry alleged that the congress was no legal body, and none could be heard in reference to their proceedings, without giving that illegal body some degree of countenance; that they could only hear the colonies through their legal assemblies, and their agents properly authorized by them, and properly admitted here; that to do otherwise, would lead to inextricable confusion, and destroy the whole order of colony government.

To these arguments it was answered, that regular colony government was in effect destroyed already: in some places by act of parliament; in others, by dissolution of assemblies by governors; in some by popular violence. The question now was, how to restore order? That this congress, however illegal to other purposes, was sufficiently legal for presenting a petition.—It was signed by the names of all the persons who composed it, and might be received as from individuals. That it was their business rather to find every plausible reason for receiving petitions, than to invent pretences for rejecting them. That the rejection of petitions was one principal cause, if not the most powerful cause, of the present troubles. That this mode of constantly rejecting their petitions, and refusing to hear their agents, would infallibly end in universal rebellion; and not unnaturally, as those seem to give up the right to government who refuse to hear the complaints of the subject. This petition was rejected upon a division by a majority of 218 to 68.

The London merchants, however, did not submit patiently to the indignity with which they thought themselves now treated. The spirit which had at all times distinguished that great commercial body was not lost; nor was the rank and consideration, which they ever held in the affairs of this country, forgotten. The day following the rejection of their second petition, being that on which the committee of oblivion was to hold its first meeting, and their business of course the first to come before it, a gentleman, one of their body, deputed by the committee of merchants, in their name represented at the bar of the House, "that merchants revealing at that bar the state of their affairs, was a measure which all would wish to avoid, unless upon such great occasions as the present, where the public weal is evidently at stake, when their duty as good subjects requires it of them; but when the mode of examination is such as totally precludes them from answering the great public object, which in their opinion is clearly the case at present, they beg leave humbly to signify, that they wave appearing before the committee which has been appointed; and that the merchants are not under any apprehensions respecting their American debts, unless the means of remittance should be cut off by measures that may be adopted in Great-Britain."

During this war of the petitions, one had been sent from Birmingham, and presented, entitled, a petition from the inhabitants of that town and neighbourhood, in which they

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they set forth, that any relaxation in the execution of the laws, respecting the colonies, would greatly injure the commerce of Birmingham; and strongly urging, that the House would exert its utmost endeavours to support the authority of the laws. No other petition or address had then appeared in favour of strong measures against America; and it was suspected, that this had been procured by indirect practice, as most of those who had signed the paper, were persons no ways concerned in the staple manufactures of the place; at least, such as were, did not export any considerable quantity to America. Another petition to a contrary effect, was signed and presented by those who dealt most largely in that branch. A leading gentleman in the minority observed, that the ministry had frequently reproached the opposition with unfair methods in procuring these petitions; that now, one place having spoken such different languages, they had an opportunity of discovering the truth of that matter, and of effectually discouraging such matters for the future; he therefore moved, that it should be an instruction to the committee to enquire into the manner of procuring and signing both petitions; and also, how far the persons, severally signing them, are concerned in the trade to North-America.

The motion, as usual, was overruled.

In this manner the parties tried their several forces in parliament and in the nation, previous to the bringing in the grand measure, on which the ministry rested their hope of finally breaking the spirit which gave them so much trouble in America. It was evident, that their failure in their former plans had not in the least abated the readiness shewn by both Houses of Parliament to adopt any others which administration should propose; and it was confidently believed and asserted, that when the merchants and manufacturers were deprived of all hopes of preventing the operation of force, it would then become their interest to give all possible effect to it. They would thus become, by degrees, a principal support of that cause, which they now so eagerly opposed. When once every thing was made to depend on war, nothing but the success of that war could give the trading body any hopes of recovering their debts and renewing their commerce: therefore, not only this opinion, of the efficacy of such a mode of proceeding in America, but the hopes of compelling a great body at home to concurrence, made the ministers more and more resolved to go through, and complete the coercive plan they had begun with.

CHAP.

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CHAP. V.

Lord Chatham's conciliatory bill with respect to America. Debates. The bill rejected. Petition from the West-India planters, and the merchants of London, to the House of Commons. Address to the Throne moved for in that House, by the Minister. Great debates; amendment moved for; rejected; original motion for the address carried by a great majority. Motion for recommitting the address, upon receiving the report from the committee. Debates longer than before. The motion rejected. Conference with the Lords. Petitions from the merchants and planters to the Lords. Debate on a point of order, whether the petitions should be received, previous to the making of a motion for filling up the blanks in the address. Motion made. Previous question put. Great debates, both with respect to the previous question, and the subject of the address. Motion for the previous question rejected by a great majority; original motion, by which the Lords concurred with the Commons in the address, agreed to. Protests.

THE noble Earl, who lately made a motion in the House of Lords for the recall of the troops from Boston, not discouraged at the great majority by which his motion was rejected, still persevered in the prosecution of that conciliatory scheme with America which he then in part announced, and to which that motion was only introductory. He accordingly brought into that House the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would answer that salutary purpose, under the title of "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great-Britain over the colonies."

Feb. 1.

He intreated the assistance of the House to digest the crude materials, which, thrown together in the nature of a bill, he now presumed to lay before them; to bring and reduce the whole to that form which was suited to the dignity and importance of the subject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exercise their candor, and deprecated the effects of a party or prejudice; of factious spleen, or a blind predilection. He declared himself to be actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatever; and said, that though the proposed bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess, at the same time, that it was a bill of assertion.

This bill caused a great variety of discussions within and without doors. The ministry found it a proposition of reconciliation by concession, which was cause sufficient (independently of the obnoxious quarter from whence it came) to induce them to reject it; their plan being at that time, tho' a little varied afterwards, to shew a firm resolution not to give way; in any instance, whilst the opposition in America continued. Others said, that the bill contained a multiplicity of matter. Many of its parts were liable to, and seemed to require

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quire much separate discussion: they were so numerous, and so various in their nature, that the aggregate mass appeared too great to be comprised in one draught. As it was in a great measure conditional, its operation depended, not only on the consent, but the acts of others; and a long time might elapse before it could be certainly known, whether it was or was not to operate. He laid down, as a condition not to be controverted, and upon which all the benefits of the act depended, a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and the superintending power of the British parliament. It did not absolutely decide in words upon the right of taxation, but partly as a matter of grace, and partly, to appearance, as a compromise, declared and enacted, that no tallage, tax, or other charge shall be levied in America, except by common consent in their provincial assemblies; a manner of concession, which seems to imply the right. It asserts, as an undoubted prerogative, the royal right to send any part of a legal army to any part of its dominions, at all times, and in all seasons, and condemns a passage in the petition from the continental congress, which militates with that right; but, as a salvo, declares, that no military force, however legally raised and kept, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people; a declaration which, it was said, would afford little relief to a people groaning under the pressure of a military government; as whoever held the sword, would decide upon the question of law.

This bill legalized the holding of a congress in the ensuing month of May, for the double purpose of duly recognizing the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the King, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt. Taking it for granted that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great, and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother country, and their obligations to her; on these conditions, it restrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and without repealing, suspended for a limited time those late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the continental congress. It placed the judges upon the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices, with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises and immunites, granted by their several charters and constitutions.

The noble Lord, at the head of the American department, behaved with great moderation. He said, that the bill took in such a variety of matter, that it was impossible to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; and that as its noble author did not seem to press the House to any immediate decision, but appeared rather desirous that it should be maturely and fully considered, he supposed it would be agreeable to him, and he would have no objection to receive it upon that condition, that it should lie upon the table till the American papers were first taken into consideration.

Whether

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Whether respect for the framer of the bill, or whatever the motives were that induced this concession, they had no effect on the other Lords in administration, who opposed it with so much heat, as to forget that attention which its author, and the importance of the subject, seem to demand. It is unusual in parliament to reject, on the first proposition, any bill for an object allowed to be necessary; and promising, however faintly or rudely, any plan for obtaining the end proposed. But the proceeding on this occasion was different. They condemned, without reserve, the bill in the whole, and in all its parts; and censured the mode of bringing it in, as irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented; that it was impossible to conceive how such a mass of matter, so important in its nature, so extensive in its consequences, and directed to such a variety of objects, each of them worthy of a separate consideration, could be thus brought forward together, and in such a manner; that the matter should have been laid before the House in separate proportions, each of which should be singly discussed, as leading to one great comprehensive system.

It was besides contended, that this bill fell in with the ideas of America in almost every particular, and held out no one security; that should we be base and dastardly enough to betray the rights of the parliament of Great Britain, the Americans would only agree to those parts of it that suited their own views, and totally disclaim those that were held out as matters of submission or concession. But above all other causes it was condemned, as not only giving a sanction to the traiterous proceedings of the congress already held, but by the appointment of another, to legalize such meetings by act of parliament.

It was said, that the suspension of those acts, proposed in the bill, would, to every substantial purpose, amount to an actual repeal; that if the laws for establishing the admiralty courts were repealed, the act of navigation would be of no farthar avail, and become only a dead letter. The rebellious temper and hostile disposition of the Americans was much enlarged upon; that they were not disputing about words, but about realities; that though the duty upon tea was the pretence, the restrictions upon their commerce, and the hope of throwing them off, were the real motives of their disobedience; that they had already attacked and taken one of the King's forts, and seized his stores and ammunition, to employ them against himself; that if any thing can constitute rebellion, this must; that this was no time for concession; and that, to concede now, would be to give the point up for ever. It was therefore moved, and strongly supported by all the Lords on that side, that the bill should be rejected in the first instance.

The noble framer defended himself and his bill from the numerous attacks which were made on both, with great spirit and vigour. The indignity which was offered, seemed to renew all the fire of youth; and he retorted the sarcasms, which were levelled upon him, from different quarters, with a most pointed severity. If he was charged with hurrying this business in an unusual and irregular manner into parliament,

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ment, he placed it to the critical necessity of the times; to the wretched inability and incapacity of the ministers, who, though they declared all America to be in rebellion, had not at this late season, a plan to propose, or a system to pursue, for the adjustment of public affairs; that under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when perhaps a single day might determine the fate of this great empire; and such a shameful negligence, inattention, and want of ability on the other, no alternative remained, but either to abandon the interests of his country, and relinquish his duty, or to propose such measures as seemed the most capable of restoring peace and quiet. He then called upon the servants of the crown, to declare, whether they had any plan, however deficient, to lay before the House? And that if they had, he would set them an example of candour which they by no means deserved, by instantly withdrawing the present bill.

Though it was evident, that no previous concert had been held with the Lords in opposition, in respect to this bill, and that few of them, perhaps, would have approved of it in all its parts if there had; yet they all felt, as in their own case, the insult offered, and the contempt shewn, by throwing it out in this abrupt and disgraceful manner. The most moderate contended, that both the framer and some of the matter of the bill, deserved a better reception; that they were entitled to a fair hearing and a free discussion; that it would convey to foreigners, as well as natives, very unfavourable ideas of the justice of that House, and of its hostile disposition towards the colonies, if the first propositions that were made, for the restoration of peace and harmony, were to be rejected in so harsh and unprecedented a manner, without even affording them a fair hearing. Conciliatory measures should at least be examined, whether it were found eligible to adopt them or not. The bill was in their hands; they might strike out the objectionable parts; and undoubtedly they would find many which it might be highly useful to retain.

This debate of course called up the whole of the American affairs, which accordingly underwent much discussion. On one side, the dangers of a civil war were shewn, as well with respect to its domestic as foreign consequences, and its miseries strongly painted; our present calamitous situation deplored, and the men and the measures execrated that involved us in such a labyrinth of evils. On the other, the dangers were in part lessened, and those that were supposed, respecting foreign states, denied; the consequent evils of rebellion were incident to dominion and government; and, in the present instance, sprung entirely from the original traiterous designs, hostile intentions, and rebellious disposition of the Americans. The nature of the subjects, and the state of temper on both sides, produced much warmth, severe altercation, and even personal animadversion.

After a long and most pointed debate, the bill was rejected by a majority of 61 to 32; not being even allowed to lie upon the table. Upon this question his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland voted in the minority.

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The day after this debate, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the planters of the sugar colonies residing in Great-Britain, and the merchants of London trading to those colonies. In this petition they set forth, how exceedingly they were alarmed at the association and agreement entered into by the continental congress, in consequence of which all trade between North America and the West Indies were to cease at a given day, unless the acts of parliament therein specified were repealed by that time. They stated, that the British property in the West India islands amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling; that a further property of many millions was employed in the commerce created by the said islands; a commerce comprehending Africa, the East Indies and Europe; and that the whole profits and produce of those capitals ultimately centre in Great-Britain, and add to the national wealth, while the navigation necessary to all its branches, establishes a strength which wealth can neither purchase nor balance.

They shewed, that the sugar plantations in the West-Indies are subject to a greater variety of contingencies than many other species of property, from their necessary dependance on external support; that therefore, should any interruption happen in the general system of their commerce, the great national stock, thus vested and employed, must become precarious and unprofitable; and that the profits arising from the present state of those islands, and that are likely to arise from their future improvement, in a great measure depend on a free and reciprocal intercourse between them and the several provinces of North-America, from whence they are furnished with provisions and other supplies, absolutely necessary for their support and the maintenance of their plantations.

They then proceed to shew, that they could not be supplied from any other markets, and in any degree proportionate to their wants, with those articles of indispensable necessity, which they now derive from the middle colonies of North-America; and that if the agreement and association of the congress take full effect, which they firmly believe will happen, unless the former harmony which subsisted between this kingdom and the American colonies, to the infinite advantage of both, be restored, the islands will be reduced to the utmost distress. This petition, like all the former upon the same subject, was referred to the established petition committee.

The time was at length arrived, when the minister thought proper to open his designs with respect to America. On the day, upon which the West-India petition had been presented, he in a long speech recapitulated the information contained in those American papers which had been referred to the committee; he then proceeded to discriminate the temper, disposition, and degrees of resistance, that prevailed in the several colonies; to point out those where moderation really prevailed; with others, where, he said, violence was concealed under the mask of duty and submission; and finished the group by naming those which he considered to be in a state of actual rebellion. He asserted, that several

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arts had been practised on both sides of the Atlantic, to raise this seditious spirit to its present alarming height. After this charge, he proceeded to draw a comparison between the burdens borne by the people in England, and those in America; in which, allowing his premises and calculations, the disparity appeared about fifty to one; that is, a man in England, ceteris paribus, pays fifty times as much money to the public expence as a man in America.

He then proceeded to lay down the legislative supremacy of parliament; to state the measures adopted by America to resist it, and the almost universal confederacy of the colonies, in that resistance. Here, he said, he laid his foot on the great barrier, which separated, and for the present disunited both countries; and on this ground alone, of resistance and denial, he would raise every argument leading to the motion which he intended to make; and this motion, he explained, would be for an address to the king, and for a conference with the lords that it might be the joint address of both Houses. He then gave a sketch of the measures he intended to pursue, which were, to send a greater force to America; to bring in a temporary act to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New England, particularly to their fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty; at the same time declaring, that whenever they should acknowlege the supreme authority of the British legislature, pay obedience to the laws of this realm, and make a due submission to the king, their real grievances, upon their making proper application, should be redressed.

The minister said, that the other colonies were not so culpable, and he hoped might yet be brought to a sense of their duty to the mother country by more lenient measures. The question now, he said, lay within a very narrow compass: it was simply whether we should abandon all claims on the colonies, and at once give up all the advantages arising from our sovereignty, and the commerce dependent on it? or whether we should resort to the measures indispensably necessary in such circumsances, and thereby insure both?

The address was to the following purpose. To return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that having taken them into most serious consideration, they find that a part of his majesty's subjects in the province of the Massachusett's Bay, have proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature, and that a rebellion at this time actually exists within the said province; that they see with the utmost concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into, in several of the other colonies, to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent fellow-subjects resident within the kingdom of Great-Britain and the rest of his majesty's dominions; that this conduct appears the more inexcusable, when they consider with how much temper his majesty and the two Houses of Parliament have acted, in support of the laws and constitution of Great-Britain. They declare, that they

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they can never so far desert the trust reposed in them, as to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over all the dominions, which by law is vested in his majesty and the two Houses of Parliament; and that the conduct of many persons, in several of the colonies, during the late disturbances, is alone sufficient to convince them how necessary this power is, for the protection of the lives and fortunes of all his majesty's subjects; that they ever have been, and always shall be, ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of his majesty's subjects, which shall in a dutiful and constitutional manner be laid before them; and whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to them, they shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence; but that, at the same time, they consider it as their indispensable duty, humbly to beseech his majesty, that he will take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; and they beg leave in the most solemn manner, to assure his majesty, that it is their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty, against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his just rights, and those of the two houses of Parliament.

This address was so loaded with consequences, the extent of which could not be defined, that it not only called up all the powers of opposition, but even some few of the most moderate, and who, in conformity to that habit of temper, had usually gone with administration, as a smooth, safe, and easy way of travelling, seemed now to feel a kind of chill and horror, at entering upon so decisive a measure, and, as they apprehended, so dangerous in the tendency, and inexplicable in the event.

A gentleman of the first eminence in the law, though not now in office, followed the minister through the whole detail of his speech, and answered the different positions. He affirmed, that though the premises might be right, the conclusions were erroneous; that having examined with legal precision the definitions of treason, he insisted that the Americans were not in rebellion. That the appearances of riot, disorder, tumult, and sedition, which had been so faithfully recounted, as they were not of a nature to imply rebellion directly in themselves, so neither did they arise from motives, which render acts of the same or less magnitude truly and properly rebellious. That nothing in the papers have either such acts or motives. Whatever the disorders might be, they were created by the conduct of those, whose views were to establish despotism; and which were manifestly directed to reduce America to the most abject state of servility, as a prelude to the realizing of the same wicked system in the mother country. He concluded by insisting, that an opposition to arbitrary measures was warranted by the constitution, and established by precedent.

The other gentlemen of the minority entered but little into the juridical part of the debate. They contended, that it was a matter of little importance, whether the disturbances which prevailed in all the colonies, might be termed in legal acceptation Rebellions or not.

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The question before the House was, whether it was prudent for Parliament, and at that time, to *declare* them so. For if Parliament should *find* it necessary, in the course of events, to reconcile by any concession, treaty with and concession to Rebels, would be highly dishonourable to Parliament. If treaty should not take place, their arms would never be the more powerful for distinguishing the war by the name of a rebellion. That it would render many in America, if not all, quite desperate; and make them think themselves contending for their lives, properties, and families, as well as for their political liberty. It was vainly expected (they said) that this method of choosing out Massachusett's-Bay as the only seat of rebellion, could ever blind the other colonies to the consequences, or persuade them to abandon, what they had already made a common cause in the most public and solemn manner possible. That it was well known, no act of violence had been committed in Massachusett's-Bay, which was not equalled by something of a similar, and even sometimes exceeded by acts of a more heinous nature, in every other province. That therefore, the only effect of this violent but partial declaration of rebellion, would be to delude ourselves into preparations of hostility, as if against one province only, when in truth, we had twelve to contend with; and what weakened our preparations would give strength to theirs. That the experience of last year in the partial proceedings against Boston, might serve to teach the House the insufficiency and mischief of such low and contemptible politics. That instead of repeating errors in defiance of experience; they ought at last to open their eyes to their real situation. The colonies were now compacted into one body. The proceeding of one was become the proceeding of all. Every attempt to disunite them had been found to strengthen their union; all severities, to augment their rage and indignation; that therefore they ought, instead of menacing other places, railing at Massachusett's-Bay, and declaring a partial rebellion, to provide in good earnest and the utmost expedition, for a general war, or general reconciliation with the colonies.

On the other side, the crown lawyers and ministerial debaters insisted, that such Americans as came within certain descriptions, had been guilty of certain acts, and that still persevered in the support and commission of those acts, were in a state of actual rebellion. That those, who by open force make a general resistance to the execution of the laws, are by all writers considered as guilty of high treason. That many in England had been tried, convicted, and executed for that offence without any complaint of illegality and injustice. Were not the acts of as open violence and as much levelled against the laws in Massachusett's-Bay, as any of those proceedings so severely punished here? Or is high treason and rebellion of a different nature in America and England? As to the declaration of parliament, it does not preclude the future mercy of the crown, if the rebels should appear to be deserving of it. The very address was itself an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obstinate people

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of their danger. That it was not necessary to punish universally; the punishment of a few of the worst sort of traitors, such as Hancock and his crew, might be sufficient to teach the rest their duty in future. That the boasted union of the colonies would dissolve the moment parliament shewed itself resolved on measures of vigour and severity. The whole of their attempt, both in their political confederacy, and their commercial associations, was founded upon principles of self-denial, suffering, and rigour, to which human nature was not equal; and therefore must presently fall to the ground. That therefore both justice and reason required such a declaration of parliament at the present in support of its authority, which might as well be formally abandoned, as not resolutely asserted. Some gentlemen too (one of them of rank in the army) treated all idea of resistance by the Americans with the utmost contempt. They said, that they were neither soldiers, nor ever could be made so; being naturally of a pusillanimous disposition, and utterly incapable of any sort of order or discipline. That by their laziness, uncleanliness, or radical defect of constitution, they were incapable of going through the service of a campaign; but would melt away with sickness before they could face an enemy. So that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete reduction; and to this purpose many ludicrous stories were told greatly to the entertainment of the House.

A gentleman, who had not long before sat at the treasury board, from whence he had been removed for a spirit not sufficiently submissive, and whose abilities were as unquestioned as the spirit for which he suffered, moved to leave out all but the preliminary words of the address, and to substitute after them the following, "But deploring "that the information which they" (the papers laid before the House) "had afforded, served only to "convince the House that the measures taken by his majesty's servants tended rather to widen "than to heal the unhappy differences between Great-Britain "and America," and then prayed an alteration in the same.

Upon a division in a very full House, the amendment was rejected by a large majority, there being 304 against, to 105, who supported the question. The question being then put upon the original motion for the address, was carried by nearly the same majority, the numbers being 296, to 106.

The minority had not yet, however, done with the business. Upon receiving the report from the American committee a few days after, a noble lord, whose family have at all times been remarkable for their attachment to the constitution and liberties of their country, and whose ancestor had a principal share in the revolution, made a motion to recommit the address which had been agreed to in the committee. He supported his motion with many arguments; said, that the reconsideration of a measure which appeared to him and many others to be fraught with the greatest mischiefs, and which, from its nature, was undoubtedly capable of much evil, could not be looked upon as time thrown away, or mispent. He stated

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stated our domestic situation, and that in which we stood both with respect to the colonies and to foreign powers; from all which he inferred the impropriety and danger of a declaration from that House, of the existence of a rebellion in any part of our dominions: he shewed the desperate measures into which it might precipitate the Americans; and the advantage that might be taken of such an occasion by our powerful and watchful neighbours, whose ancient enmity and jealousy were much increased, by the glory we had acquired, and the disgrace and loss they had suffered in the last war. His head and his heart, he said, joined in deprecating the horrors of a civil war; which would be rendered still more dreadful by involving in its certain consequences, a foreign one with the combined forces of great and powerful nations. He particularly called the attention of the House to the unequal balance of our loss and our gain in the event; in which we might find our revenue destroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itself overturned. And what was the prize to be gained, by running all this risque, and encountering so much danger? If we were successful, we might subdue America; by which we gained nothing; America being, to all wise intents and purposes, our own already; and much more profitably so, than it could, be in virtue of any conquest.

This motion introduced the longest and most interesting debate that had taken place in the present parliament. All the questions upon American affairs that had been agitated since the year 1764, and all the arguments they gave rise to, were again, in some degree, controverted or revived; with the addition of those which new matter and a change of circumstance afforded, or the greatest ingenuity could suggest. The matter is of such importance that we shall be excused going over the debates, as they became known to the public; although something like repetition in a business like this is inevitable.

It was acknowledged on all hands, that the subject was one of the most important that had ever been debated in that House; and the present crisis the most perilous and intricate of any in which this nation had been involved since the revolution. It was contended by those who opposed the motion, that either the legislative power of this kingdom has authority over all its dominions, or it has none over any part of them; it cannot be partial, nor can any one branch of that legislature, by any act or charter whatever, exempt any particular set of its subjects from the authority of the whole; and that which was never exercised was just the same as lost. It was allowed, that for the sake of tranquillity, of our trade and manufactures, it were much to be wished, that lenient measures could be successfully pursued; but it was said, that there were none which could be proposed or adopted, that had not already been repeatedly and ineffectually tried; that the Americans were too ungrateful, too refractory, and too incorrigible, to be won by kindness, or retained by benefits; and that the mildness, lenity, and tenderness, which had been constantly practised by government in all its

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proceedings with the colonies, and which they insidiously interpreted as the effects of timidity, became thereby, in a great degree, productive of the present fatal consequences.

It was asserted, that the Americans had long been aiming at independency; and that as soon as they thought themselves able, and a pretence occurred, they insolently and openly avowed their eagerness to put the design in execution; that it was our business and duty as Englishmen, at any price and at any hazard, to prevent its completion; to crush the monster in its birth; to bring them back, before it is too late, to a sense of their duty, their condition, and their obligations to us; to a proper remembrance; that their present potency, the excess of their greatness and riches, is the consequence of our favour; and that their very existence has been purchased by us at an immense expence of blood and treasure. That the danger was immediate and pressing; and that, regardless of consequences, we must encounter it like men; that every moment's delay encreases the evil, and it would be highly criminal to our country, as well as an act of the most consummate baseness and cowardice, by a mean temporizing to shift it off from ourselves, and leave it in all its accumulative bulk and weight, to drop upon the heads of our posterity.

Many of the acts and resolutions of the continental congress, with passages from their petition, and instances from the general proceedings of the Americans, were brought to justify the sentiments, corroborate the assertions, and enforce the arguments that were used upon this occasion. The dangers from foreign powers supporting the Americans was said to be imaginary; besides the most pacific assurances, those, of whom we might be with reason most apprehensive, were too much interested in colony matters, to give any support to a resistance, which might in its example be so ruinous to themselves. It was still contended by several of those who opposed the motion, that an appearance of vigorous measures, with some reinforcement to the troops at Boston, would prove sufficient to quell the disturbances in America, without the drawing of blood, or coming to any of those extremities, which had been so often predicted, and pathetically lamented on the other side. They seemed still to suppose, that the friends of government were much stronger and more numerous, than there is any reason at present to think they really were; and that they were prevented from declaring themselves, partly from the sudden violence of the discontented, and partly from a want of mutual dependance, and knowledge of each others sentiments.

On the other side, the address was stigmatized as cruel, sanguinary and unjust; that supposing some acts to have been committed, which might have borne the construction of rebellion in the strict rigour of the law, it would still have been more humane, more politic, and more becoming the wisdom of the legislature, not to have seen them in that sense; to give passion time to subside, and reason to operate, than by such a rash, hasty, and violent measure, to set, themselves, the example of intemperance, and drive men headlong to defiance and desperation.

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It was denied that the Americans had either sought or wished for independency; though it was too much to be feared, from the present complexion of the times, that through our violence and our madness, we should at length urge them to that extremity. It was asked, from whence we can form any judgment of the thoughts and intentions of men, but from their actions and their words? By the first of these, which are indeed the tests of the human disposition, the Americans have given the strongest and most unequivocal demonstrations of their filial piety towards the mother country; they have fought and bled by our side. In the time of necessity, they did not wait to be chilled by consulting the cold rules of prudence, as the measure of the support and assistance which they were to give us; with liberal hearts, they gave every thing; our journals, in the same instance, bear witness to our own justice, and to their liberality.

Nor are their words less unequivocal than their actions. Even in the midst of the present disturbances; when our ministers have excited innumerable fears and jealousies, and by every provocation screwed their passions up even to madness; yet in this state of distraction, they require no more for the restoration of harmony, than to be placed in the same situation that they were at the close of the last war.

It was said, that waving all questions upon the right of taxation, wise governments had ever paid a respect even to prejudices of a long standing, when they were established among great bodies of the people; that the Americans had been nursed up in a long series of years, in ideas of certain rights, of which, the electing of their own representatives, and the disposal of their money for the public service only through them, were among the principal. That if this was an error, the crown and parliament were equally faulty with the Americans, having in their whole conduct constantly nourished the delusion. That at the time of the repeal of the stamp act two of the first names of this kingdom, for ability, as well as for legal knowledge, besides many others, utterly denied the right of taxation; yet instead of any stigma for the holding of those opinions, which are now to be construed into rebellion, the Americans saw, immediately after, one of those great men not only placed at the head of public affairs, but the framer of a whole administration, and the other appointed to the highest civil office under the crown, and what is emphatically called the keeper of the king's conscience. Was it then to be wondered at, that the Americans, with such authorities on their side, should be tenacious of a right so invaluable in its nature, which has been at all times considered as the distinction between freemen and slaves, which had been confirmed by so long a prescription, and upon which, to this instant, the wisest and honestest men, even in the mother country, are divided, in opinion.

It was farther urged, that if conquest was determined, the force intended, which the minister rated at about ten thousand men, was totally inadequate to the end. But that waving that point, and supposing we should succeed in conquering the Americans, the colonies must of course

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be ruined in the conflict, the vast and profitable trade, which depended upon them lost, and as no future means could be devised for their government, without the continual intervention of a large military force, this nation would ever after be saddled with a very great and certain expence, while the resources that should provide for it were wantonly cut off. But if we imagined that the powers of Europe would sit still during this contest, we must suppose a system of policy now to prevail, or rather an extension of folly, all over Europe, which never before was known in any period of its existence.

It was remarkable in this debate, that a gentleman high in office declared, that his ideas upon the subject differed totally from those which in the present debate seemed to be adopted by the noble Lord at the head of administration; that he could not give his assent to a measure, at the very thoughts of which his soul shuddered; that he disapproved of the whole system with respect to America, and wished it to be reconsidered in every point of view, lest wrong and oppression should render resistance justifiable. He observed, that though some persons less responsible had uniformly persevered in a style of the most inflexible rigour, that noble person at the head of the finances, had frequently changed his language; and seemed to suffer under great occasional depression: that he even declared at times, that he did not mean to tax America; and seeming besides to speak but slightly of the right of taxation, and giving some intimation even of consenting to a repeal of the tea duty, that we were then contending only about words and quiddities, and entering into a ruinous war without an object.

Much ill temper appeared in every part of the House, in the course of both these debates. The ministers were charged with acting uniformly and systematically upon Tory and arbitrary principles, which were subversive of the constitution, destructive of the rights of the people, and had thrown the whole empire into a state of confusion and distraction. That by a pursuance of these disgraceful and ruinous measures, they had tarnished the lustre of the crown, alienated the affections of the people, and sunk the nation, from the highest pinnacle of power and glory, to a degree of contempt in the estimation of the rest of Europe, which, only a few years ago, it would have been deemed impossible for the accumulated misfortunes and disgraces of an age to have accomplished. But that in the true spirit of a Tory administration, they had sacrificed the honour and interest of the nation in all transactions with foreigners, and reserved all the spirit, the pride, the dignity, and the force of government, to be played off against the liberties of the people at home. They were repeatedly told, that a bitter day of retribution would inevitably come, when they must answer to the justice of their country, for the mischiefs they had already done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they were plunging the nation. In a word, it was said, that the short and simple question before the House, was, whether we should lose our colonies, or give up our ministers.

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On the other side, all the evils and disturbances in America, were by charge or implication attributed to the opposition. Much was said about faction at home, a republican spirit and principles, and that the Americans were spirited up to their violence and rebellion, by incendiary writers and speakers in England. In the course of this violence and heat, a gentleman, having spoken something of Catalines at home, who ought to be dragged forth to public disgrace and punishment, was called to from the other side to point them out; and told, that the imputation was undoubtedly right, but he seemed to misplace it; that if he meant by Catalines, those who were involving their country in all the horrors and miseries of a civil war, they could be easily found; but it would be on that side where he did not wish the search to be made.

After a debate which continued till half an hour past two o'clock in the morning, the question being at length put, the motion for the recommitment of the address was rejected by nearly the former majority, the numbers upon the division being 288 against, to 105, who supported the motion.

Feb. 7th. A conference was held the next day with the Lords, at the request of the Commons, to propose their joining in the address. In the mean time, a petition from the merchants of London, concerned in the commerce to North America; and another from the West India merchants and planters, were presented to the Marquis of Rockingham, to be laid before the Lords by that nobleman, previous to their entering upon American affairs. Whether the ease with which petitions had been rendered fruitless in the other House, had encouraged a similar disposition to render them equally ineffectual here, we shall not pretend to say, but however it was, or from whatever cause it proceeded, this period seemed particularly fatal to that mode of application for redress.

The Lords being returned from the conference, and the president having made the report and read the address, the Marquis of Rockingham stood up to introduce and present the petitions; but the noble Earl at the head of the American department, having risen to speak at the same time, a great dispute arose who should be the first heard. In this state of confusion, the Lord-keeper, instead of deciding by his own eye or opinion, put the question, whether the Lord in administration should be then heard? This proceeding called up a noble Duke on the other side, who insisted, that it was a most slavish position, and unworthy their rank and character, that any Lord in that House, should have a preference to any other; and still more so, to render that preference the act of the House, by putting it to the question. The dispute was now brought into the form of a regular debate, in which, on one side, the importance and nature of the subject which the Marquis had to propose, was said, independant of any other causes, to entitle it to a preference; and the necessity and justice of their accepting the merchants petitions, and hearing their allegations, before they entered into any resolutions upon American affairs, were strongly urged. It was alleged, that they not only sat there in their

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legislative, but in their judicial capacity, and were therefore bound by all the ties of justice, as well as of official duty, to obtain every possible light and information upon the subject before them. That the pretence of delay, or loss of time, could not avail in this instance, as there was nothing dependant on the address, which required any sudden resolution. But if there even were, a matter which involved in its consequences, not only the justice of the House, but the interests and safety of the nation, should not be hastily nor unadvisedly decided upon, nor should a mere attention to forms, supposing them to be established or authenticated be deemed a sufficient cause for cutting off the means of information.

On the other side, the method of stating and proposing the question was justified by some precedents, most of which were brought from the House of Commons; and it was contended, that the chairman in either House, had a right, either to decide immediately upon the question, or to state it in such manner, and to propose such party as he pleased; that the proposed mode of proceeding on the petitions, while the other business was before them, was unusual and unparliamentary; and that independent of all other causes, the preference upon this occasion should be given to the noble Lord in administration, as a mark of the respect owing to the other branch of the legislature. The question being at length put, the motion was carried without a division.

Upon this decision, the nobleman in whose favour it was carried, made the usual motion, merely for the sake of securing the occupancy of the ground, viz. That the blank which was left open in the address presented by the Commons, should be filled up by the insertion of those words, "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal." &c. which were to render that instrument the joint act of both Houses.

The Marquis then acquainted the House with the nature and great importance of the petitions which he had to present; that they were immediately relative to the business under consideration; and were well worthy of arresting any determination of theirs, for at least one day, being certain, that within that short period, information of infinite consequence would be laid before them; perhaps sufficient to alter, or at least to soften the rigour of those measures, which they were now madly, hastily, and blindly proceeding to adopt. That to remove every doubt of their being intended, either to gain time, or to cause delay, he was authorized by the West India Merchants to inform them, that if necessitated so to do, they were ready, without counsel or further preparation, instantly to offer evidence to prove, that several of the West-India Islands could not be able to subsist after the operation of the proposed address in America. He then said, that as a question was now before the House, which must be first disposed of, before the matter of the petitions could come regularly under their cognizance, and as he still hoped they would be willing to hear the petitioners, as men suffering under the heaviest misfortunes, none of which could be attributed to their own misconduct, he

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he would be under the necessity, as the only means left, of moving the previous question, which would open a door for taking into consideration the general state of the petitioners grievances.

It was further urged, in supporting the motion for the previous question, that the papers which had been laid before them by the ministers, were so manifestly defective, and avowedly curtailed, that no certain information could be derived from them of the real state of the objection which they were going to decide; that in such a situation, they should accept with pleasure that information, which if it had not been voluntarily offered, it would have been their duty to have sought, at any expence, whether of time or otherwise; that if the papers had been even in their original state, without garbling or mutilation, still, there was no species of information relative to the colonies, to which the merchants were not more competent, and less liable to imposition through ignorance, or to impose upon others through prejudice, than the public officers employed by the crown; of which, if there was any doubt before, the erroneous opinions, false ideas, and misrepresentation of facts, upon which the fatal acts of the last parliament were founded, afforded too melancholy an experience. That the express prayer of the petitioners being, that they might be heard before any resolution was taken respecting America, the refusal of this act of justice, or of even suffering the petitions to be presented, was a proceeding of the most unwarrantable nature, and directly subversive of the most sacred rights of the subject. They summed up their arguments by concluding, that justice in regard to individuals, policy with regard to the public, and decorum with regard to themselves, required that they should admit the petitions; and that a refusal of them was no less, than a denial of justice.

On the other side, some of the Lords spoke tenderly with respect to the merchants; said they deserved every mark of attention and respect which was consistent with the interests of the empire at large; that although their grievances were imaginary, their complaints were deserving of indulgence. It was, however, to be hoped, that when they maturely considered that the steps now taking were to prevent the return of such evils in future, they would not only chearfully acquiesce in the wisdom of parliament in the present instance, but be gratefully thankful hereafter; for if the supremacy of the legislature was once given up, their trade, commerce, and every possible advantage accruing from them, would soon be annihilated. It was therefore to be hoped, that the merchants would, on the present occasion, submit to a temporary inconvenience, or even to a short-lived distress, to insure the most permanent and lasting benefits; and manifest that degree of magnanimity, which a sense of their own interests, founded in submission and acquiescence to the wisdom of parliament, must, upon mature consideration and past experience, most certainly suggest.

Thus far, the debate was confined to the subject of the previous question; but with respect to the original motion, it branched out far

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far more extensively. The questions of treason, rebellion and constructive treasons, were deeply entered into by two great Law Lords, one of whom has long been at the head of one of the first departments in his profession, the chief court of criminal justice; and the other, within a few years, the highest officer under the crown. As these learned Lords differed totally, both in their legal and political opinions and sentiments, a long debate was carried on, with great eagerness, warmth, and ability between them; in which a vast stock of professional, as well as general learning, was displayed on both sides. On the one, the Americans were pronounced to be in absolute rebellion; while a rich and most fertile imagination, had an opportunity of exerting all its ingenuity, in traversing the almost inextricable mazes of constructive treasons; from whence were drawn such stores of inferences, deductions, conclusions, and distinctions, as were not easily developed or separated, when involved in the splendor of a most powerful eloquence. The learned Lord on the other side, with equal abilities, as full a share of legal knowledge, and an eloquence not inferior to any, stuck close to the letter of the law, and as absolutely denied the charge made upon the Americans. He rested the whole ground of argument upon the statute of the 25 Edward III. and would admit of no species of treason but what was therein described, nor of any constructive treason that was not already clearly established by precedents in the courts, founded upon that basis. It is much to be lamented, that with all the boasted excellency of our constitution, a question of so vast a magnitude, as to include in its consequences the lives, fortunes, and honours of all the subjects of this empire, should still remain involved in such obscurity, as not only to admit of a difference of opinion, but that even the great oracles of the law are bewildered in its darkness.

With respect to the immediate question, it was insisted on the one side, that we were reduced to the alternative of adopting the most effectual and coercive measures, or of relinquishing for ever all claim of dominion and sovereignty over the colonies; that no medium could possibly be devised, which would exclude the inevitable consequence of either system absolutely prevailing; for that, on the one hand, the supremacy of the British legislature must be complete, entire, and unconditional; or, on the other, the colonies must be free and independent: that all enquiry about the right or expediency of taxation was now fruitless; taxation was no longer the question; it was only the pretence of American disobedience and resistance; all their acts strike at the superintending power of the legislature; that was their real grievance: and a repeal of any one of those laws which they complained of, would be a renunciation of all sovereignty for ever. That it was an absurdity of the most monstrous kind, to suppose that they had a right distinct from the legislature in any one particular, and not in all; if they had such a right, the defence of it would justify resistance; and to contend that subjects had a right to resist the government, was a doctrine which could not be maintained on any principles of civil government, reason, experience, or common sense.

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As to the petitioners, it was not doubted but they were aggrieved; it might be granted, that all their allegations were well founded, and that they laboured under great and singular distresses; it was as little to be doubted, that the landed gentlemen, the merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and every order of men in the nation, would all heavily feel, in their several situations, the threatened calamities. But these were circumstances that did not interfere with the motion; they are a part of the evils incident to mankind, which may be deplored but cannot be avoided. The events of war are ever uncertain; its calamities great, and undefined; we may be defeated; we may lose that sovereignty we are struggling to retain; but these are the inevitable conditions of warfare: nor are they more grievous in the present instance than in others. The question now under consideration is, whether, allowing all the inconveniencies, difficulties, and dangers that are supposed, and taking into full contemplation every possible contingency that human foresight and prudence could suggest, we should relinquish our rights, or resolve, at all events, resolutely to persist in their exertion?

On the other side, the madness of entering into a civil war, merely to cover and support a series of ministerial violence, misconduct, and misrule, with the ruin and destruction that must inevitably attend such unnatural cruelty and injustice, were painted in the strongest colours. The learned Lord, who had asserted the Americans to be in rebellion, was severely reprehended; it was said, that with all his legal knowledge and ability, he had not been able, in any degree, to support the charge, and that such cruel and inflammatory representations, at this alarming crisis, were very unbecoming the gravity and dignity of his situation, and the several high relations he stood in to the state. It was shewn, that as commerce was the source of our wealth and our power, and its destruction the inevitable consequence of persevering in the present insane and pernicious measures; so we were running headlong into a civil war, and at the same time cutting off, irretrievably, the means which enabled us to support any; the consequence of which, in the natural course of things, must be our falling an open and defenceless prey to the first bold invader. It was also asserted, that every engine had been employed, and every art too successfully essayed, to render the landed interest a party in this ruinous work, and to lead it into the fatal error of considering itself as distinct from the commercial; as if the latter could sustain any injury which the former must not equally feel. But, it was asked, what rose the value of the lands, but commerce? What supported commerce but the lands?—their interests being as inseparable as the benefits they derived from each other were mutual and reciprocal.

It was asserted, that the violent matter of the dangerous address before them, was highly aggravated by the unusual and violent manner in which it was attempted to be precipitated through the House; that they were not to be allowed the interposition of a moment's time for recollection or deliberation, before they were to be driven headlong into a declaration of civil war.

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war. A conference was held with the Commons; an address, which took in subjects of such a nature and magnitude as to strike the mind with dread and horror, presented; all extraneous information, although offered, positively refused; all petitions, arbitrarily rejected; and the whole of this most awful business, received, debated, and intended to be concluded in a single day; that no legal grounds were laid, either in argument or in fact, to shew that a rebellion, properly so called, existed in the province of Massachusett's Bay, when the papers of the latest date, and from whence alone they derived their information, were written; that the overt acts, to which the species of treason affirmed in the address ought to be applied, were not established, nor any offenders marked out; but a general mass of the acts of turbulence, said to be done at various times and places, and of various natures, were all thrown together to make out one general constructive treason; nor was there any sort of proof of the continuance of any unlawful force, from whence it could be inferred that a rebellion was at the presenr time existing.

It was further contended, that the cases of constructive treason had been already so far extended by the judges, and the distinctions upon them were so nice and subtle, that no wise man would wish to increase their number, or to add to their authority; much less ought so high an authority as the two Houses of Parliament, without the clearest evidence of uncontroverted overt-acts, to denounce so cruel a judgment, as a declaration of rebellion, against a great body of the people; a declaration, in every view of it, big with the most horrible and direful consequences; and which, if confirmed by that House, will from that instant authorise every species of rapine, plunder, massacre, and persecution.

This extraordinary debate was attended with some singular circumstances. A great Law Lord, who had been so severe in his charge against the Americans, condemned also, in the most explicit and unreserved terms, (to the great surprize of most of his auditors) the measure of laying on the duties in the year 1767, which he declared to be the most absurd and pernicious that could be devised, and the cause of all our present and impending evils. If this declaration was unexpected, the acknowledgment that followed was still more so. Three great Lords, who were at that time cabinet counsellors, and held the first offices in the state, declared separately in their places, that they had no share in that measure, nor had ever given it any approbation; and two of them condemned it in express terms, while the third, who was still in high office, did not by any means pretend to support it. It seems they were in some way over-ruled. But the manner in which a measure of ministry was carried against the opinion of ministers was not explained.

It cannot be wondered, that such a disclosure relative to a matter, which had already convulsed the whole empire, and was still more to be dreaded in its future consequences, should excite the most general amazement, mixed with a great share of indignation and regret in particulars. The fatal and over-ruling secret influence, which, as

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as they said, had so long guided and marred all the public affairs of the nation, was accordingly deplored and animadverted upon in different parts of the House.

In the course of the heat, which sprung from much collateral matter that was thrown in upon this occasion, a series of arraignment, justification, assertion, denial, animadversion, and recrimination took place, in which many things passed, that were either new in that House, or extraordinary in their nature. The learned Lord, who had condemned the measure of laying on the American duties in the year 1767, was himself, partly by implication, and in part directly, charged with having a principal share in those secret counsels, which had been stigmatized as the most obnoxious and ruinous to the nation; notwithstanding his repeated declaration, that he had not acted as an efficient cabinet counsellor for several years. These charges were urged and opposed with a degree of asperity, and a harshness of personal altercation, not often heard in that House; with violent threats on the one side, and general defiance on the other.

At length, the previous question being put, according to the noble Marquis's motion, at 40 minutes past one o'clock in the morning, was lost by a prodigious majority, the numbers, including the proxies, being 104, to 29, only, who supported the previous question. The main question being then put, whether to agree with the Commons in the address, by inserting the words necessary to fill up the blank, it was carried in the affirmative, by something near the same majority.

Both the previous question, and the main question, were, however, each of them productive of a separate protest, which were signed by eighteen Lords, who conclude their reasons of dissent in the following words: "Because the means of enforcing the authority of the British legislature, is confided to persons, of whose capacity for that purpose, from abundant experience, we have reason to doubt; and who have hitherto used no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing those who oppose that authority: this appears in the constant failure of all their projects, the insufficiency of all their information, and the disappointment of all the hopes, which they have for several years held out to the public. Parliament has never refused any of their proposals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worse, until we have been brought, step by step, to that state of confusion, and even civil violence, which was the natural result of these desperate measures.

We therefore protest against an address, amounting to a *declaration of war*, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (although it be the undoubted right of the subject to present the same); which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and which promises support to those ministers who have inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great-Britain."

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

Message from the throne for an augmentation of the forces. Bill for restraining the commerce of the New England colonies, and to prohibit their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, &c. brought into the House of Commons. Great opposition to the bill. Petition and evidence against it. Petition and evidence from the town of Pool in support of the bill. Petition from the Quakers. Long debates. Motion for an amendment over-ruled. The bill carried through by great majorities. Meets with equal opposition in the House of Lords. Petition and evidence as before. Great debates. Question for committing the bill, upon the second reading, carried by a great majority. Motion on the third reading for an amendment, to include several other colonies in the restrictions of the bill. The question carried upon a division. The bill passed, and returned with the amendment to the Commons. Protest. Conference; the Commons give reasons for refusing to concur in the amendment; the Lords agree to the rejection. The bill receives the royal assent.

THE answer from the throne to the address, besides the usual thanks, contained an assurance of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; together with a declaration, that, whenever any of the colonies should make a proper and dutiful application, his Majesty would be ready to concur in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and concluded with an earnest wish, that this disposition might have an happy effect on their temper and conduct.

The answer was accompanied with a message from the Throne to the Commons, in which they were informed, that as it was determined, in consequence of the address, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown, and the two Houses of Parliament, some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary for that purpose. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply.

While measures were thus taking to apply a military force to the cure of the disorders in America, other means were thought necessary to come in aid of this expedient. The military force might indeed coerce and punish the disobedient, and effectually support the magistrate in case of insurrection; but how to get the body of magistracy to act, or any sufficient number upon ordinary occasions to engage heartily in their cause, did not appear. The change in the charter of Massachusett's Bay had not produced the desired effect. Even if it should, the inferior magistrates must evidently be taken in the country; sheriffs, constables, select men, grand and petty juries, must be aiding to the higher magistrates, or nothing could be done; and the idea of having troops in every parish would be ridiculous. The coercive plan being therefore still relied

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relied on, it was proposed to chuse a punishment so universal, as by the inconveniencies which every man felt, would interest every man in procuring obedience and submission to the late acts of parliament. For this reason the minister moved for leave to bring in Feb. 10. a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusett's Bay, and New Hampshire; the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantation, in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time.

He supported the proposed bill (of which he had given some previous intimation) on the following grounds: that as the Americans had refused to trade with this kingdom, it was but just that we should not suffer them to trade with any other nation; that the restraints of the act of navigation, were their charter; and that the several relaxations of that law, were so many acts of grace and favour; all which, when they ceased to be merited by the colonies, it was reasonable and necessary should be recalled by the legislature; that the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as all the others in North-America, were the undoubted right of Great-Britain, and she might accordingly dispose of them as she pleased; that as both Houses had declared a rebellion in the province of Massachusett's Bay, it was therefore just to deprive that province of the benefits which it derived from those fisheries.

With respect to the other colonies of New-England included in the bill, he observed, that though there was still a governor and government in the province of New Hampshire, yet government was so weak there, that a quantity of powder had been taken out of one of the King's forts by an armed mob; besides, that from the vicinity of that province to Massachusett's Bay, if it were not included, the purpose of the act would be defeated. Nor was the ill temper of the people of Connecticut found less deserving of their being included in the general punishment, who, upon a report that the soldiery had killed some people in Boston, marched a large body of men into the province of Massachusett's; and though that body returned, on finding the falsity of the report, the temper and disposition they shewed, as well as the general state and conduct of the colony, did not by any means entitle them to favour. The argument of vicinity was also as applicable to the last province as to that of New Hampshire.

The minister having stated the reasons on which he acted, declared, that he would not be averse to such alleviations of the act, as would not prove destructive of its great object; and therefore he would only propose, if as temporary, to continue either to the end of the year, or of the next session of parliament;—and he would also propose, that particular persons might be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates from the Governor of the province, in which they resided, of their good behaviour, or upon their subscribing to a test, acknowledging

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knowledging the rights of parliament.

This bill, besides the matter that was peculiar to its own nature, brought up in its course the whole series of American controversy. With regard to this particular measure, the principle of involving the innocent in the punishment of the guilty, was alternately combated, with serious argument, pathetic remonstrance, and pointed ridicule. What legislature had ever established a precedent of equal cruelty and injustice, with the condemning of half a million of people to perish with famine, for the supposed crimes of a few unknown persons? Such precedents were only to be sought for in the history of the most savage and barbarous tyrants; but not among the judicial acts of legislators. Why were three other provinces to be punished for a rebellion supposed only in one? or if they were also in rebellion, why were they not declared so? One province was to be deprived of its subsistence, because a rebellion, no body knew where, nor by whom, was, however, said to be lurking in some part of it. A second province was to be punished, because it happened to be next door to rebellion; a third, because it would be doing nothing to let that escape; and a fourth must be starved, because the ministers could not otherwise square their plan. Very bad reasons they said, had been given for punishing the other New-England colonies; but no reason at all had been assigned for including *Rhode Island* in the common restriction: unless perhaps the mere neighbourhood might be the cause, which was left to be guessed, ministry being silent as to that province. It was said, that in whatever other matters of policy our ministers might be found deficient, they had the most infallible receipt for making rebellions, and the happiest talent in hitting upon measures for the ruin of trade and commerce, and the dismemberment of a great empire, of any set of men that ever conducted the public affairs of any country.

It was said, that the cruelty of the bill exceeded the examples of hostile rigour with avowed enemies; that in all the violence of our most dangerous wars, it was an established rule in the marine service, to spare the coast-fishing craft of our declared enemies; always considering, that we waged war with nations, and not with private men; and that it would be unworthy the character of a great and brave people, and even savage and barbarous, to deprive poor wretches of their means of hard-earned livelihood, and the miserable village inhabitants of the sea-coasts, of their daily food. It was known that the people of New-England subsist much on fish; and that the sale of that commodity supplies them with the means of purchasing flour and several other articles necessary to life; three of the provinces in question not raising wheat for the fourth part of their demand: so that we now inhumanly intend to starve whole provinces, and these our own people, excepting only such, as a Governor may think proper to favour; a paltry pretence of lenity, which will serve only to cover the most scandalous partiality, and give rise to unjust preference, monopoly, and to all kinds of the most shameful and pernicious jobbs. They desired the proposer of the bill to recollect

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recollect that he had frequently spoken of the multitude of friends he had in all those provinces; and now, by his own measure, he not *only* confounded the innocent with the guilty, but friends with enemies, and involved his own partizans in one common ruin with the rest.

But this was not only to operate upon supposed rebels, or upon those who had the misfortune of being their neighbours, or who it was imagined either did or might conceal rebellion; but it was also to punish the people of Great-Britain, who were charged with no delinquency, not even of concealment or neighbourhood, and who must lose a very great share of their property which was lying in the proscribed provinces, in consequence of this bill. For, as New-England was not productive of staple-commodities, sufficient to pay the great balance which it was always under a necessity of owing in this country, it had no other means of discharging that debt than through the fishery, and the circuitous trade dependent on it: so that to cut off those means was, in fact, to beggar our merchants and manufacturers; and the British legislature was, in its wisdom, going to pass a disabling bill, to prevent the payment of debts to its British subjects.

It was further contended, that the absurdity of the bill was even equal to its cruelty and injustice. That its object was to take away a trade from our colonies, which all who understood its nature knew we could not transfer to ourselves. That God and nature had given the fisheries to them, and not to us; and set limits to our avarice and cruelty, which we could not pass; that when they were once destroyed, we could neither benefit by them ourselves, nor restore them to those whom we had thus violently and unjustly deprived of the means of subsistence; that distance and local circumstances shut us out in the first instance; and with respect to the other, that the little capital, vessels, and implements of fishermen, the majority of whom must ever be necessarily poor, could only be kept up by the constant returns of profit, and when the returns failed, the capital and implements would be lost for ever. That the people must either perish, or apply themselves to other occupations, from which they could not be recalled at will. That we were thus finding out the means for Providence of punishing our own cruelty and injustice; for that those fisheries, which were a more inexhaustible, and infinitely more valuable source of wealth and power than all the mines in the new world, would not only be lost to ourselves, but would be thrown into the scale against us, by falling, in a very great degree, into the hands of our natural rivals and enemies. They observed also, that the fisherman, having no occupation, must of course become a soldier. Thus we provoke a rebellion by the injustice of one set of acts, and then recruit the rebellious army by another.

In support of the bill, besides the arguments that were originally urged, the charges of injustice and cruelty were denied; and it was said, that whatever distress the bill might bring upon the colonies, they could not complain of the legislature, as they not only deserved it by their disobedience, but had themselves set the example. That they had entered into the most unlawful and daring combinations, as far as in them lay, to ruin our merchants,

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merchants, impoverish our manufacturers, and to starve our West-India islands. That nothing could be more equitable than to prohibit the trade of those who had prohibited ours. That if any foreign power had offered us only a small part of the insult and injury that we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and woe to the ministers who were slack in obtaining it. Were we then to act the part of bullies with all the rest of mankind, only to be kicked at home by our own people?

The charge of cruelty was said to be equally ill founded. This was a bill of humanity and mercy, as well as of coercion; it being the only moderate means of bringing the disobedient provinces to a sense of their duty, without involving the empire in the horrors of a civil war. They had daringly incurred all the penalties of contumacy and rebellion, and were liable to the severest military execution, without any imputation of cruelty. Instead of these dreadful punishments which they so justly merited, they were to be brought to their senses without any severity, only by a restriction on their trade, which would last no longer than their contumacy. Thus government would be supported, without the miseries of war, or the effusion of blood.

As to the charge of involving the innocent with the guilty, friends with foes, the propriety or impropriety, the justice or injustice of such an act, depended on the necessity of the measure. That whenever this was the case, the necessity might be lamented, but could not be helped. That a town of ours, held by rebels or enemies, might contain the best of our friends, and those friends too might be the more numerous part of the inhabitants; but still the miseries of a siege, and possibly of a famine, must be submitted to, or the town never could be recovered.

Never, said they, was a measure more truly necessary than the present. The colonies had too long imposed upon and deluded us, by the bugbear of withdrawing their trade, hoping, through the terror of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to such a ripeness, as to be able to throw off the mask, and openly to avow their rebellious purposes. That this was the third time, within a few years, in which they had thrown the whole commerce of this country into a state of the greatest confusion. That both colonies and commerce were better lost than preserved upon such terms; that life itself could not be worth the keeping in a constant state of uncertainty and fear. Things were now come to a crisis, and the conflict must be borne. We must either relinquish our connections with America, or fix them upon such a sure and certain basis, as would effectually prevent the return of those evils.

The minority replied, that the necessity was pretended, not real. That this measure, so far from necessary, was by no means expedient. That the parallel with foreign nations did not hold. That nothing bound a foreign nation but fear. But is that the bond of internal government, and the foundation of security at home? To revenge injuries in your own domestic disputes is not the way to prevent their return. The way to lasting peace

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peace is to cut off the cause of those disputes, otherwise they will return the moment the terror is over; or perhaps rigour may rather provoke than terrify; and then you fall from bad to worse. They asked, whether the acts of rigour of the last session had produced any of the effects which were expected from them?

The question being called for late at night, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried upon a division by a majority of more than three to one, the numbers being 261 to 85 only.

In the further progress of the bill, a petition from the merchants and traders of London, who were interested in the American commerce, was presented against it, upon some of the commercial principles mentioned in the foregoing debate; and particularly on the danger, even to our own fisheries, from such prohibition.

A motion being made, that the petitioners should be heard by themselves or their counsel against the bill, and in support of their allegations, it was agreed to; in consequence of which a long train of witnesses, consisting of merchants and captains of ships, who resided in England or North-America, and who had been long versed in the trade and fisheries of both, were examined at the bar of the House, the evidence being conducted by Mr. David Barclay, who was appointed agent to manage this business by the committee of American merchants.

In the course of this evidence, (among a vast quantity of other interesting matter) it appeared, that so long ago as the year 1764, the four provinces of New-England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than 45,880 tons of shipping, and 6002 men; and that the produce of their fisheries in the foreign markets for that year, amounted in sterling money to the sum of 322,220l. 16s.—It also appeared, that the fisheries had increased very much since that time; that the New-England fish was much better than that taken by ships fitted out from Great-Britain; that all the materials used in the fisheries, except salt, and the timber of which the vessels are built, were taken from this country; and that the nett proceeds of the fish were remitted here.

It was also given in evidence, that neither the whale nor the cod fishery could be carried on, to any degree of equal extent and advantage, either from Newfoundland or Great-Britain, as from North-America; that there were several local circumstances, and some natural advantages in favour of the latter, which could neither be counteracted or supplied; that with respect to transferring the fisheries to Nova-Scotia or Quebec, were government even to furnish them with a capital, they had neither vessels nor men; nor could they procure them from any other place than New-England; that in any case, the stopping of one fishery, and the creation of another, must take up much time, and that in the interval the trade would be inevitably lost; and that the people belonging to the American fisheries had such an abhorrence of the military government established at Halifax, and so invincible an aversion to the loose habits and manners of the people, that nothing could induce them to remove thither, even supposing them reduced to

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the necessity of emigration. It also appeared, that there was nearly a million of money owing from New-England to the city of London only.

They also stated to the House, that the calamities consequent of the bill must fall, in a marked and particular degree, upon people who, from the nature of their occupations, must be innocent; for as the people belonging to the fisheries pass the greater part of the year at sea, they could have no share in the disturbances or crimes which were imputed to others. The case of the inhabitants of Nantucket was particularly hard. This extraordinary people, amounting to between five and six thousand in number, nine tenths of whom are Quakers, inhabit a barren island, fifteen miles long by three broad, the products of which were scarcely capable of maintaining twenty families. From the only harbour which this steril island contains, without natural products of any sort, the inhabitants, by an astonishing industry, keep 140 vessels in constant employment. Of these, eight are employed in the importation of provisions for the island, and the rest in the whale fishery; which, with an invincible perseverance and courage, they have extended from the frozen regions of the Pole to the coasts of Africa, to the Brazils, and even as far south as the Falkland Islands; some of those fishing voyages continuing for twelve months.

A petition, from the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire, was presented, being in avowed opposition to that from London, and in support of the principles of the fishery bill. This petition (which has since been disclaimed and condemned, by another from the town, corporation, and principal inhabitants) set forth, that the restraints upon the colonies would not by any means be injurious to commerce; that the foreign markets might be amply supplied, by extending the Newfoundland fishery from England; that the said fishery already exceeded half a million annually, all which centers in this kingdom, whereas the profits of the colony fisheries go elsewhere; that the fishery from the mother country is a constant nursery for seamen for the navy; but that the American seamen are not compellable to serve their country in times of war. They concluded by soliciting, no less for their own immediate advantage than for the universal benefit of their country, such encouragement to the British fishery to Newfoundland, as parliament should think proper.

A merchant of Poole, who had long traded to Newfoundland, was examined in support of the bill. He endeavoured to shew, that if the New-England fishery was stopped, the foreign markets might notwithstanding be sufficiently supplied, and in support of that position asserted, that the fishery might be extended to any degree from Great-Britain, as we had men, money, and ships sufficient for the purpose. He, however, cautiously evaded answering any questions that might lead to conclusions different from those which he wished to establish. Being asked, whether the ships fitted out for the Newfoundland fishery from Great-Britain, were not fitted out at one third more expence than those from North-America?

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America? he answered, that he was no judge of that matter; and the question being put, How many men were employed to an hundred ton of shipping, on an average? he had not considered that subject. This evidence did not appear sufficiently satisfactory to overthrow the whole weight of the former testimony.

In other matters, this witness was sufficiently informed. It appeared that about 400 ships, of about 36,000 tons burthen, 2000 fishing shallops, of 20,000 tons burthen, and 20,000 men, were employed in the British Newfoundland fishery. That above 600,000 quintals of fish were taken annually, which upon an average of seven years, were worth 14s. per quintal, and with the other amounts, consisting of salmon, cod oil, seal oil, and furs, exceeded half a million annually. And that of the 20,000 men, from Great-Britain and Ireland, employed in that fishery, 8000, necessarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter.

A petition was delivered from the Quakers, in behalf of their brethren and others, the inhabitants of Nantucket, in which they stated their innocence, their industry, the utility of their labours both to themselves and the community, the great hazards that attended their occupations, and the uncertainty of their gains; and shewed that if the bill passed into a law, they must in a little time be exposed to all the dreadful miseries of famine. The singular state and circumstances of these people, occasioned some attention to be paid to them. A gentleman on the side of administration said, that on a principle of humanity he would move, that a clause should be added to the bill, to prevent its operation from extending to any whale ships, which sailed before the first of March, and were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket.

On this petition, and indeed in every stage of the bill, the debate rekindled; and at each revival burned more intensely than before. It was attacked upon every ground of policy and government; and with the greatest strength of language and height of colouring. The minority made amends for the smallness of their numbers by their zeal and activity. They contended, that though the avowed object of this bill was the support of the legislative authority of Great-Britain, over America, its real tendency was finally to root up and destroy whatever still remained of it; that it seemed calculated to convince the colonies, that there was no one branch of supreme authority, which parliament might not abuse in such a manner, as to render it reasonable to deny, and necessary to resist the whole. That when at first it was thought wisdom to overthrow established privileges, and to combat the prejudices of whole nations, (which however founded, were rendered respectable from their antiquity and extent) by starting up the new claim of taxation, the Americans went no further than to deny our right of internal taxation; having gained the point of urging them to question one right, we soon convinced them, both by argument and practice, that an external tax might be made to answer all the purposes, and to produce all the mischiefs of internal taxation. They then denied our right of taxing for

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supply. Parliament then proceeded violently to deprive them of their charters, and to change the course of justice and of trials. Then they were pushed to deny the power of internal legislation. But still in the midst of all their violence and all their provocation to it, they never hitherto had formally rejected the power of parliament to bind their trade. But we are now to convince them, that if but a single branch of legislative power is left to this country, we can distort that branch in such a manner, that it shall include all the purposes of an unlimited tyranny.

It was said to be evident, that this bill was intended merely to exasperate the colonies into open and direct rebellion. For though the ministers would be readily acquitted, from having the smallest disposition to military achievement or glory; yet, as by the absurdity of their conduct, and the oppressiveness of their designs, they had thrown the colonies into a state of disobedience, disorder, and confusion, which it would require the greatest abilities to manage or restore to order, and yet did not come within any legal description of treason, they found themselves bewildered, and utterly incapable of conducting government in so nice and critical a situation. But if they could bring things to the length of rebellion, the course of proceeding, however ruinous and desperate, would be simple and obvious; and it might be hoped, that past error would be forgot, and present inability pass unobserved, in the tumult. Upon this principle, and no other, it was said, the bill could answer its purpose; for by cutting off from the Americans all means of acquiring a livelihood, or receiving provisions, no alternative was left but starving or rebellion.

They said that the pretence of relaxing the vigour of this act by powers given to certain governors and the majority of certain councils, was not a corrective but an aggravation of its ill principle. What was it but leaving the subsistance of whole provinces to the arbitrary discretion of those men? That arbitrary power, of less extent, committed to good and tried men would be too great a trust; but the extravagant power of this bill, was to be lodged in the hands of two governors whom the House did not know, (as it was impossible for them to know who might be governors, when the act took place) and to the majority of two councils, every one of whom were equally unknown to them. But if it should even happen, that one or both of these governors and their council should be disposed to mercy, and that the people should submit to the hardest impositions which the very ministers could wish to lay upon them, still the conditions of redemption were clogged with such difficulties, as scarcely left a possibility of its being obtained, until a new law was passed for the repeal of the present. To complete (as they said) the climax of absurdity, deception, and cruelty, in this pretence to clemency and justice, the two whole provinces of Connecticut and Rhode Island, were cut off from even those means of redemption, futile as they were; for by this act their governors had no power of relieving them. They must go to the governor and council of another, and it might be rival and

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and adverse province, for their deliverance from this restraint. For this extraordinary provision no reason could be known; but that by the constitution of those provinces, the governors were chosen by the people, instead of being appointed by the crown. Thus the crime for which 200,000 people were to be famished, consisted in the form of government which they received from this country. And it was insisted, that the inevitable operation of this bill must be, to fix so indelible an hatred of this country and its legislature in the minds of the Americans, as would alienate them from us for ever, and render all future plans of reconciliation hopeless.

It was said, that the present parliamentary scheme of preserving its authority by destroying its dominions, was new, and unheard of in the history of civilized nations. That in all other cases of rebellion, the established practice was, to punish the rebels, but to spare the country. In foreign wars the country of an enemy was frequently weakened and wasted, because by so doing the strength of an adverse power was impaired; but the sovereign ought never to forget, that the strength of his country, though a rebellion may for a time exist in it, is still his own strength. Here we have inverted the order of things, and begin by destroying the country and rooting up its commerce in such a manner, as to render it useless to its future possessors. That evil principles were prolific; the Boston Port-Bill begot this New-England Bill; this will beget a Virginia Bill; and that again will become the progenitor of others; until, one by one, parliament has ruined all its colonies, and rooted up all its commerce; until the statute book becomes nothing but a black and bloody roll of proscriptions; a frightful code of rigour and tyranny; a monstrous digest of acts of penalty, incapacity, and general attainder; and that wherever it is opened, it will present a title of destroying some trade, or ruining some province.

On the other side, the contumacy, rebellious acts, and treasonable designs of the Americans, were brought to answer all objections. They first provoked penalties by their disobedience, and then denied the right of the power which had been put under a necessity of inflicting those penalties. Some gentlemen on that side, acknowleged the harshness of the measure, and said that they adopted it with the greatest reluctance; but they lamented, that the necessity of the times, and the conduct of the Americans, had rendered harsh measures indispensably necessary. A much greater number contended that the bill was in every respect proper and just, and considering the offences of those who were its objects, in a high degree merciful. They contended, that though the New-England provinces did not produce wheat sufficient for their consumption, they had great plenty of Indian corn, and did not want other resources to prevent a real famine; and that though their fisheries were shut up by sea, they did not want fish in their rivers. A few went so far as to regret, that the bill did not convey punishments adequate to the crimes of the Americans; and dreaded that the famine, which had been so strongly

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prognosticated, and so pathetically lamented, would not take place. They said, that the bill was coercive, and that the coercion which put the speediest end to the dispute, was the most useful, and in the end the most merciful; that the object of consideration was not whether the Americans were to be starved or not; but which were the most eligible means of compelling them to submit, and to return to their duty. It was said, that they had no alternative but to starve or to rebel; but they had a much easier and better choice, which was to submit. If they were reduced to hard fare by their obstinacy, it would still be better than they deserved; and if they even perished by famine, it would not be a greater punishment than they merited. In its nature it resembled the connected guilt and punishment of self-murder.

Upon the second reading of the bill, it was carried through by the vast majority of 215 to 61. On the 8th of March it was read the third time, when a motion was made for the insertion of a clause, that nothing in the act should extend to prohibit the importation into any of the said provinces, of fuel, corn, meal, flour, or other victual, brought coastwise from any part of America.

In support of this motion, all the pleas that had been before used on the side of humanity were again brought up, with the addition of such fresh argument, as ingenuity, or the recollection of new matter, could supply. It was particularly urged, that this clause was taken from the Boston Port-Bill of the last year; a bill, which its strongest advocates did not pretend to be distinguished by its lenity or humanity; could there then be a reason for throwing away this year, the small stock of humanity we possessed in the foregoing; or for leaving a proof upon record, that the present parliament exceeded the last in cruelty? It was observed, that administration constantly boasted of the great number of friends which government had in those very provinces; will not their being involved in one common ruin and misery with the rest, oblige them to plunge desperately into one common course of defence? when they find that these are the mercies you extend to your friends, will they not of course become your enemies? Besides, it was said that the fate of General Gage, and the handful of brave men which he commanded, might probably hang upon this rash and cruel act; when the Americans see that the bloody flag is hoisted out, and all possibility of retreat, and means of accommodation cut off; when they see that you are finally determined, not only upon their ruin but extermination, is it to be supposed that they will not be prompted to the most violent acts; and that they will not exert their present superiority of power, to stave off, if not to prevent the impending destruction.

On the other side it was insisted, that coercion having become absolutely necessary, it was not sufficient we should restrain the trade of the New-England colonies, while they refused to trade with us; they must also feel the weight of our power, and the effects of our resentment, until they became experimentally sensible of the ill consequences that attended their denial of the authority of parliament; and were brought to a thorough

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thorough knowledge of their own littleness and insignificance when under our displeasure, or that they dared to enter into any competition with us of power, and that all their former greatness and happiness proceeded from our paternal tenderness and care. This was the only sure and conclusive method, of curing the present, and of preventing future evils of the same nature. And are we to fear, that our friends will be alienated by the punishment of our and their enemies. Is it not more natural, that they should take up arms against those who have been the means of bringing such calamities on them, than against their friends and protectors; who besides will shew such a respectable force as to give them full encouragement to appear against their rebellious neighbours; and thus deliver not only the innocent, but consequentially even the guilty themselves.

Some pains were also taken in this debate to remove or lessen the imputations of cruelty and inhumanity which had been so repeatedly thrown upon this bill and its promoters. For this purpose, a gentleman who had held considerable offices for several years in North-America, declared that the New-England provinces were in fact provision colonies; that they were great grazing settlements; and though they did not apply themselves so much to tillage as others, they, however, besides Indian corn, produced rye and barley in plenty; that though they imported wheat and flour, the first was to be considered as an article of luxury, which they might well do without, and the second was for the purpose of fitting out their ships, of which, as that business would now be at an end, they could have no farther occasion; so that the apprehensions of famine, he said, were groundless. A considerable law officer of the other part of the united kingdom, who had used some very harsh expressions on the subject of famine, which had brought on very severe animadversions from one side, and did not even escape censure on the other, took an opportunity upon this occasion to endeavour to soften them, by explanation.

The question being at length put, upon the motion for the additional clause, it was rejected by about the usual majority, the numbers being 188 to 58 only. The bill was then carried.

Nor did the Fishery Bill meet with less opposition in the House of Lords than in that of the Commons. A petition from the London merchants, similar to that which had been laid before the other House, was presented by the noble Marquis, who had unsuccessfully laboured for the reception of the former petitions, previous to the discussion of the American address. Two of the witnesses were also examined, who had already appeared before the House of Commons, in behalf of the merchants. In their present evidence they took in some new ground, which tended to shew the vast importance and extent of the American commerce.

On the other side, the former witness from Poole, with another from the same place, who had been a captain of a ship, were examined; and the testimony of two officers of rank in the sea-service, one of whom held a considerable office

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office in the naval department, and both had served upon the Newfoundland station, was also received. All this evidence was brought to shew, that the British Newfoundland fishery might be extended to such a degree as to supply all the European markets; that if an absolute prohibition took place, so as to exclude the Americans totally and perpetually from the fisheries, it would be of the greatest benefit to this nation; and that upon every principle of policy and commerce, both to strengthen our navy and increase our trade, they should be restricted entirely and perpetually to our own people.

Upon the motion for committing the bill after the second reading, the noble Marquis, who had presented the petition, opposed it with great ability. He examined the general principles of the bill, and the means devised for enforcing it. He afterwards entered, with great knowledge of the subject, into a detail of the American trade in general, and more particularly, into a comparative view of that of New-England at different periods; by this, the vast and rapid growth of that colony appeared truly astonishing; he shewed, that in the year 1704, the whole amount of the exports to the New-England provinces, was only about 70,000 l. annually; that in the year 1754, it had risen to 180,000 l. in the succeeding ten years to about 400,000 l.; and in the last ten years, had nearly doubled that sum. He concluded a speech which took in a great variety of matter, by a general and total disapprobation of all the measures pursued relative to the colonies, since the repeal of the stamp act; and predicted, that an useful and constitutional agreement in sentiments, and a cordial reciprocity of interests, would never take place between them and the mother country, until the same principles were once more recurred to, and similar measures adopted.

A great Law Lord on the same side said, that he rose with the greatest reluctance, as he was already wearied by the unavailing efforts he had continually made in every part of the American business; that the great and certain majorities in both Houses, differing from his opinions, and overbearing with a high and powerful hand the feeble efforts on that side, had almost wearied him into a despair of obtaining any thing in that question, or on that subject, by argument or debate; but that notwithstanding, a sense of his duty to interpose his endeavours towards the vindication of justice, and the service of his country, should outweigh every other consideration. He accordingly entered into the general nature, spirit and character of the bill, shewed its operation and tendency, and examined its fitness, its wisdom, and its justice, with his usual force and clearness.

In this course of legal and political examination, he took particular notice of the nature of the evidence which had been brought before the House in support of the bill. Two inconsiderable men of the town of Poole, contrary to the declared sense of all the merchants of England, were, he said, brought to instruct their Lordships in the political system of Great-Britain and America; they were to convince them, that the profits of the commerce of America did not enrich

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rich this country; they were to satisfy the legislature, that the utter destruction of American trade would strengthen the navy, and invigorate the marine of England; and the words of these redoubtable politicians were to be taken, that if the New-England fishery was destroyed, we should notwithstanding be able to supply the foreign markets; and that the loss of five or six hundred thousand pounds annually, the value of that fishery, would not only be immediately replaced at home, but prove a great benefit to this country. Such was the importance and magnitude of the subjects which were to be decided upon by such persons; but he hoped they would see the frivolous and contemptible nature of such evidence, and that such narrow and interested minds are totally unfit for such mighty discussions.

The Lords on the other side, differed greatly as to the principles on which they supported this bill; though they all united in the main point of its being necessary. Some considered it as a lenient means of bringing the Americans back to their duty; who would have been averse to any strong coercion, and much more to every idea of taxation. A more numerous body, who seemed to comprehend its nature and operation more perfectly, considered it as a bill of firmness and vigour; as a severe, but just and necessary act of retaliation and punishment; they, however, would not by any means that its operation should extend any further, than was necessary to fill up the measure of justice, and to bring the refractory colonies to a full and complete submission; they accordingly could not bear the idea of considering it in any degree as a *commercial*, and still less, as a *permanent* regulation. Others again, considered it merely as a matter of trade, abstracted from all ideas of coercion and punishment; as a permanent commercial regulation of great importance, to restrain the trade of the colonies, and thereby to strengthen and increase the commercial interest of this country; these would not listen to any proposition for purchasing the obedience of the Americans, by any time sacrificing an object, from which they expected the most extraordinary benefits. To these last might be added the first lord of the admiralty, with, perhaps, a few more, who considered only its political operation, as a means of increasing our maritime power. All those who wished to render it a permanent regulation, seemed to go beyond the designs of the ministers, at least of those in the House of Commons, who intended this bill merely as coercive.

In the course of this debate much complaint was made of the garbled, defective, and mutilated accounts of American affairs that were laid before them; it was said that public and known facts were withheld from them; that the scraps and extracts of letters which were shewn to them by the ministers, were only partial representations, calculated for particular purposes; that they had all along in this business been misled and misinformed. That the people would at length see how they had been deceived, and how parliament was led blindfolded; that it would be in vain then for the ministers to hope to cover themselves by the present fashionable language, that every

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every thing had been done by parliament, as it would be obvious to the meanest capacity, that from their total want of information, they neither did nor could do any thing but as they were directed.

After long and warm debates, the question was carried by a great majority, the numbers being 104, to 29 who opposed the bill.

On the 21st of March, upon the third reading of the bill, a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New-Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina should be included in the same restrictions with the New England provinces. In support of this amendment, it was urged, that by the late accounts which arrived, and letters which were upon their table, it appeared, that the several provinces specified in it, had rendered themselves equally culpable with those of New-England; and that of course they ought to suffer under one common punishment; that at the time the bill originated in the House of Commons, this information was not received; but that now they were in possession of evidence fully sufficient to authorize this amendment; and that without it, the bill would be imperfect, and the punishment partial.

On the other side it was said, that the letters and informations alluded to, were no more in the contemplation of the House, either in its legislative or deliberative capacity, than if they had never existed; they had not even been read in the House; they had never been considered; nor had the accused parties been heard in their own defence; so that one half of the continent of North-America was to be punished, without any trial, proof, or enquiry whatever. That such a mode of proceeding was totally unparliamentary and unprecedented; that it was no less repugnant to the established rules of equity and judicial decision, which always and in every instance supposed the party accused had been heard, before judgment was pronounced; and, that if such a mode of executive speedy justice were to obtain in that House, it would be productive of the most dangerous and alarming consequences.

The question being put upon the amendment it was carried by 52 to 21; and the prohibitions of the bill consequently extended to the five new provinces. The question was then put upon the bill, and carried by a majority of 73 to 21; and it was accordingly returned to the Commons with the amendment.

This bill was productive of a protest signed by sixteen Lords. Among other severe strictures, they represent it as one of those unhappy inventions, to which parliament is driven by the difficulties that daily multiply upon them, from an obstinate adherence to an unwise system of government. They say, that government which attempts to preserve its authority by destroying the trade of its subjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of such means, confesses itself unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itself wholly incompetent to the end of its institution. They severely censure the attempt made to bribe the nation into an acquiescence in this arbitrary act, by holding out to them as a temptation for that purpose,

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pose, the spoils of the New-England fishery; this they represent to be a scheme full of weakness and indecency; of indecency, because it may be suspected that the desire of the confiscation has created the guilt; and of weakness, because it supposes, that whatever is taken from the colonies is of course to be transferred to ourselves. But this protest is particularly distinguished, by the severe censure passed upon a Lord high in office, who, in the late debates, to remove all apprehension of the dangers which might arise from the measures that were in agitation, threw out, most unadvisedly, a charge of general cowardice against the Americans.

The amendment, made by the Lords, caused a disagreement between the title and body of the bill, which would have caused great embarrassment to the officers who were to carry it into execution; and the amendment was accordingly rejected by the Commons. This matter occasioned the holding of a conference, a few days after, between the two Houses, at which, the reasons offered by the Commons, having appeared satisfactory, the Lords agreed in rejecting the amendment, and the bill received the royal assent on the 30th of March.

CHAP. VII.

Augmentation of the naval and land forces. Lord North's conciliatory motion. Debates. The resolution passed upon a division. Mr. Sawbridge's annual motion. Annual motion on the Middlesex election. Petition and memorial from the assembly of Jamaica. Petition from the city of Waterford. Bill for restraining the trade of the southern colonies. Evidence in behalf of the West-India merchants and planters. Great importance of the sugar islands. Mr. Burke's conciliatory propositions. Great importance, and astonishing growth of the American colonies. Debates. The previous question moved and carried. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory motion. Debates on the third reading of the restraining bill. The bill passed. Petitions, militating with each other. Petition from the British settlers in Canada—from the Quakers. Address, remonstrance, and petition, from the city of London. Encouragement to the fisheries of Great-Britain and Ireland. Motion for bringing up the representation and remonstrance of the General Assembly of New-York. Motion for an amendment put and carried. Amended motion rejected. Memorial to the Lords from the same Assembly, and petition to the King. Memorial to the Lords rejected. Petition to the Lords from the British inhabitants of the province of Quebec. Lord Camden's bill for repealing the Quebec act. Debates. The bill rejected. Petition from the same inhabitants of Quebec to the House of Commons. Sir George Savile's motion for repealing the Quebec act. Motion rejected upon a division. Speaker's speech. Speech from the throne.

THE New-England restraining act was so much the principal figure in this important session, that in attending to its progress we passed over other matters of which we are now to take notice.

Upon

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Feb. 13th. Upon a motion for an addition of 2000 seamen to be employed for the ensuing year, the ministers were reminded of their conduct before Christmas, in deceiving the country gentlemen with the appearances of a reduced peace establishment, and thereby leading them gradually into violent and coercive measures, each of which was supposed to be the last, while they were rendered incapable of seeing at any one point of view, either the extent of the expence in which they were involving their constituents, or of the danger in which they were plunging themselves and the nation. This mode of proceeding was represented as an high insult to the House, and an open mockery of that good faith and confidence, that ought to subsist between the Minister and the Commons; and that the application now for a grant of 2000 seamen, when they knew that five times the number would not be sufficient to carry their designs into execution, was an aggravated repetition of the insult; that this mode of procedure was besides calculated to give a full opening to that ruinous practice of gaming in the funds, whereby those in the secret of affairs had an opportunity of making immense fortunes at the public expence.

The ministers avoided all precise explanation as to future applications for supply: they could not pretend to foretel what events might possibly happen, and could not therefore bind themselves by any specific engagement; but they hoped that this would be the last application of the kind. The insinuation as to the funds was universally disclaimed, and the motion for the augmentation agreed to.

The subject was however brought up, and the same objections made two days after, upon a motion in the committee of supply, for an augmentation of 4,383 men to the land forces. This motion was attended with an explanation of the intended military arrangements, by which it appeared, that the force at Boston would be augmented to about 10,000 men, which was deemed sufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers, (a measure which was complained of, as incurring a needless expence) was necessary, as it was intended to carry on the operations against the Americans by detachments.

This mode of carrying on the war, was much condemned on the other side for its cruelty; for the indiscrimsnate destruction of friends as well as foes, with which it must be attended; and the total ruin of a country which we considered as our own, and which must be the inevitable consequence, if the measure could at all succeed. But it was insisted, that the force, both by sea and land, was totally inadequate to the purpose for which it was ordained; and that the national money was to be squandered away, without a possible return of advantage, or even a probability of its attaining the ends to which it was directed. For, they said, that the use of an insignificant force must infallibly have the effect of encouraging the colonies to that resistance, which it was possible the early appearance of a great fleet and army might awe and check in the beginning. The augmentation was carried without difficulty.

Whilst parties thus pursued their debates with much eagerness and animosity, and nothing but defiance

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fiance was hurled at America on the part of government, the noble Lord at the head of administration amazed all parties, and seemed for a time almost to dissolve his own, by that famous conciliatory motion with respect to America, which was then, and has been since, the subject of so much discussion. The motion was for passing the following resolution—That when the governor, council and assembly, or general court of his Majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision, according to their respective conditions, circumstances and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his Majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively.

The minister introduced this motion by a long speech, in which he endeavoured to shew that it was founded upon the late address, particularly the following passage—"and whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence;"—he, however, seemed to build more upon the principles by which he was actuated in moving for that address, and the explanations he then made to the House, than upon the literal construction of any part of it. He said, that it was his sense, and he believed it to be the sense of the House, that parliament, in the passing of that address, not only meant to shew the Americans its firm determination in the support of its just rights; but also its tenderness, and conciliatory disposition, upon the making of proper concessions; and that particularly, upon the great object of dispute, the point of taxation, although they could never give up the right, and must always maintain the doctrine that every part of the empire was bound to bear its share of service and burthen in the common defence; yet, as to the *mode* of contribution, if that, and not the question of right, was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propose such means as were most agreeable to themselves, and at the same time would effectually answer the end, parliament would not hesitate a moment to *suspend the exercise* of the right; and that they would concede to the Americans the authority of raising their share of the contribution themselves.

He said, that the address required such a moment as the proposed resolution; an explanation by parliament itself, which would leave no room for doubt, nor opportunity of evasion; that as it held out ideas of peace, it should shew in the most clear, explicit, and definitive terms, what the conditions

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ditions were upon which it might be obtained. This resolution marked the ground on which negociation might take place; it was explicit, it defined the terms, specified the persons from whom the proposals must come, and to whom they must be made; it pointed out the end and purpose for which the contributions were to be given, and the persons from whom the grant of them was to originate; and it takes away every ground of suspicion as to the application of the revenue to purposes for which the Americans would not grant their money, by its specific appropriation to the public defence.

That this resolution would be an infallible touchstone to try the sincerity of the Americans; if their professions are real, and their opposition only founded upon the principles which they pretend, they must, consistently with those principles, agree with this proposition; but if they are actuated by sinister motives, and have dangerous designs in contemplation, their refusal of these terms will expose them to the world. We shall then be prepared, and know how to act; after having shewn our wisdom, our justice, and our humanity, by giving them an opportunity of redeeming their past faults, and holding out to them fitting terms of accommodation; if they reject them, we shall be justified in taking the most coercive measures, and they must be answerable to God and man for the consequences.

He declared himself of opinion, that no declaration of his, or even of the House itself, could bind to an adherence strictly to any former resolution relative to the submission to be required of the colonies, previous to a relaxation on our side. That the greatest nations, this nation included, had often made the most solemn declarations, and entered into the most religious engagements to adhere unalterably to certain points, which afterwards, when circumstances changed, they departed from without scruple and without blame. He instanced in the late Spanish war, in which we declared, that we should never make peace unless the point of *search* was given up; yet peace was made without giving up the search. In the *grand alliance*, the parties engaged to each other that no prince of the House of Bourbon should sit on the throne of Spain; yet peace was made with a prince of the House of Bourbon sitting on that throne. He cited many other instances of a like dereliction of objects, and displayed great historical knowledge and ability in applying it. He added, that in this instance he was the more ready to give way, because it was found by experience, that besides the displeasure our attempt to tax had caused in the colonies, the result proved very unproductive in point of revenue, from the want of a local knowledge of the best methods of imposing and collecting the duties.

Upon the first bruit of conciliatory measures being proposed by the minister, it was surmised, that he was either going to resign, and would first make a disavowal of those public measures which had been lately pursued, or that from some strange convulsion in the internal cabinet, the whole political system of government was to be changed; all those members who were within hearing accordingly hastened to the House, with the most

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most eager expectation. Nor was the astonishment less within doors. From some perplexity in its construction, and obscurity in the words, the extent or drift of the motion was not immediately comprehended. The courtiers looked at each other with amazement, and seemed at a loss in what light to consider the minister. That numerous high prerogative party, who always loved a strong government, in whatever hands it might be lodged, and accordingly had, upon principle, ever opposed any relaxation in favour of the colonies, heard the propositions with horror, and considered themselves as abandoned and betrayed. Even some of the old staunch friends of government, who had always gone with every administration, and uniformly pursued the same line of conduct in all changes of men and measures, began now more than to waver. In a word, the treasury benches seemed to totter, and that ministerial phalanx, which had been so long irresistable, ready to break, and to fall into irretrievable disorder.

The opposition to the minister's motion, accordingly originated on his own side. They asserted, that the propositions contained in it, so far from being founded upon, were in direct opposition to every principle and idea of the address; that by adopting it, they must give up every ground they had gone upon in the whole course of American measures; that it was a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of parliament; that even upon the principles of the gentlemen in opposition, (to whom it was intended as a means of paying court) it could be productive of no good consequence; but upon their own, would be attended with numberless bad ones; that the proposal was, in effect, an acknowledgment of something really grievous in the idea of taxing America by parliament; that it was therefore a shameful prevarication, and a mean departure from principle. They finally concluded, that they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands; and that they would enter into no measure for a settlement with the Americans in which an express and definitive acknowledgment from them, of the supremacy of parliament, was not a preliminary article. So high was the dissatisfaction on this side, that a motion was made for the chairman of the committee to quit the chair. The minister was repeatedly called upon his legs, either to make explanations, or to endeavour to reconcile seeming contradictions.

In this state of disorder and confusion, when all government and command seemed at an end, it was found necessary to change the ground of argument. This task fell to the lot of a gentleman of the long robe, who had been for some years in opposition, and had lately distinguished himself for his zeal in promoting all the measures for reducing the colonies. This learned gentleman undertook to interpret the speech and motion, and to prove that nothing less was meant or effected by either than a dereliction of the claims or right of parliament, or a yeilding in any degree to the insolence of the Americans; but, on the contrary, a more wise and effectual method of enforcing the rights of the one and repressing the insolence of the other. As the speech of the noble proposer had seemed chiefly addressed to the op-

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position, this was intended to gain the majority, whose dissent was of far greater importance. He had the address in a few minutes to hush the troubled waves to peace.

He soon convinced the malcontents, that the appearances of concession, lenity, and tenderness, which had so much alarmed them in the motion, were of such a nature, that they could not interfere with the most rigid measures which they wished to enforce. He said, that the address included too correspondent lines of conduct, which seemed hitherto to have escaped their penetration; one of these was to repress those that were in rebellion, and to establish the government and enforce the laws of this country in the colonies; the other, to protect its friends, and those that were acting under its authority. They had already taken, and were in a train of taking, the most decisive measures for effecting the first of these purposes; and the motion went no further than to provide for the second. What will parliament lose by accepting this motion? The right? It expressly reserves it. It is so essential a part of sovereignty, that parliament, if it would, cannot surrender it. Does it suspend the profitable exercise of the right? So far from it, that it shews the firm resolution of parliament to enforce the only essential parts of taxation, by compelling the Americans to provide what we, not they, think just and reasonable for the support of the whole empire, without a compliance with which they cannot hope to make any terms of reconciliation with us. Nothing ought so much to animate the ardour of the youth of this kingdom to a resolute exertion, as this firm determination of parliament; or encourage the gallant officers and troops who are going abroad to enforce this spirited proposition, as a certainty that they were not going to fight (as had been often reproachfully urged to them) for trifles, and vain points of honour, but for a substantial revenue. The dispute was, at length put upon its proper footing—Revenue, or no revenue.

This explanation had so good an effect, that the minister himself improved upon the idea, and acknowledged, in the course of the debate, that he did not expect his propositions would be generally received by the Americans, but that he intended by them to separate the grain from the chaff. If it did no good there, it would do good here; it would unite the people of England by holding out to them a distinct object of revenue; as it united England, it would disunite America: whatever province came first to make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated; and if but one province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken; and that union, which alone rendered them formidable, would be dissolved.

The gentlemen in opposition were far from controverting any of the charges that were brought on the other side against the motion. They allowed every quality that had been ascribed to it except conciliation, which they utterly denied its possessing. If it led to peace, their eagerness for that wished for object would induce them to receive it, under all the circumstances of contradiction, prevarication, meanness, and humiliation, with which it was said, and they acknowledged it to be

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be hailed. But instead of possessing that happy property, which with them would have atoned for all its bad ones, they said it was insidious, base, and treacherous, in the highest degree; and calculated to render incurable all those mischiefs which it pretended to remedy; that it was founded upon the wretched principles of the Boston Port bill, and would be productive of similar effects; the minister acknowledged this to be a cheat, as that was, and intended for the same purpose, to disunite the Americans; the immediate effect of the former was to throw all the colonies, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, into one common mass of union; if any further cement was wanting to consolidate that mass; this scheme would supply it most abundantly.

It was said, that the mode in which this motion was supported by administration, was the most ridiculous that ever was attempted in parliament; they held it out to one side of the House as a measure of concession; and to the other, as a strong assertion of authority; they were renewing that miserable system of low cunning and folly by which they were governed in the tea-act, which to this country was to be a duty of supply, and to the Americans, a tax only of regulation. It was observed, that there was a sudden and total change in the principles upon which the ministers would have us suppose that we were entering into a civil war. In the whole course of this business, until the present day, they had constantly denied their having any contest about an American revenue; they represented the whole to be a dispute for obedience to trade laws, and to the general legislative authority; but now they suddenly change their language, and think they shall interest the nation, console our manufacturers, and animate our soldiers, by persuading them that it is not a contest for empty honour, and merely to support the dignity of parliament; that it has an object in view which strikes more immediately on the senses, the acquisition of a substantial revenue; but this attempt of imposition upon the people will be found as futile as their other deceptions, and the proposed revenue as empty a phantom as the supposed honour.

It was said, that though the mode of collection might admit of some saving under that head, it could not change the nature of the tax; the people are as effectually taxed without their consent, by being compelled to the payment of a gross sum, as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount; but with this odious difference, that the former carries all the appearance of a contribution or ransom levied by an hostile army in a state of avowed warfare. That this scheme of taxation exceeded in oppression any other that the rapacity of mankind had yet devised. In all other cases, some specific sum was demanded, and the people might form some opinion of what they could consider as their own, for the remaining term of the ordnance; but here they were left totally in the dark, as to the extent of the demand; it might be fixed at the half, at the whole, or at more than they were worth; and the same power that authorized the demand, might render their bodies answerable for the deficiency.

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The ridiculous circumstances that must attend this mode of taxation, supposing it possible to be carried into execution, were strongly painted. The colonies were to be held in durance by fleets and armies, until they should singly and separately offer to contribute to a service, the nature of which they could not know, in a proportion which they could not guess, and on a standard which they will be so far from being able to ascertain, that parliament which is to hold it, has not ventured even to hint what they expect. Thus the House is to be converted into an auction-room, the speaker to hold the hammer, and the colonies to be held prisoners of war, until they consent to a ransom, by bidding against each other and against themselves, and until the king and parliament shall call to strike down the hammer, and say—*enough*. If the first offer of an assembly was not deemed sufficient, it was asked what the remedy would be? The business must of course go back to America, and the fleets, armies, and durance must of course continue, until further offers were made by another assembly, and these were again discussed in another session, and perhaps by another parliament; thus the absurdity and impracticability of this proposition were equal to its oppressiveness. The business would be in an eternal rotation between Europe and America, and nothing ever be finished; while our distractions, confusions, and expence would every hour increase. Upon the whole they concluded, that the Americans would receive these insidious propositions with the greatest indignation; that as they would shew them more clearly the necessity, so they would confirm them the more strongly in their union and opposition. That revenue from a free people must be the *consequence* of peace, not the *condition* on which it is to be obtained; and that if we attempted to invert this order, we should have neither peace nor revenue.

Notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction with which this motion was received by the friends of administration, who thought their dignity not a little lowered by it, and believed the effects of conciliation or disunion proposed by it, to be very uncertain, it was thought better not to give a triumph to opposition by rejecting a proposition made by the minister. It was thought also, that this resolution being susceptible of a variety of interpretations, as had appeared in the debates, such an interpretation might be hereafter adopted, as should be most suitable to their circumstances. Accordingly, though some of those who in the beginning had openly declared themselves, and could not recede, voted (on grounds totally adverse to them) with opposition, the rest of the numbers went as usual; and the question was carried on a division 274 to 88.

We should have observed before, that upon the 1st of this month, Mr. Sawbridge, having previously obtained a call of the House, repeated his annual motion for shortening the duration of parliament. The motion was supported; but as usual produced no debate; administration being totally silent upon the subject. It was, probably, from the same certainty of the event, that the majority was not quite so great as in the preceding year and parliament, the numbers upon a division

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division being 195 against, to 104 who supported the motion.

Sir George Saville's annual motion relative to the Middlesex election, was this year taken out of his hands, being yielded with propriety to the gentleman who was immediately affected by that decision. Mr. Wilkes, who was now Lord-Mayor, and who represented the county of Middlesex in parliament, took up in person his own cause, and two days after the debate on the conciliatory motion, moved, "That the resolution of "this House of the 17th of Fe-"bruary 1769," 'that John Wilkes, 'Esq; having been in this session 'of parliament expelled this House, 'was, and is, incapable of sitting 'in the present parliament,' "be "expunged from the journals of "this House, as being subversive "of the rights of the whole body of "electors of this kingdom."

This motion was ably supported by the lord-mayor, who was also well seconded; and a considerable debate ensued, in which much of the ground we have formerly traced was again gone over. The question was overruled by a majority of 68, which taking in the uncommon fulness of the House upon the present occasion, was nearly upon a proportional par with that of the preceding year; the numbers now being, in support of the motion, 171, to 239, by whom it was rejected.

On the day that the New-England fishery-bill had passed the House of Commons, administration were called upon by a gentleman in opposition, for a copy of a letter written by the noble minister at the head of the American department, to the lieutenant-governor of New-York, and dated upon the 10th of Dec. 1774; as containing matter of information worthy the consideration and attention of the House. This application the ministers refused to comply with; who said they were the sole judges what matter was or was not proper to be laid before the House; that a spirit of curiosity might prompt people to require the seeing of many papers which it would be very improper to expose to public view; and that from the nature of executive government, many matters must necessarily be kept secret. That if they could be proved to have abused this trust, they were responsible.

This occasioned much censure on the audacity of refusing to lay necessary information before the House, especially when particular papers were called for and specified; and many reflections were made upon the shameful tameness which submitted to such daring insolence, and to be led blindfold in matters upon which the fate of the nation and empire immediately depended. A motion was also made for an address to his majesty, that the paper in question might be laid before the House; but it passed in the negative.

It was then observed, that a petition and memorial of an extraordinary nature, from the assembly of the island of Jamaica, to the king in council, was reported to have been received some considerable time before, and the ministers being questioned as to the fact, were also asked, whether that was among the secrets of state which was not fit to be communicated to parliament. This omission the ministers attributed to inattention, and to their not considering it as a matter of any great consequence; but

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they now consented to lay it before the House.

This petition and memorial from the assembly of Jamaica, was drawn up in very strong terms. In expressing the most perfect duty and allegiance to the throne, and the strongest attachment to, and reliance on their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, they however observed that these dispositions were founded on that most solid and durable basis, the continued enjoyment of their personal rights, and the security of their property. They recite their constant good behaviour, and state even their weakness and inability of resistance, as evidences that they cannot be actuated by factious or dangerous motives; and proceed to shew, that the most dreadful calamities to their island, and the inevitable destruction of the small sugar colonies, must be involved in a continuance of the present unnatural contest with the Americans. They afterwards enter into a full, free, and argumentative discussion of the late claims of the mother country, and of the rights of the colonies; the former of which they combat, and defend the latter with great force. They absolutely deny that their ancestors, the settlers or conquerors of the colonies, could receive any rights or privileges from their fellow-subjects in England at the time of their emigration; the peers could not communicate their privileges, and the people had no rights, but those of which the former were equally possessed; but the crown, whose prerogatives were totally independent of both, for the great purposes of colonization, communicated to all the colonies, though in different degrees, a liberal share of its own royal powers of government. These powers, as well as their original rights and privileges, have been confirmed to them by every means which can be devised for affording security to mankind; charters, proclamations, proscription, compact, protection, and obedience. From the foregoing, and other premises, they infer and declare, that the colonists are not subjects to the people of England; and insist on their own rights of legislation. They afterwards say, that they equally deplore, and behold with amazement, a plan, almost carried into execution, for reducing the colonies into the most abject state of slavery; and they supplicate the throne, and demand and claim from the sovereign, as the guarantee of their just rights, that no laws shall be forced upon them, injurious to their rights, as colonists, or Englishmen; and that as the common parent of his people, his majesty would become a mediator between his European and American subjects.

About the same time, a petition from the city of Waterford in Ireland was presented to the House, setting forth the fatal consequences that will result to that city in particular, and to the kingdom in general, from a continuance of the present unhappy differences between Great-Britain and the colonies; they state, that in that case, they will be deprived of the only valuable branch of export which they are permitted to carry on with the colonies, that of their linen manufactures; a misfortune which they already begin too sensibly to feel.

March 9th. The fishery-bill had scarcely cleared the House of Commons, when the minister brought in another, "To restrain

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restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." As measures of this nature were now familiar, he only thought it necessary to observe, that as the southern provinces had acceded to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, as well as the northern, it was conformable to reason and justice that they should equally feel our resentment, and experience the same degree of punishment.

Nothing that could be called a debate arose upon this motion. The strange fluctuation and contradiction that appeared in our public councils, was, however, commented upon on both sides of the House, and lamented on one. It was said, that only a few days before, they were mocked with conciliatory propositions, and nothing was to be heard but concession and moderation; temptations were to be held out to the better disposed colonies, to induce them to break the confederacy; the wheat was to be separated from the chaff, the elect from the reprobate; but now we are told, that the only way to restore peace and harmony, to reconcile the Americans cordially to our government, and to save our commerce from that destruction which seems almost inevitable, is to lump them all indiscriminately, without distinction of friend or foe, in one common punishment; and to drive the whole continent of America into despair, as a necessary preparative to their being restored to good temper.

During the time that this bill was in agitation, a long series of important evidence in behalf of the West-India merchants and planters, and in support of the petition which they had lately presented, was laid before the House. The celebrated Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas, appeared as agent and manager for the petitioners upon this occasion. This gentleman conducted the business with great ability, and gained much applause by the eloquence and vast extent of commercial knowledge he displayed, in a very long speech which he delivered at the bar of the House, upon summing up, combining and explaining the different parts of the evidence. In this speech he stated, with uncommon precision, the immense value of the objects that were under consideration; endeavoured to shew, that the spirit which had for some time been so prevalent, both within doors and without, for the extorting of pecuniary contributions from the colonies, was inconsistent with true policy, with a right knowledge of commerce, of their circumstances, or of the benefits we already derived from them; and expatiated most pathetically upon the fatal consequences which he apprehended from a perseverance in the present measures.

It appeared by this evidence, that the sugar colonies were to be considered as vast manufactories, with this peculiar distinction from others, that they were obliged to raise their own materials; that the cane was the raw material; sugar, melasses, and rum, the manufacture; that the raising of provision was, and must necessarily continue to be a very secondary object; that if necessity should at any time render it otherwise, the manufacture must

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of course decline, in proportion to the attention paid to the other; but that the scarcity of land in the small islands, the great value of cultivable land, for the purpose of raising the material in all, together with the excessive price of labour, and many insurmountable natural impediments, rendered the raising of any thing near a sufficient stock of provisions utterly impracticable. That the middle colonies of North-America were the great sources of supply to the West-India islands, not only for provision, but for an article equally necessary, which is understood under the term of lumber, and by which is meant every kind of timber and wood that is used in building and the cooperage, excepting only some particular cases, wherein great strength and durability are required, and in which the hard woods peculiar to the tropica regions are preferable. It was also clearly shewn, that no other sources of supply could be opened either in America or in Europe, which, with respect to time, quantity, and many other circumstances, could prevent the dreadful effects of a famine in the sugar islands; an event which would be rendered still the more dreadful, by the vast superiority of the negroes to the white people in number, and the horrible barbarities which must be expected from them, in circumstances of calamity that would destroy all order and distinctions among the most civilized nations. And that if there were even a possibility of averting this fatal event, the islands would notwithstanding be ruined, as their great staple commodities of sugar and rum would be useless for want of casks to contain them; and they could not receive staves from any part of Europe, upon such terms as they were able to comply with.

This course of enquiry and evidence has been the means of rendering the vast importance and value of the sugar colonies more generally understood, than they perhaps would otherwise have been, and they are matters which may well exercise the speculations of the present, and the admiration of future ages. It appeared by a very moderate calculation, in which large allowances were made for every possible excess, that the capital in those islands, consisting in cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and stock of all kinds, did not amount to less than the immense sum of sixty millions sterling. That their exports of late years to Great-Britain run to about 190,000 hogsheads and puncheons of sugar and rum annually; amounting in weight to near 95,000 tons, and in value to about 4,000,000l. exclusive of a great number of smaller articles, and of their very great export to North-America. That their growth was so rapid, and improvement so great, that within a very few years, their export of sugar to this kingdom was increased 40,000 hogsheads annually, amounting to about 800,000l. in value. It seems probable, though it could not be precisely ascertained, that more than one half of that vast capital of 60,000,000l. was either the immediate property, or was owing to persons resident in this country. It also appeared, that the revenue gained above 700,000l. a year upon the direct West-India trade, exclusive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade. It was fully shewn, that

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that this immense capital and trade, as well as the African, neither of which could subsist without the other, were from nature and circumstances both totally dependent upon North-America. Such were the stakes which we were now setting at hazard.

March 22d. In a few days after, Mr. Burke made his conciliatory propositions with respect to the colonies. These propositions were contained in a set of resolutions, and were accompanied and elucidated by that celebrated speech, which has been since published, and is in every body's hands.

He observed, that the questions on which they were that day to decide, were, Whether they ought to concede; and what that concession ought to be; and that to enable them to determine both on the one and the other of those great questions with a firm and precise judgment, it was necessary to consider distinctly the true nature, and the peculiar circumstances of the object before them; because after all their struggles, whether they would or not, he insisted, that they must govern America, according to that nature, and to those circumstances; and not according to their own imaginations; not according to abstract ideas of right; nor by any means according to mere general theories of government.

Upon this principle he examined and explained, with the utmost minuteness and accuracy, the internal and external, the natural and accidental circumstances of the colonies; he considered them with respect to situation, resources, extent, numbers, amazing growth of population, rapid increase of commerce, fisheries, and agriculture; from these he shewed their strength and importance; he then enquired into that unconquerable spirit of freedom, by which they are distinguished from all other people now existing in the known world; this violent passion for liberty he traced from the sources of descent, education, manners, religious principles, forms of government, and distance from the original mover of government.

From all these circumstances he deduced the line of policy which should be pursued with regard to America. The detail was enriched and illustrated with a number of the most interesting facts, and curious observations, tending to establish the ideas of American government which he had laid down; to shew, that it must be adapted to the feelings, to the established habits and received opinions of the people; and that all schemes of government which had been or should be proposed, without paying a due attention to these matters, would be found ineffectual, dangerous, or ruinous.

We should deem it inexcusable, to quit this part of the subject, without laying before our readers the astonishing growth of the colonies within a little more than half a century, and the prodigious share they contributed to our greatness; a matter of the first importance to ourselves; which perhaps cannot in any degree be paralleled in the history of mankind; and which will equally excite the admiration, and exercise the scepticism of future ages. This gentleman, in taking a comparative view of the trade of this country at different periods, made it appear, that the whole exports

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exports to North-America, the West-Indies, and Africa, in the year 1704, amounted only in value to 569,930l. That in the year 1772, which was taken upon a medium, as being neither the highest nor the lowest of those which might have been applied to of late, the exports to the same places, (including those from Scotland, which in the year 1704 had no existence) amounted to no less than 6,024,171l. being in the proportion of nearly eleven to one. He also shewed, that the whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, amounted at the first period of 1704, only to 6,509,000l.—Thus the trade to the colonies alone, was at the latter period, within less than half a million of being equal to what this great commercial nation carried on at the beginning of the present century with the whole world. And stating the whole export commerce of this country at present, at sixteen millions, that to the colonies, which in the first period constituted but one twelfth of the whole, was now very considerably more than one third.

However astonishing this general increase of the whole colonies may appear, the growth of the province of Pennsylvania is still more extraordinary. In the year 1704, the whole exports to that colony amounted only to 11,459l. and in 1772, they were risen to 507,909l. being nearly fifty times the original demand; and almost equal to the whole colony export at the first period.

The mover, before he stated his own propositions, examined and controverted the different schemes which had been either proposed, or talked of for the government of America; particularly the idea of governing by force; a method, which being very easy and plausible in theory, and requiring no skill nor ability in the design or comprehension, the gross of mankind are fond of recurring to, in all cases which perplex their understanding. This favourite idea he combated with great force, upon the different grounds of its temporary nature; its uncertainty; its destroying the object in the very endeavour to preserve it; and that we have no sort of experience in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. That on the contrary, their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different.

He then laboured to prove, that without enquiring whether it was to be yielded as a matter of right, or granted as a matter of favour, the only method of governing the colonies with safety and advantage, was by admitting them to an *interest in our constitution*; and, by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing would admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.

In the stating and prosecution of this subject, he disclaimed all discussions of right; the question being to be considered solely as a matter of policy; he was not enquiring whether they had a right to render their people miserable; but whether it was not their interest to render them happy? they were not to take the opinion of a lawyer on what they *might* do; but they were to consult reason, humanity, justice, and true policy, in what they

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they *ought* to do. He likewise disclaimed all manner of new projects whatever; professing to derive the theoretic part of his propositions from the ancient constitutional policy of this kingdom with regard to representation, as that policy has been declared in acts of parliament; and the practical, from plain matters of fact, acknowledged as such in the journals of the House; he would only bring them back to that road which an uniform experience had marked out as the best; and in which they had walked with security, advantage, and honour, until the year 1763; that other methods might be more ingenious; but in constitutional discussions, it was much more safe to attend to experience, and to the practice of their ancestors, than to any speculations however refined or plausible. That those ancestors, who had left them such inestimable legacies, and such living monuments of their wisdom, as that constitution, and those colonies, were the safest guides they could follow in any thing that related to the preservation of either.

He then went into an historical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, into an interest in the constitution: The state of things preceding that admission, and the consequences which followed. He shewed from all these instances, that this interest in the British constitution, was not only the cause of the internal happiness of those countries, but of their union with and obedience to the crown and supreme legislature.

From this experience, the communication to the members of an interest in the constitution, became the great ruling principle of British policy; the mode of applying it being varied according to circumstances. Where the districts could be taken into the constitution, they were united, as in the case of Wales, and the counties palatine. Where that was not the case, the constitution was sent to them, as in Ireland. Similar constitutions, accommodated to their respective circumstances, were given to the colonies; and as long as the spirit of these constitutions was preserved, every thing went on happily. When it was violated, every thing fell into confusion.

His whole plan therefore was to go back to our old policy; and to record it in the journals, as a settled ground of future parliamentary proceedings, in order to guard against the mischiefs of our late inconstancy. He made the doctrine, language, and mode of reasoning, contained in the preambles to former acts of parliament, the models whereby to frame his resolutions; and meant by them to establish the equity and justice of a taxation of America, by *grant*, and not by *imposition*. To mark the *legal competency* of the colony assemblies for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war. To acknowledge that this legal competency has had *a dutiful and beneficial exercise*; and that experience has shewn the *benefit of their grants*, and the *futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of supply*.

This was the substance of the six first resolutions. To these were added some others relative to the settlement of an independent judicature; for regulating the court of admiralty; and for the repeal of the

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the late coercive acts of parliament. The first resolution upon which the debate began, was as follows.—"That the colonies and plantations of Great-Britain in North-"America, consisting of fourteen "separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards "of free inhabitants, have not had "the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and "burgesses, or others, to represent "them in the high court of parliament."

On this motion, and on the whole matter, the debate was long and animated. It was objected, in general, that these resolutions abandoned the whole object for which we were contending. That in words indeed they did not give up the right of taxing; but they did so in effect. The first resolution, they said, was artfully worded, as containing in appearance nothing but matters of fact; but if adopted, consequences would follow highly prejudicial to the public good. That the mere truth of a proposition did not of course make it necessary or proper to resolve it. As they had frequently resolved not to admit the unconstitutional claims of the Americans, they could not admit resolutions directly leading to them. They had no assurance, that if they should adopt these propositions, the Americans would make any dutiful returns on their side; and thus the scheme, pursued through so many difficulties, of compelling that refractory people to contribute their fair proportion to the expences of the whole empire, would fall to the ground. The House of Lords would not, they said, permit another plan somewhat of the same kind, so much as to lie on their table; and the House of Commons had in this session already adopted one, which they judged to be conciliatory upon a ground more consistent with the supremacy of parliament. It was asserted, that the American assemblies had made provision upon former occasions—but this, they said, was only when pressed by their own immediate danger; and for their own local use. But if the dispositions of the colonies had been as favourable as they were represented, still it was denied, that the American assemblies ever had a legal power of granting a revenue to the crown. This they insisted to be the privilege of parliament only; and a privilege which could not be communicated to any other body whatsoever. In support of this doctrine, they quoted the following clause from that palladium of the English constitution, and of the rights and liberties of the subject, commonly called the Bill, or Declaration of Rights; viz. that "Levying mo-"ney for, or to the use of the "crown, *by pretence of prerogative*, "without grant of parliament, for "a longer time, or in other man-"ner, than the same is or shall be "granted, is illegal."

This clause, they insisted, clearly enforced the exclusive right in parliament of taxing every part of the empire. And this right, they said, was not only prudent, but necessary. The right of taxation must be inherent in the supreme power; and being the most essential of all others, was the most necessary, not only to be reserved in theory, but exercised in practice; or it would, in effect, be lost, and all other powers along with it. This principle

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was carried so far, that it was said any minister ought to be impeached, who suffered the grant of any sort of revenue from the colonies to the crown. That such a practice in time of war, might possibly be tolerated from the necessity of the case; but that a revenue in time of peace could not be granted by any of the assemblies, without subverting the constitution. In the warmth of prosecuting this idea, it was asserted, by more than one gentleman on that side, that the establishment of a parliament in Ireland, did not by any means preclude Great-Britain from taxing that kingdom whenever it was thought necessary. That, that right had always been maintained, and exercised too, whenever it was judged expedient; and that the British parliament had no other rule in that exercise, than its own discretion. That all inferior assemblies in this empire, were only like the corporate towns in England, which had a power, like them, of making bye-laws, for their own municipal government, and nothing more.

On the other side, it was urged, that the clause in the declaration of rights, so much relied on, was calculated merely to restrain the prerogative, from the raising of any money within the realm, without the consent of parliament; but that it did not at all reach, nor was intended to interfere, with the taxes levied, or grants passed by legal assemblies out of the kingdom, for the public service. On the contrary, parliament knew at the time of passing that law, that the Irish grants were subsisting, and taxes constantly levied in consequence of them, without their once thinking, either then or at any other time, of censuring the practice, or condemning the mode as unconstitutional. It was also said, that different parliaments at different periods, had not only recognised the right, but gratefully acknowledged the benefit which the public derived from the taxes levied, and the grants passed by the American assemblies. As to the distinction taken of a time of war and the necessity of the case—they said it was frivolous and wholly groundless. The power of the subject in granting, or of the crown in receiving, no way differs in time of war, from the same powers in time of peace; nor is any distinction on such a supposition made in the article of the Bill of Rights. They argued therefore, that this article of the Bill of Rights is confined to what it was always thought confined, the prerogative in this kingdom; and bound indeed the crown; but could not, in securing the rights and liberties of the subject in this kingdom, intend to annihilate them every where else. That as the constitution had permitted the Irish parliament and American assemblies to make grants to the crown; and that experience had shewn, that these grants had produced both satisfaction and revenue, it was absurd to risque all in favour of theories of supremacy, unity, sovereign rights, and other names, which hitherto had led to nothing but confusion and beggary on all sides, and would continue to produce the same miserable effects, as long as they were persisted in. That the mover had very wisely avoided these speculative questions, and confined himself to experiences, and

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and it would be well if they could persuade themselves to follow that example.

The previous question was moved on the first proposition, and carried by 270 to 78.

The ill success that had attended all conciliatory propositions hitherto, excepting those which originated from government, did not deter another gentleman on the same side, (Mr. Hartley) within a very few days after, March 27th. from making a similar attempt. This was regulated on the conciliatory proposition moved by Lord North. It proposed that a letter of requisition should be sent to the colonies by a secretary of state on a motion from that House, for contribution to the expences of the whole empire. On his plan, the inestimable privilege of judging for themselves of the expediency, fixing the amount, and determining the application of the grants, would still be left in the assemblies. The compulsory threat would be left out. It removed the objection of a revenue raised without consent of parliament, since this requisition would be made at their express desire.—Other motions followed, not for the repeal, (as in the propositions lately negatived) but the suspension of certain acts for three years.

As this motion bore some resemblance to that rejected in the House of Lords at the beginning of the session, though supported and combated with ability, it is not necessary here to repeat the topics, to which the unhappy state of the times has so often obliged us to recur. The motion was rejected without a division.

During the progress of the second restraining bill, an additional clause was moved for by the minister, whereby the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, in North-America, were included in the prohibitions of that bill. This motion was carried without a division; but was productive of some pointed observation on its being unprecedented and unknown in the annals of parliament, and on the injustice and cruelty of condemning people unheard, and even without enquiry. To these charges it was answered in general, that those counties were equally culpable with the other provinces, and that the papers before the House contained sufficient information to justify the insertion of that clause.

Upon the third reading of the Bill, considerable debates arose, and a young nobleman of the first rank and greatest hopes was much distinguished, not only by his opposition to the bill, and his total condemnation of the whole series of American measures; but by the very pleasing specimen of modesty and ability which he now exhibited in his first speech. He however delivered his sentiments with great resolution and firmness; declared that he was glad a debate had taken place, as it afforded him an opportunity of avowing his political creed, and of making some open profession of his sentiments on so very important, and very serious a national question. That from the fullest conviction of his soul, he disclaimed every idea both of policy and right internally to tax America: he disavowed the whole system. It was commenced in iniquity; pursued in resentment; and could terminate in nothing but April 5th.

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blood. And he pledged himself, that under whatsoever shape in futurity it might be revived, by whomsoever produced and supported, it should, from him, meet the most constant, determined, and invariable opposition. He predicted that this bill would immediately bring on a civil war.

From the other side it was answered, that his apprehensions of a civil war were not grounded in any knowledge of the Americans, who would bluster indeed, but never fight, or think of opposing General Gage, with arms; and as to the cruelty of this act, it was to be no longer severe than they were rebellious. The matter having been before amply discussed, the debate was not long; nor the attendance considerable on the part of the minority. The bill passed without difficulty.

During these transactions several petitions were received from manufacturing towns in Great-Britain and Ireland against the coercive acts. Some counter petitions were also received, calling for an enforcement of the laws of Great-Britain as the only means of preserving a trade with the colonies, and asserting that the trade hitherto had suffered none, or an inconsiderable diminution by the combination of the Americans. Much altercation arose on the truth of facts alleged on both sides, as well as on the manner of obtaining the signatures, and the quality of those who signed. The minority insisted, that the most who signed these war petitions (as they called them) were persons of none or a remoter interest in the American trade; but of that description of warm and active party men commonly called Tories. —And they entered into several examinations to prove the truth of the former part of their assertion. This produced many long and hot debates.

Other petitions were presented to the crown and equally disregarded. One from the British settlers in Canada against the Quebec bill, in which they state, that upon the faith of the royal proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, they had settled in that province, purchased houses and lands, and entered so extensively into trade, commerce, and agriculture, that the value of land and the wealth of the inhabitants were thereby more than doubled; and after stating their dutiful behaviour to government, and the peace and amity in which they live with the new subjects, grievously complain, that they find themselves, by the late act of parliament, deprived of the franchises which they inherit from their ancestors, and cut off from the benefit and protection of the English laws; that in their stead they are to be governed by the laws of Canada, to which they are utter strangers; and which they consider to be disgraceful to them as Britons; ruinous to their property, by taking away the invaluable privilege of trials by juries; and destructive to their personal liberty and security, as well by dissolving the habeas corpus act, as by the extraordinary powers which are lodged in the hands of the governor and council.

The Quakers also presented a petition, in which, besides endeavouring to diffuse the influence of that spirit of peace, which is the predominant principle in their religious system, they liberally (without attempting to confine loyalty

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loyalty to their own sect) declare themselves persuaded, that there are not in his Majesty's extensive dominions, subjects more loyal, and more zealously attached to his royal person, his family, and government, than in the provinces of America, and amongst all religious denominations.

In this season of public discontent, when all men's minds were agitated on one side or other, the city of London, not discouraged by the fate of all its applications for a number of years past, once more approached the throne, with an address, remonstrance, and petition; upon a subject, and in a manner, as little calculated to obtain a favourable reception as any of the preceeding. In this remonstrance, they recapitulated the whole catalogue of American grievances; declared their abhorrence of the measures which had been pursued, and were then pursuing, to the oppression of their fellow subjects in the colonies; that these measures were big with all the consequences which could alarm a free and commercial people; a deep and perhaps fatal wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of the revenue, and consequent increase of taxes; the alienation of the colonies; and the blood of his majesty's subjects. But that they looked with less horror at the consequences, than at the purpose of those measures. Not deceived by the specious artifice of calling despotism, dignity, they said, they plainly perceived, that the real purpose was, to establish arbitrary power over all America.

April 10th,

They justify the resistance, to which, they say, his majesty's faithful subjects have been driven by these grievances, upon the great principles of the constitution, actuated by which, at the glorious period of the revolution, our ancestors transferred the imperial crown of these realms to the illustrious House of Brunswick. They say, "Your petitioners are persuaded, that these measures originated in the secret advice of men who are enemies equally to your majesty's title and to the liberties of your people. That your majesty's ministers carry them into execution by the same fatal corruption which has enabled them to wound the peace and violate the constitution of this country—thus they poison the fountain of public security, and render that body which should be the guardian of liberty a formidable instrument of arbitrary power."——"Your petitioners do therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, to dismiss immediately, and for ever, from your councils, those ministers and advisers, as the first step towards a redress of those grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people. So shall peace and commerce be restored; and the confidence and affection of all your majesty's subjects be the solid supporters of your throne."

As Mr. Wilkes was now Lord Mayor, he of course attended officially to present this remonstrance, and was cautioned by the Lord in waiting, that his majesty expected he should not speak to him. The following answer was delivered from the throne. "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging

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" encouraging the rebellious dis-
" position which unhappily exists
" in some of my colonies in North
" America. Having entire con-
" fidence in the wisdom of my
" parliament, the great council of
" the nation, I will steadily pur-
" sue those measures which they
" have recommended for the sup-
" port of the constitutional rights
" of Great-Britain, and the pro-
" tection of the commercial in-
" terests of my kingdoms." This remonstrance was productive of a particular mark of resentment. In a few days after its being presented, a letter was received by the Lord Mayor from the Lord Chamberlain, in which, as chief magistrate of the City of London, he acquainted him from his majesty, that he would not receive on the throne any address, remonstrance, or petition, of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, but in their corporate capacity.

As the American fisheries were now abolished, it became necessary to think of some measures for supplying their place, and particularly to guard against the ruinous consequences of the foreign markets either changing the course of consumption, or falling into the hands of strangers, and those perhaps inimical to this country. The consumption of fish oil, as a substitute for tallow, was now become so extensive, as to render that also an object of great national concern; the city of London alone expending about 300,000l. annually in that commodity. Whatever present purposes the evidence lately before the House might answer, in shewing that there was a sufficient fund of money, ships, men, and inclination ready, for an immediate transfer of the fisheries, not only without loss, but with great gain and benefit, it soon became evident, that the minister did not chuse to risque matters of such infinite importance upon the veracity of those representations.

It seemed also necessary in the present state of public affairs, that the kingdom of Ireland should be taken more notice of, and some greater consideration paid to her interests, than had been the practice for many years. The question between the colonies and parliament, particularly in the manner in which it had been lately argued, was not calculated to quiet that kingdom. The repose of all the parts still at rest was never more necessary. In the crisis to which matters were now evidently tending, little doubt remained, that even assistance would be requisite from that country; besides, her patience, her sufferings, and her forbearance, were to be held up as a mirrour, and in contrast to the colonies; and though these merits had long passed unregarded, this did not seem a fit reason to encourage an opinion, that a similar conduct would never obtain any reward. The nature of the benefit was however to be considered, and nothing could seem better adapted than a donation which would be an advantage instead of a loss to the giver. A share in the first fruits of a spoil was also a lure of undoubted efficacy for enticing future service. It was not, in itself, very considerable; but it was said, it might be considered as a beginning; and small benefits carry weight with those who had not been habituated to great favours.

It was shewn in the course of

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the late evidence before the House, that the exports from this country to Ireland amounted to 2,400,000l. annually; besides her supporting a large and excellent standing army, at all times ready for our defence; and the immense sums of her ready cash, which her numerous absentees, pensioners, and placemen spend in this country. Yet from oppressive restrictions in trade, some of them highly impolitic and prejudicial to ourselves, that country is cut off from the benefit of her great natural staple commodity, as well as excluded in general from the advantages which she might derive from her admirable situation, and her great number of excellent harbours.

The minister accordingly moved for a committee of the whole House, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great-Britain and Ireland. This attention to Ireland was generally approved of, and after some conversation upon the hardships which that country suffered, it was proposed by some gentlemen who were particularly attached to its interests to extend the motion, by adding the words *trade and commerce*, and thereby affording an opportunity of enquiring particularly into the state of that kingdom, and of granting such relief and indulgence in those respects, as could be done without prejudice to ourselves. The minister did not object to the reasonableness or expediency of entering upon this subject at a proper time; but said that the proposed amendment would introduce a mass of matter, much too weighty and extensive for present consideration; that he would therefore confine the motion to the immediate object of the fisheries, leaving the other matter at large.

April 27th. The committee in its progress granted several bounties to the ships of Great-Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery; and the minister went farther than his original avowal, by two resolutions which he introduced and passed in favour of the latter kingdom. By the first of these it was rendered lawful to export from Ireland clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment as were employed abroad; and by the second, a bounty of five shillings per barrel, was allowed on all flax-seed imported into Ireland. This last resolution was passed to prevent the evils that were apprehended to that country, from the cutting off its great American source of supply in that article. Another resolution was also passed, by which the Irish were allowed to export provisions, hooks, lines, nets, tools, and implements, for the purposes of the fishery. Some Gentlemen of Ireland however complained that clauses were insidiously stolen into the act to prevent its operating in any considerable extent, and to prevent the employment of English capitals in that kingdom. The committee, besides, agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the whale-fishery, in those seas that were to the southward of the Greenland and Davis's streights fisheries; and upon the same principle took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone from Newfoundland, &c.

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They also took off the duty that was payable on the importation of seal-skins.

May 15th. Towards the close of the session Mr. Burke acquainted the House, that he had received a paper of great importance from the General Assembly of the province of New-York; a province which yielded to no part of his majesty's dominions in its zeal for the prosperity and unity of the empire, and which had ever contributed, as much as any, in its proportion, to the defence and wealth of the whole. He observed, that it was a complaint, in the form of a remonstrance, of several acts of parliament, some of which, as they affirmed, had established principles, and others had made regulations, subversive of the rights of English subjects. That he did not know whether the House would approve of every opinion contained in that paper; but that as nothing could be more decent and respectful than the whole tenor and language of the remonstrance, a mere mistake in opinion, upon any one point, ought not to prevent their receiving it, and granting redress on such other matters as might be really grievous, and which were not necessarily connected with that erroneous opinion. He represented this direct application from America, and dutiful procedure of New-York, in the present critical juncture, as a most desirable and even fortunate circumstance; and strongly urged, that they never had before them so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the unhappy disputes with the colonies as at present; and he conjured them, in the most earnest manner, not to let it escape, as possibly the like might never again return.

He then moved, That the representation and remonstrance of the General Assembly of the colony of New-York, To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled, be brought up. The minister immediately moved an amendment, which was an indirect though effectual negative upon the motion, by inserting that the said Assembly claim to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by an act of the 6th of his present majesty, entitled, &c. It was contended in opposition to the motion, that the honour of parliament required, that no paper should be received by that House, which tended to call in question its unlimited authority; that they had already relaxed in very essential points, but they could not hear any thing which tended to call in question their right of taxation; that the declaratory act must be repealed, before such a paper was admitted to be brought up; that the House never received even petitions of that nature; but that here the name of a petition was studiously avoided, lest any think like an obedience to parliament should be acknowledged.

On the other side it was said, that without regard to any abstract questions upon the authority of parliament, or the rights of individuals, a particular consideration was due, in the present circumstances, to the temperate conduct and exemplary good behaviour of the province of New-York. In the midst of all the violence which overspread the continent, that colony preserved her

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legislature and government entire; and when every thing seemed elsewhere tending to a civil war, she dutifully submitted her complaints to the justice and clemency of the mother country. That assembly which was now applying to them, in such moderate and respectful terms, for a redress of grievances, was the same, which not long before had been so highly applauded by the minister, for refusing to accede to the association of the general congress. Were the ministers then determined, or did they think it could answer any useful purpose, to drive every part of America into an equal state of desperation? There were times and seasons when wise men would avoid the discussion of odious questions. There were times in which it was highly prudent to let claims of right, however founded, lie dormant. New-York, it was said, was already in bad odour with her sister colonies from the coolness and temperance of her conduct; with what face can she resist their reproaches, or persevere in that moderation, when it is known that she is treated with a contempt and disregard, which could not perhaps be justified with respect to the most contumacious? When it is known, that so far from obtaining a redress of grievances, her complaints of them will not even be heard? What answer, said they, can be given by the friends of the authority of parliament to those, who shall reproach them with their confidence in its declarations to such as should dutifully apply for redress of grievances? The predictions of those who said it would be vain to look for redress from parliament, are verified. Those who promised better things are disgraced. What resource will New-York have, in such circumstances, but by endeavouring to regain the esteem and confidence of the other colonies to exceed them in violence?

During the debates, the question was repeatedly called for, and being at length put upon the minister's amendment, it was carried upon a division by a majority of 186 to 67; and the question being then put upon the amended motion, it was rejected without a division.

The assembly of New-York had also transmitted a memorial to the Lords, and a petition to the King. The Duke of Manchester brought in the memorial to the Lords, and moved for its being read. This motion brought on much discussion; but which served sufficiently to shew the general temper and complexion with respect to the subject. It was said, that the title of the paper rendered it inadmissible, as the term *memorial* was only applicable to the representations which passed between sovereigns; that the noble mover had not sufficiently explained the contents, and that it might contain some matter not fit to be heard. In the same spirit, some remedies were proposed; that if the noble Duke did not chuse to explain the contents, he might read the paper in his place, as a part of his speech; or if that was thought too troublesome, the clerk might stand by him, and read it for him.

To these objections it was answered, that the lowest commissioned officer in the service had an unquestioned right to present a memorial to his majesty, in any case of real or supposed grievance; so that the term in question did not at all militate with their dignity; that

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that the noble mover of the question had sufficiently explained the matter, by reading the prayer of the memorial, and shewing that it was for a redress of grievances; that for farther particulars he referred them to the original which he proposed to be read; declining rendering himself responsible for the fate of the petition, by the explanations which he might give of the contents. The proposed remedies were rejected with indignation, and an end at length put to this altercation by calling the question, when, upon a division, the motion for reading the memorial was rejected by a majority of 20, the numbers being 45 against, to 25, who supported the question. Such was the fate of the applications made by the assembly of New-York for a redress of their supposed grievances. Nothing done in parliament seemed to be better calculated to widen the breach between Great-Britain and the colonies.

The day before this transaction, a petition to the Lords from the British inhabitants of the province of Quebec, was presented to that House by Lord Camden. This petition was founded upon the same principles with that which was lately presented to the throne; and the petitioners, after stating the grievances which they suffered in consequence of the late law, conclude by imploring their Lordships' favourable interposition, as the hereditary guardians of the rights of the people, that the said act may be repealed or amended, and that the petitioners may enjoy their constitutional rights, privileges, and franchises.

Some endeavours were also ineffectually used to prevent the reading of this petition. It was asked by what means it came into the noble Lord's hands? how they could be satisfied that it came really from the persons to whom it was attributed? And the propriety of receiving any petition, which did not come through the hands of the Governor and Council, was called in question. To these it was replied, that the first was a matter of very little consequence; the petition had been for some time in town, and had been refused by every Lord in administration; as to the second, the agent for the province would remove every doubt on that head; and as to the third, it was said to be a new and dangerous doctrine, that petitions for the redress of grievances could only be transmitted through the hands of those, whose interest it might be to suppress them totally, and who from situation were liable to be themselves the authors of those grievances.

The noble Lord who introduced the petition then observed, that upon the fullest examination of the late law, he found it so thoroughly impolitic, pernicious, and incompatible with the religion and constitution of this country, that no amendment, nor any thing short of a total repeal, would be sufficient. He arranged his objections to it under the following heads; viz. The extension of the limits of Quebec—the establisment of Popery there—and the civil despotism in which the inhabitants of that immensely extended province are to be perpetually bound, by being deprived of all share in the legislative power, and subjected in life, freedom, and property, to the arbitrary ordinances of a Governor and Coun-

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cil, appointed by, and dependant upon the crown.

The noble Lord expatiated upon these different subjects, and having brought a great number of facts and arguments to shew the impolicy, injustice, tyranny, and iniquity of that law, declared, that it deserved to be reprobated by the unanimous voice of parliament, and that if there remained the smallest regard for liberty and the constitution in one part of the House, or for the Protestant religion in the other, they must necessarily concur in their censure. He then proposed a bill, which was read to the House, for the repeal of the late act, and which was not to take effect until the 1st of May, 1776, thereby to afford time for the providing of a proper form of government for that province.

This measure was strongly opposed by administration, and a motion was made by the nobleman who presided at the head of the American department, that the bill should be rejected. They contended on that side, that the French Canadians were rendered exceedingly happy by the late law; in support of which assertion, they produced an address to General Carleton, the Governor, upon his arrival in that province, and another to the King, wherein they expressed their thanks and gratitude for being restored to their ancient rights and privileges. These, they said, were indubitable proofs how much the people were pleased, and expected to be benefitted by the change, and removed every doubt of the utility of the present system. They represented the British settlers, supposing them to have concurred unanimously in the matter of the petition, to be, comparatively, only a handful of people; and insisted, that upon no one principle of good policy, justice, or public faith, near an hundred thousand peaceable loyal subjects should be rendered unhappy and miserable, merely to gratify the unreasonable request of two or three thousand persons, who wished for what was impracticable, and thought themselves deprived of what they had in possession.

As much censure had been expressed or implied, both within doors and without, relative to the whole conduct of the bishops in the Canada transactions, as if they had not only neglected, but abandoned the interests of the Protestant religion, the reverend Father of that venerable bench now stood up to justify the Quebec act, so far as it related to religious matters; which he did upon the principles of toleration, the faith of the capitulation, and the terms of the definitive treaty of peace. After long debates, in which much extraneous matter seemed to be purposely brought in, and a long law contest, between a learned Lord high in office and the noble framer of the bill, the motion for its rejection was carried upon a division, at ten o'clock at night, by the majority of sixty, the numbers being 88, who opposed, to 28 Lords only, who supported the bill. The two royal Dukes, and brothers, were in the minority upon this division.

About the same time, another petition from the same, 18th. inhabitants of Quebec was presented to the House of Commons by Sir George Saville, in which, besides the matters they had stated in the two former, they represented, that a petition to his majesty,

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in the name of all the French inhabitants of that province, and upon which the late law had been avowedly founded, was not fairly obtained, and had neither received the concurrence, nor even been communicated to the people in general; on the contrary, that it had been carried about in a secret manner, and signed by a few of the noblesse, advocates, and others who were in their confidence, through the suggestions, and under the influence of the clergy; and they affirmed, that the inhabitants in general, the French freeholders, merchants and traders, were as much alarmed as themselves, at the introduction of the Canadian laws. They concluded by praying, that the said act may be repealed or amended, and that they may have the benefit and protection of the English laws, in so far as relates to personal property; and that their liberty may be ascertained, according to their ancient constitutional rights and privileges.

The gentleman who introduced the petition, having exercised that acuteness of disquisition, and that liveliness of imagery, by which among other eminent qualities he is distinguished, in examining and laying open the weak or obnoxious parts of the Quebec act, and throwing a new light even upon those which had already undergone the highest degree of colouring, concluded his speech with a motion for repealing the late act for the better government of the province of Quebec. Though this motion produced some considerable debates, the subject was already so much exhausted, that they could not be very interesting; excepting that the minister, in the course of them, avowed his intention, if it should become necessary, of arming the Canadians against the other colonies. He, however, declared his firm persuasion, that the troubles in America would be settled speedily, happily, and without bloodshed. The motion was rejected upon a division by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being 174 to 86.

The money-bills which received the royal assent, at the close of the session, were accompanied with a speech from the Speaker to his Majesty, stating the heaviness of the grants, which nothing but the particular exigencies of the times could justify in a season of profound peace; he, however, gave an assurance, that if the Americans should persist in their resolutions, and the sword must be drawn, the Commons would do every thing in their power to maintain and support the supremacy of this legislature. He besides praised the late law for determining controverted elections, and concluded by expressing his confidence, that the money now granted would be faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was appropriated.

May 26th. In the speech from the throne, the most perfect satisfaction in their conduct, during the course of this important session, was expressed. It was said, that they had maintained, with a firm and steady resolution, the rights of the crown and the authority of parliament, which should ever be considered as inseparable; that they had protected and promoted the commercial interests of these kingdoms; and they had, at the same time, given convincing proofs of their readiness

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(as far as the constitution would allow them) to gratify the wishes, and remove the apprehensions of the subjects in America; and a persuasion was entertained, that the most salutary effects must, in the end, result from measures formed and conducted on such principles. A favourable representation was made of the pacific disposition of other powers, and the usual assurance given of endeavouring to secure the public tranquillity. Much concern was expressed, that the unhappy disturbances, in some of the colonies, had occasioned an augmentation of the land-forces, and prevented the intended reduction of the naval establishment from being completed; and great thanks were returned for the chearfulness and public spirit with which they had granted the supplies. It concluded with the usual recommendation, to preserve and cultivate, in their several counties, the same regard for public order, and the same discernment of their true interests, which have in these times distinguished the character of his Majesty's faithful and beloved people; and the continuance of which cannot fail to render them happy at home, and respected abroad.

CHAP. VIII.

State of affairs in America during the sitting of parliament. Preparations. Ordnance seized in Rhode-Island. A fort taken, and powder seized in New-Hampshire. Resolutions of the general congress approved of and confirmed in different places—rejected by the assembly of New-York. Proceedings of the new provincial congress in Massachusett's Bay. Detachment sent to seize on some cannon at Salem. Dispute at a draw-bridge, Affair at Lexington and Concord. Loss on both sides. Province rise in arms. Boston invested by great bodies of the militia. Provincial congress address the people of Great-Britain. Measures pursued for the array and support of an army; pay of the officers and soldiers fixed, and rules for its regulation and government published. Capitulation with the inhabitants of Boston not adhered to. Continental congress meet at Philadelphia. Resolutions for the raising of an army, the establishment of a paper currency, and to prevent the British fisheries from being supplied with provisions. Application from the people of New-York to the congress. Crown-Point and Ticonderoga surprized. Generals and troops arrive at Boston. Engagements in the islands near Boston. General congress resolve that the compact between the crown and the province of Massachusett's Bay is dissolved. Erect a general post-office. Proclamation of rebellion by Gen. Gage. Action at Bunker's Hill. Light-house burnt. Consequences of the Quebec act. Declaration of the general congress, in answer to the late proclamation. Address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain——to the people of Ireland. Petition to the king. Georgia accedes to the general confederacy. Gen. Washington appointed commander in chief of all the American forces by the general congress.

DURING these transactions at home, affairs were every day becoming more dangerous in America. Whatever hesitation or doubt might before have operated with the timid, or principles of caution

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caution and prudence with the moderate, they were now all removed by the determinations of the general congress. These became immediately the political creed of the colonies, and a perfect compliance with their resolutions was every where determined upon, as soon as the general sense of the people could be obtained. The unanimity which prevailed throughout the continent was amazing. The same language was held by town and provincial meetings, by general assemblies, by judges in their charges, and by grand juries in their presentments; and all their acts tended to the same point. It was a new and wonderful thing to see the inhabitants of rich and great commercial countries, who had acquired a long established habitual relish for the superfluities and luxuries of foreign nations, all at once determined to abandon those captivating allurements, and to restrain themselves to bare necessaries. It was scarcely an object of greater admiration, that the merchant should forego the advantages of commerce, the farmer submit to the loss of the sale of his products and the benefits of his industry, and the seaman, with the numberless other persons dependant upon trade, contentedly resign the very means of livelihood, and trust to a precarious subsistence from the public spirit or charity of the opulent. Such however was the spectacle, which America at that time, and still in some degree, exhibited to the world.

Great hopes were however placed on the success of the petition from the continental congress to the throne. Nor was it supposed, that their general application to the people of England would have been unproductive of effect. A still greater reliance was not unreasonably placed upon the effect which the unanimity and determinations of the congress would produce, in influencing public opinions and measures at home.

These hopes and opinions had for a time a considerable effect in restraining those violences which afterwards took place. But however well they might seem to be founded, and however general their operation, the principal leaders, and most experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made some preparation for the worst that might happen. The southern colonies began to arm as well as the northern, and to train and exercise their militia; and as soon as advice was received of the proclamation issued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to remedy the defect. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible of foreigners for the supply of those essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and encouragement given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms of every sort. Great difficulties however attended these beginnings; and the supply of powder, both from the home manufacture and the importation, was for a long time scanty and precarious.

The Governor's proclamation against the provincial congress in Massachusett's Bay, had not the smallest effect, either upon the proceedings of that assembly, or the conduct of the people, who paid an implicit

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implicit obedience to its determinations. As expresses continually passed between that body and the general congress, no doubt can be entertained, that its measures were regulated by their opinion. The critical situation of the capital was an object of much consideration; nor was it easy to determine in what manner to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, and to prevent its becoming a sore thorn in the side of the province, if matters should proceed to extremity. From its natural advantages of situation, with the works thrown up on the Neck, Boston was already become a very strong hold; and was capable, with little difficulty, of being rendered a place of such strength, as, under the protection of a navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced. From the same causes it was liable to be converted, at the discretion of the Governor, into a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the conduct of the province at large.

Different proposals were said to be made to prevent or remedy these evils. One was, simply, to remove the inhabitants; another, to set a valuation upon their estates, burn the town, and reimburse them for their losses. Both these schemes were found to be clogged with so many difficulties as rendered them impracticable. Force was the only expedient which could be applied with success; but they did not as yet seem disposed to proceed to that extremity. In the mean time, numbers of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the real or pretended apprehension of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and sent to England, to stand trial for supposed offences.

The provincial congress having done all the business that was thought proper or necessary for the present, dissolved themselves towards the end of November, having first appointed another meeting to be held in the ensuing month of February. This cessation afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyalists, as they now called themselves, to shew themselves in a few places; to try their strength and numbers, and to endeavour to resist the general current. Some associations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and a refusal was made, in a few towns, to comply with the resolutions of the provincial congress; but the contrary spirit was so prevalent, that those attempts were soon quelled. The dissentients were overwhelmed by numbers. All these attempts came to nothing.

As soon as an account was received at Rhode Island, of the prohibition on the exportation of military stores from Great-Britain, the people seized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon some batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes. A captain of a man of war having waited upon the governor to enquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed with great frankness, that the people had seized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that should offer to molest them. The assembly of that island

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island also passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores, by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants.

The province of New-Hampshire had hitherto preserved a greater degree of moderation than any other of the New-England governments. As soon, however, as intelligence arrived of the transactions at Rhode-Island, with a copy of their resolutions, and of the royal proclamation which gave rise to them, a similar spirit operated upon that people. A body of men accordingly assembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a small fort, called William and Mary, considerable only for being the object of the first movement in the province. This was easily taken, and supplied them with a quantity of powder, by which they were enabled to put themselves into a state of defence.

Dec. 14th, 1774.

No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter. A firm determination of resistance was, however, universally spread, and grew the stronger by the arrival of the King's speech, and the addresses of the new parliament; which seemed, in the opinion of the Americans, nearly to cut off all hopes of reconciliation. It is remarkable that all the acts and public declarations, which here were recommended as the means of pacifying, by intimidating that people, constantly produced the contrary effect. The more clearly a determination was shewn to enforce an high authority, the more strenuously the colonists seemed determined to resist it. The assembly of Pennsylvania, which met by adjournment towards the close of the year, was the first legal convention which unanimously approved of and ratified all the acts of the general congress, and appointed delegates to represent them in the new congress, which was to be held in the ensuing month of May.

The proceedings were similar in other places, whether transacted by the assemblies, or by provincial conventions of deputies. The convention of Maryland appointed a sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention, which was held at Philadelphia in the latter end of January, passed a number of resolutions for the encouragement of the most necessary manufactures within themselves; among which, salt, gunpowder, saltpetre, and steel, were particularly recommended. They also passed a resolution, in which they declared it to be their most earnest wish and desire to see harmony restored between Great-Britain and the colonies; and that they would exert their utmost endeavours for the attainment of that most desirable object. But that if the humble and loyal petition of the congress to his majesty should be disregarded, and the British administration, instead of redressing their grievances, should determine by force to effect a submission to the late arbitrary acts of parliament, in such a situation they hold it their indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America.

The assembly of New-York, which met in the beginning of the year, was, however, a single exception to the

Jan. 10, 1775.

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the rest of the continent. In this assembly, after very considerable debates upon the question of acceding to the resolutions of the general congress, it was rejected upon a division, though by a very small majority. They afterwards proceeded to state the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were much encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they presaged the happiest effects, flattering themselves, that when all other means had failed of success, they should have the lasting honour of procuring a thorough reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies; a hope, however fruitless, which probably had a great effect in their late determination. It was also said, that this method had been suggested to them from authority in England. They accordingly drew up that petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and representation and remonstrance to the commons, the inefficacy of which we have already seen.

Feb. 1. The new provincial congress, which met at Cambridge, in Massachusett's Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predecessors. Among other resolutions, they published one, to inform the people, that from the present disposition of the British ministry and parliament, there was real cause to fear, that the reasonable and just applications of that continent to Great-Britain for peace, liberty, and safety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that colony, the tenor of intelligence from Great-Britain, and general appearances, they have reason to apprehend, that the sudden destruction of that colony in particular was intended, for refusing, with the other American colonies, tamely to submit to, what they termed, the most ignominious slavery.

They therefore urged, in the strongest terms, the militia in general, and the *minute men* in particular, to spare neither time, pains, nor expence, at so critical a juncture, in perfecting themselves forthwith in military discipline. They passed other resolutions for the providing and making of fire-arms and bayonets; and renewed more strictly the prohibition of their predecessors, against supplying the troops at Boston with any of those necessaries which are peculiarly requisite for the military service; the markets at Boston being still open to the supply of provisions. As we have made use of a term which has hitherto been unknown in military transactions, it may require some explanation. By *minute men* are to be understood a select number of the militia, who undertake to hold themselves, upon all occasions, and at the shortest notice, in readiness for actual service. By their alertness they have since shewn that the name was not misapplied.

A circular letter from the secretary of state for the American department, forbidding, in the king's name, and under pain of his displeasure, the election of deputies for the ensuing general congress, was productive of no manner of effect; the elections every where took place, even in the province of New-York, notwithstanding the late resolution in their assembly.

Things

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Things continued very quiet at Boston. To which the injunctions of the different congresses perhaps contributed as much, as the ships of war that crowded the harbour, or the force that was stationed in the town. The calm was however precarious and fallacious on both sides. Combustible matter had been gathered in abundance. More was in preparation, and the least spark was likely to kindle a general conflagration.

Governor Gage having received intelligence that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, sent a detachment of troops, under the command of a field officer, on board a transport, Feb. 26. in order to seize upon and bring them to Boston. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were disappointed as to finding the cannon; but having some reason to imagine they had been only removed that morning in consequence of their approach, it induced them to march further into the country in hopes of overtaking them. In this pursuit they arrived at a draw-bridge over a small river, where a number of the country people were assembled, and those on the opposite side had taken up the bridge to prevent their passage. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refused, saying, that it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a passage that way. For to the last moment the language of peace was preserved, and until the sword was decisively drawn, all resistance was carried on upon some legal ground. Upon this refusal, the officer determined to make use of a boat, thereby to gain possession of the bridge; but the country people perceiving his intention, several of them jumped into the boat with axes, and cut holes thro' her bottom, which occasioned some scuffle between them and the soldiers in and about the boat. Things were now tending to extremities, as the commander seemed determined to force his passage, and the others as resolutely bent to prevent it. In this situation, a neighbouring clergyman, who had attended the whole transaction, remonstrated with the lieutenant-colonel, upon the fatal consequences which would inevitably attend his making use of force. And finding that the point of military honour, with respect to making good his passage, was the principal object with that gentleman, it being then too late in the evening to prosecute his original design, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge, which the troops took possession of; and the colonel having pushed a detachment a little way into the country, in exercise of the right which he assumed, they immediately after returned, without molestation, on board the transport. Thus ended this first expedition, without effect, and happily without mischief. Enough appeared to shew upon what a slender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the least exertion of the military would certainly bring things to extremities. The people, since the acts for casting away their charter, and for protecting the soldiery from any trial in the province, considered themselves as put under military government. Every motion of that body became suspected, and was in their eyes an exertion of the

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the most odious and most dreadful tyranny.

This appearance of resistance seems, on the other side, to have greatly irritated the military; for from this time they appear to have lived upon worse terms with the inhabitants of Boston than they had hitherto done; some general and wanton insults, as well as particular outrages having been complained of. But the crisis was now fast approaching, in which all lesser evils and calamities were to be lost and forgotten in the contemplation of those of a great and serious nature.

The provincials having collected a considerable quantity of military stores at the town of Concord, where the provincial congress was also held, General Gage thought it expedient to detach the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn of the marines, in order to destroy them. It is said and believed, that this expedition had another object in view, which was to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, those great and obnoxious leaders of the faction which opposed the new system of government. The detachment, which was supposed to consist of about 900 men, embarked in boats at Boston on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, from whence they proceeded with great silence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horseback in the mean time scoured the roads, and secured such country people as they chanced to meet with at that early time. Notwithstanding these precautions, they discovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light.

Upon their arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia, belonging to that town, assembled on a green near the road; upon which an officer in the van called out, *Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse:* the soldiers at the same time running up with loud huzzas, some scattering shots were first fired, and immediately succeeded by a general discharge, by which eight of the militia were killed, and several wounded.

Thus was the first blood drawn in this unhappy civil contest. Great pains were taken on each side to shew the other to have been the aggressor upon this occasion: a matter of little consequence, in a political view, as things were now too far advanced to leave room for a probable hope of any other than such a final issue. It was said in the Gazette, that the troops were first fired upon from some neighbouring houses. There is some obscurity in this business, for it appears, from the general tenor of the evidence, as well of some of our own people who were taken prisoners, as of a great number of the provincials, all whose depositions were regularly taken and attested by proper magistrates, that the firing both at Lexington and Concord was commenced by the troops. Indeed it seems evident, that a single company of militia, standing, as it may be said, under the muzzles of our soldiers guns, would have been sufficient pledges to prevent any outrage

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outrage from their friends and neighbours in the adjoining houses.

After this execution, the detachment proceeded to Concord, the commanding officer having previously dispatched six companies of light infantry to possess two bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town, probably with a view of preventing any of the stores from being carried off that way; or, if he had orders about the seizure of persons, to prevent the escape of those whom it was his object to secure. A body of militia, who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the approach of the troops, and passed over one of those bridges, which was immediately after taken possession of by the light infantry. The main body having arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering three pieces of iron cannon unserviceable, destroying some gun and other carriages, and throwing several barrels of flour, gunpowder and musket ball into the river. In the mean time, the militia which retired from the hill, seeing several fires in the town which they apprehended to be of houses in flames, returned towards the bridge which they had lately passed, and which lay in their way thither. Upon this movement, the light infantry retired on the Concord side of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; but upon the near approach of the militia, (who seemed studiously to have avoided all appearance of beginning the attack, and made as if they only wanted to pass as common travellers) the soldiers immediately fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a skirmish ensued at the bridge, in which the former seem to have been under some disadvantage, and were forced to retreat, having several men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken.

About this time the country rose upon them. The troops were attacked on all quarters; skirmish succeeded upon skirmish; and a continued, though scattering and irregular fire, was supported through the whole of a long and very hot day. In the march back of six miles to Lexington, the troops were exceedingly annoyed, not only by the pursuers, but by the fire from houses, walls, and other coverts, all of which were filled or lined with armed men.

It happened fortunately, that General Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith's detachment, and that they were arrived at Lexington, by the time the others had returned from Concord. This circumstance was the more fortunate, as it is reported the first detachment had by that time expended all their ammunition; but if that even had not been the case, it scarcely seems possible that they could have escaped being cut off or taken in the long subsequent retreat of fifteen miles.

This powerful support, especially the cannon, afforded a breathing-time to the first detachment at Lexington, which they already much wanted. The field-pieces obliged the provincials to keep their distance. But as soon as the troops resumed their march, the attacks, as the country people became more numerous, grew in proportion more violent, and the danger was continually

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tinually augmenting, until they arrived about sun-set at Charlestown; from whence they passed over directly to Boston, under the protection (as the provincials say) of the guns of the Somerset man of war; the troops being entirely spent and worn down, by the excessive fatigues they had undergone. They had marched that day near 35 miles.

The loss was not so great on either side, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement might seem to indicate; which may be attributed to the provincials not being at first powerful in number, and to their being afterwards kept at some distance by the field pieces. The king's troops, as may be expected, were the greater sufferers, having lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 273 men, of which 65 were killed, 2 lieutenants, and above 20 private men taken prisoners, and Colonel Smith, with another lieutenant-colonel and several officers, wounded. By the provincial account, which gives the names and places of abode of those who fell on their side, their loss in killed and wounded (including those who fell by the first fire in the morning at Lexington) amounted only to about sixty, of which near two thirds were killed.

By the nearest calculation that can be made, there were from 1800 to 2000 of the best troops in the service (being about half the force that was then stationed at Boston) employed upon this expedition. The event sufficiently shewed how ill informed those were who had so often asserted at home, that a regiment or two could force their way through any part of the continent, and that the very sight of a grenadier's cap would be sufficient to put an American army to flight.

Upon this occasion, each side charged the other with the most inhuman cruelties. Civil wars produce many such charges; but we have good reason, and some authority for believing, that these accounts, if at all true on either side, were much exaggerated. On one side it is certain, that an officer and some of the soldiers who were wounded and prisoners, gave public testimonials of the humanity with which they were treated; and that the provincial commanders sent an offer to General Gage, to admit his surgeons to come and dress the wounded.

Although, on the other side, the regulars were charged with killing the old, the infirm, the unarmed, and the wounded, without mercy; with burning several houses, and plundering every thing that came in their way; we have had too constant and uniform an experience of the honour of our officers, and the humanity of our soldiers, not to consider this account as equally exaggerated.

This affair immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a sufficient number were speedily assembled effectually to invest the king's troops in Boston, it was with difficulty that the crowds who were hastily marching from different parts, could be prevailed upon to return to their respective homes. The body of militia which surrounded Boston, amounted, as it was said, to above 20,000 men, under the command of the Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescot, and Thomas, who for the present acted as generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed

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formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Mystick, the distance between the points being about thirty miles. This line they strengthened with artillery. They were speedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired experience and reputation in the two last wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut troops in such a position, as to be readily able to support those who were before the town.

In the mean time the provincial congress, which was now removed to Watertown, drew up an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, in which they stated the most material particulars, relative to the late engagement, and took pains to shew, that hostilities were first commenced, and blood drawn, both at Lexington and Concord, by the regulars. They complain of the ravages committed by them in their retreat; place much dependance on the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons, from which they hope their interference in preventing the prosecution of measures, which, they represent, as equally ruinous to the mother country and the colonies; they make great professions of loyalty, but declare, that they will not tamely submit to the persecution and tyranny of a cruel ministry, and (appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause) that they are determined to die or be free.

The provincial congress also passed a vote for the array and support of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and soldiers, and published rules and orders for its regulation and government. To provide for the military expence, they passed a vote for the issuing of a considerable sum in paper currency, which was to be received in all cases as money, and the faith of the province pledged for its payment. As the term for which they were chosen was to expire on the 30th of May, they gave notice for the election of a new congress, to meet on the 31st of that month at the same place, and to be continued for six months, and no longer. They also passed a resolution, that General Gage had, by the late transactions, and many other means, utterly disqualified himself from serving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity, and that therefore no obedience was in future due to him; but that on the contrary he ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country. May 5th.

The affair at Lexington (though some such event must have been long foreseen and expected) excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch as if an enemy had already appeared at each of their doors. The bravery shewn by the militia in this their first essay, and the supposed advantages they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation; while those who fell in the action were regretted with the deepest concern, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cause of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjustly founded, produced a great effect, and increased the public fever.

In some places the magazines were seized, and in New-Jersey the

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treasury; a considerable sum of money in which was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raising. At the same time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a stop was almost every where put to the exportation of provisions; and in some places all exportation was stopt, until the opinion of the general congress upon that subject was known. Lord North's conciliatory plan, or the resolution founded upon it, was totally rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey; nor was it received any where.

In the mean time, the governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; and being shut out from all supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded by sea, they began to experience those inconveniences which afterwards amounted to real distress. As the inhabitants had now no other resource for their subsistance than the king's stores, the provincials were the more strict in preventing all supplies, hoping that the want of provisions would lay the governor under a necessity of consenting to their departure from the town; or at least that the women and children would be suffered to depart, which was repeatedly applied for. It is probable that the governor considered the inhabitants as necessary hostages for the security of the town, at least, if not of the troops. However it was, he at length entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their other effects. The inhabitants accordingly delivered up their arms; but to their utter dismay and astonishment, the governor refused to fulfil the conditions on his side. This breach of faith, and the consequences that attended it, were much complained of. Many, however, both then, and at different times after, obtained permission to quit the town; but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that those who had hitherto lived in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to the extremity of indigence and misery. The general congress ranked amongst their bitterest complaints, the sufferings of the inhabitants in this respect. They say that passports were granted or retained in such a manner, that families were broken, and the dearest connections separated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part retained against their will. This, by far the most dishonourable to government, we are obliged in fairness to state according to the provincial narrative, no other having appeared to contradict or qualify it. The poor and the helpless were all sent out.

The continental congress having met at the time appointed at Philadelphia, soon adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their resolution and conduct. Among their first acts were resolutions for the raising of an army, and the establishment of a large paper currency for its payment; the "*United Colonies*," (by which appellation they resolved that they should be known and distinguished for the future) being securities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. They also strictly prohibited the supplying of

May 10th.

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the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order the more effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies, islands, and places, which still retained their obedience. This measure, which does not seem to have been expected, or even apprehended at home, occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

The city and province of New-York, notwithstanding their former moderation, seemed, upon receiving an account of the late action, to receive also a plentiful portion of that spirit which operated in the other colonies. A most numerous association was accordingly formed, and a provincial congress elected. But as some regiments from Ireland were expected speedily to arrive there, and that capital, besides, lies open to the sea, its situation became very critical. In these circumstances, a body of Connecticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, avowedly for its protection, and probably also to support the present disposition of the people. Their strength was not, however, sufficient to afford an effectual protection; nor, if it had been greater, would it have availed against an attack by sea. The city accordingly applied, through its delegates, to the continental congress for instructions how to act upon the arrival of the troops. The congress advised them for the present, to act defensively with respect to the troops, so far as it could be done consistently with their own security;—to suffer them to occupy their barracks, so long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to suffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hostilities, that they should defend themselves, and repel force by force. They also recommended to them to provide for the worst that might happen, by securing places of retreat for the women and children; by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a sufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general. The departure of so many helpless objects from the places of their habitation, was a very affecting spectacle. That once flourishing commercial city was now become almost a desart. It was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames. It happened, perhaps happily for New-York, that the troops being more wanted at Boston, were not landed there.

In the mean time, several private persons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusett's, and New-York, undertook at their own risque, and without any public command or participation, an expedition of the utmost importance, and which not only in its consequences most materially affected the interest and power of government in the colonies; but had brought the question to the critical nicety of a point, and the decision to depend merely upon accident, whether we should have a single possession left in North-America. This was the surprize of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and other fortresses, situated upon the great lakes, and command-

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ing the passes between the British colonies and Canada. It seems that some of those who were among the first that formed this design, and had set out with the greatest privacy in its prosecution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the same project, so extensive was that spirit of enterprize which these unhappy contests called into action. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, under the command of a Colonel Easton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen, with great perseverance and address, surprised the small garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. These fortresses were taken without the loss of a man on either side. They found in the forts a considerable artillery, amounting, as they said, to above 200 pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howitzers, and quantities of various stores, which were to them highly valuable; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the building and equipping of others.

May 25th. During these transactions the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, together with a considerable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to supply the vacancies there. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, so that the force at Boston, with respect to number, the goodness of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become very respectable; and it was generally believed, that matters could not continue much longer in their then situation.

Nothing remarkable had yet happened since the commencement of the blockade, except two small engagements which arose from the attempts of either party to carry off the stock of some of those small islands, with which the Bay of Boston is interspersed, and which afforded the mixed spectacle of ships, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both these skirmishes (each of which continued for many hours) the king's troops were foiled, with some loss; and in the last, which happened at Hogg and Noddle's Islands, an armed schooner being left by the tide, the people, after standing a severe fire of small arms, and two pieces of artillery from the shore, were at length obliged to abandon her, and she was burnt by the provincials.

Notwithstanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the most active character, the troops continued for some time very quiet at Boston. On the other side, it is probable that an attempt would have been made to storm that town, while the people were hot in blood after the affair of Lexington, if a concern for the preservation of the inhabitants had not prevailed over every other consideration. It must however be allowed, that from the number of vessels of war, which nearly surrounded the peninsula, as well as the vast artillery by which it was protected, and the excellency of the troops, that such an attempt must have been attended with great difficulty and danger, and that the destruction of the town must have been laid down as an enevitable consequence. There were other matters also of consideration. A repulse to new troops, or the carnage that would even attend success

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success in so arduous a conflict, might have been attended with fatal consequences; the people were not only new to war, but they were in a new and strange state and situation; they were entering into an untried, unthought of, and unnatural contest, loaded with the most fatal consequences, without experience to guide, or precedent to direct them; they had not yet in general renounced all hopes of an accommodation, and those who had not, would totally condemn any violence which shut them out from so desirable an event; in such a wavering state of hope, fear, and uncertainty, much caution was to be used, as any untoward event, might suddenly damp the ardour of the people, dissolve their resolutions, and shake all their confederacies to pieces.

June 8th. In the mean time the continental congress resolved, that the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusett's-Bay, was dissolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary; and therefore recommended to the people of that province, to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing a governor, assistants, and house of assembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter. They passed another resolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents, or contractors, should be received or negociated, or any money supplied to them by any person; and prohibited the supplying of the army, navy, or ships employed in the transport service, with provisions or necessaries of any kind. They also erected a general post-office at Philadelphia, which extended through all the united colonies; and some time after, placed Dr. Franklin, who had been disgraced and removed from that office in England, at the head of it. Thus had they, in effect, though only under the name of recommendation and counsel, assumed all the powers of a supreme government.

About the same time June 12th. General Gage issued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of the pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. All those who did not accept of the proffered mercy, or who should protect, assist, supply, conceal or correspond with them, to be treated as rebels and traitors. It also declared, that as a stop was put to the due course of justice, martial law should take place till the laws were restored to their due efficacy. It is needless to observe, that this proclamation had as little effect as any of those that preceded it. Hancock was about that time chosen president of the continental congress.

This proclamation was looked upon as the preliminary to immediate action. Accordingly, from that moment both sides held themselves in readiness for it. The post of Charlestown had hitherto been neglected by both the parties. The provincials thought it necessary for them, whether they should chuse to act on the defensive or offensive.

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They accordsngly made the necessary preparations, and sent a body of men thither at night with the greatest privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies just within the isthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninsula to the continent. This peninsula is very similar to that on which Boston stands, excepting that the isthmus is considerably wider, and that Bunker's-Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only separated by Charles-River, which in that part is only about the breadth of the Thames between London and Southwark; so that Charlestown seemed to hold the same connection with Boston, that the Borough does with that city.

The party that was sent upon this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary order and silence, that though the peninsula was surrounded with ships of war they were not heard during the night, and used such incredible dispatch in the execution, that they had a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion by break of day. The sight of the works, was the first notice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy.

June 17th.

A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ships, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boston. Such a great and incessant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmness of old soldiers, and must undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however said, that they bore this severe fire with wonderful firmness, and seemed to go on with their business as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the service.

About noon General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot, to drive the provincials from their works. This detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, as represented by General Gage's letter, to something more than 2000 men.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the provincials into confusion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, situation, or countenance of the enemy, or from all together, the king's forces seem to have been unusually staggered in this

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this attack. The provincials threw some men into the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank, by which means General Pigot, who commanded our left wing, and to whose activity, bravery, and firmness, much of this day's success was owing, was at once engaged with the lines, and with those in the houses. In this conflict, Charlestown, whether by carcasses thrown from the ships, or by the troops, is uncertain, was unfortunately set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. The provincials stood this severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance, which would not have done discredit to old troops. They did not return a shot, until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a number of our bravest men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had served in the most distinguished actions of the last war, declared, that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under so heavy and destructive a fire, our troops were thrown into some disorder. It is said, that General Howe, was for a few seconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that most of the officers near his person, were either killed or wounded. His coolness, firmness, and presence of mind on this occasion cannot be too much applauded. It fully answered all the ideas so generally entertained of the courage of his family. It is said, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. However that was, their usual intrepidity now produced its usual effects; they attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and irresistible fury, and forced them in every quarter. Though many of the provincials were destitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought desperately within the works, and were not drove from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They suffered but little loss from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented some regiments who were ordered to support them from fulfilling their duty.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's-Hill, in which we had more men and officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The whole loss in killed and wounded, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of these, 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among those who were more generally regretted upon this occasion, were Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, and the brave Major Pitcairne of the marines. The majors Williams and Spendlove, the last of whom died of his wounds some time after the action, had also sealed their lives with such distinguished honour, as to render their loss the more sensibly felt. The event sufficiently shewed the bravery of the king's troops. There was

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scarcely a single officer who had not some opportunity of signalizing himself; the generals and field officers used the most extraordinary exertions. All these circumstances concur in shewing the hard and dangerous service in which they were engaged. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vastness of the consequences of which it was productive, was not so destructive to our officers, as this affair of an intrenchment cast up in a few hours. It was a matter of grievous reflection, that those brave men, many of whom had nobly contributed their share, when engaged against her natural enemies, to extend the military glory of their country into every quarter of the globe, should now have suffered so severely, in only a prelude to this unhappy civil contest.

The fate of Charlestown was also a matter of melancholy contemplation to the serious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston, that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charlestown was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices; it contained about 400 houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province except Boston. It is said, that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters. It is now buried in its ruins. Such is the termination of human labour, industry, and wisdom; and such are the fatal fruits of civil dissentions.

The king's troops took five pieces of cannon out of six, which the provincials brought into the peninsula; and they left about 30 wounded behind them. No other prisoners were taken. Their loss, according to an account published by the provincial congress, was comparatively small, amounting to about 450 killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners. On our side they are confident, that the slaughter was much more considerable; but of this we had no particulars, as the account said, that the provincials buried a great number of their dead during the engagement. This is an extraordinary circumstance. But the loss they lamented most, was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occasion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of the lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conspicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the first general, and was at this time president of the provincial congress; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profession as a physician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family satisfactions, he shewed himself equally calculated for the field, as for public business or private study, and shed his blood gallantly in, what he deemed, the service of his country. They lost some other officers of name, one of whom, a lieutenant-colonel, died of his wounds in the prison at Boston.

Both sides claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having, it was said, beaten three times their own number out of a strongly fortified post, and under various other disadvantages. On the other side, they represented the

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the regulars as amounting to 3000 men, and rated their own number only at 1500; and pretended, that this small body not only withstood their attack, and repeatedly repulsed them with great loss, notwithstanding the powerful artillery they had brought with them, but that they had at the same time, and for several hours before, sustained a most intolerable fire from the ships of war, floating batteries, and fixed battery at Boston, which prevented them from being able in any degree to finish their works. What their exact number was cannot be easily known. It was not probably so large as it was made in the Gazette account; nor so small as in that given by the Americans. However, the provincials were by no means dispirited by the event of this engagement. They had shewn a great degree of activity and skill in the construction of their works; and of constancy, in maintaining them under many disadvantages. They said, that though they had lost a post, they had almost all the effects of the most complete victory; as they entirely put a sop to the offensive operations of a large army sent to subdue them; and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town. They now exulted, that their actions had thoroughly refuted those aspersions which had been thrown upon them in England, of a deficiency in spirit and resolution.

From this time, the troops kept possession of the peninsula, and fortified Bunker's Hill and the entrance; so that the force at Boston was now divided into two distinct parts, and had two garrisons to maintain. In one sense, this was useful to the troops, as it enlarged their quarters; they having been before much incommoded by the straightness in which they were confined in Boston, during the excessive heats that always prevail there at that season of the year; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Their situation was irksome and degrading. They were surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise. They were cut off from fresh provisions, and all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need, and which the neighbouring countries afforded in the greatest plenty. Thus their wants were continual and aggravating remembrancers of the circumstances of their situation. Bad and salt provisions, with confinement and the heat of the climate, naturally filled the hospitals; and the number of sick and wounded was now said to amount to 1600. Under these circumstances it was rather wonderful that the number was not greater. But few in comparison died.

The provincials, after the action at Bunker's Hill, immediately threw up works upon another hill opposite to it on their side of Charlestown neck; so that the troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had been in Boston. They were also indefatigable in securing the most exposed posts of their lines with strong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works close to the fortifications on Boston neck; where, with equal boldness and address, they burnt an advanced guard-house belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furnished with all manner of military stores and artillery, they were not

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not sparing in throwing shells, and supporting a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials, which had little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service, and to wear off the dread of those noisy messengers of fate. On the other side, they seem to have been cautious in expending their powder.

A regiment of light cavalry which arrived at Boston from Ireland, and which were never able to set foot beyond that garrison, served only to create new wants, and to increase the incommodities of the people, as well as of the army. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, became now an object of necessary attention, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained; but the provincials having procured a number of whaling-boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithstanding the vigilance and number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, or carrying away, those essential articles of supply. These enterprizes brought on several skirmishes, and they grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light-house, which was situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment.

During these transactions a kind of predatory war commenced, and has since continued, between the ships of war, and the inhabitants on different parts of the coasts. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country people. The seizing of ships in conformity to the new laws, or to the commands of the admiral, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors naturally hazarding all dangers in the defence, or for the recovery of their property. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The pernicious consequences of the late Quebec-act, with respect to the very purposes for which it was framed, were now displayed in a degree, which its most sanguine opponents could scarcely have expected. Instead of gaining the French Canadians to the interest of government by that law, the great body of the inhabitants were found as adverse to it, and as much disgusted at its operation, as even the British settlers. General Carleton, the governor of that province, who had placed much confidence in the raising of a considerable army of Canadians, and being enabled to march at their head to the relief of General Gage, (a matter which was so much relied upon at home, that 20,000 stands of arms, and a great quantity of other military stores had been sent out for that purpose) found himself now totally disappointed. The people said that they were now under the British government; that they could not pretend to understand the causes of the present disputes, nor the justice of

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of the claims on either side; that they did, and would shew themselves dutiful subjects, by a quiet and peaceable demeanor, and due obedience to the government under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconsistent with their state and condition, to interfere, or in any degree to render themselves parties, in the contests that might arise between that government and its ancient subjects. It was in vain that the governor issued a proclamation for assembling the militia, and for the execution of martial law; they said they would defend the province if it was attacked; but they absolutely refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities with their neighbours. The governor, as the last resort, applied to the Bishop of Quebec, to use his spiritual influence and authority with the people towards disposing them to the adoption of this favourite measure, and particularly that he would issue an episcopal mandate for that purpose, to be read by the parish priests in the time of divine service; but the bishop excused himself from a compliance with this proposition, by representing, that an episcopal mandate on such a subject, would be contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic church. The ecclesiastics, in the place of this, issued other letters, which were however pretty generally disregarded. The noblesse alone, who were chiefly considered in the Quebec-act, shewed a zeal against the English colonists. But, separated as they were from the great body of the people, they exhibited no formidable degree of strength.

Other endeavours which were used to involve the colonies in domestic troubles proved equally abortive. Considerable pains were taken, by the means of several agents who had influence on them, to engage those numerous tribes of Indians that stretch along the backs of the colonies, to cause a diversion, by attacking them in those weak and tender parts. But neither presents, nor persuasions, were capable of producing the desired effect. From whatever chance or fortune it proceeded, those savage warriors, who had at other times been so ready to take up the hatchet without support or encouragement, now turned a deaf ear to all proposals of that nature, and declared for a neutrality. They used much the same reasons for this conduct that the Canadians had done; they did not understand the subject; were very sorry for the present unfortunate disputes; but it was not fit nor becoming for them, to take any part in quarrels between Englishmen, for all of whom, on both sides of the water, they had the highest affection. This was an object of too much importance to be overlooked by the congress. They accordingly employed proper persons to cultivate favourable dispositions in the Indians; and by degrees took such measures as obliged the agents for government to provide for their own safety. It is said, that some of the Indians made proposals to take up arms on their side; but that they were only requested to observe a strict neutrality.

General Gage's late proclamation increased the animosity, indignation, and rage, which were already so generally prevalent, and brought out a declaration from the general congress, July 6th. which, in the nature of those general appeals

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appeals that are made to mankind, as well as to heaven, in a declaration of war, set forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. Among the long list of those supposed causes, besides the late hostilities, they state the endeavours used to instigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them, and severely reproach General Gage, for, what they call, perfidy, cruelty, and breach of faith, in breaking the conditions which he had entered into with the inhabitants of Boston; they are not less free in their censure of the army, whom they charge with the burning of Charlestown, wantonly and unnecessarily.

In stating their resources, they reckon upon foreign assistance as undoubtedly attainable, if necessary. They, however, afterwards say, that, lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of their friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, they assure them, that they mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and happily subsisted between them, and which they sincerely wish to see restored; that necessity has not yet driven them to that desperate measure, or induced them to excite any other nation to war against them; they have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states; they fight not for glory or for conquest.—This declaration was read with great, serious, and even religious solemnity, to the different bodies of the army who were encamped around Boston, and was received by them with loud acclamations of approbation.

This declaration was followed by an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the king. All these writings were drawn up in a very masterly manner; and are, in respect to art, address, and execution, equal to any public declarations made by any powers upon the greatest occasions.

The congress had in their declaration, without naming it, reprobated the principles of Lord North's conciliatory proposition, which they call an insidious manœuvre adopted by parliament. They, however, afterwards took the resolution more formally into consideration. It had been communicated to them by direction, or at least permission from that minister in the hand-writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the two principal secretaries of the treasury. In the course of a long and argumentative discussion, they condemn it, as unreasonable and insidious; that it is unreasonable, because, if they declare they will accede to it, they declare, without reservation, that they will purchase the favour of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour; that it is insiduous, because individual colonies, having bid, and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies, whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. They conclude upon the whole, that the proposition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in dispute but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that parliament having now

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now been so good as to give up that, the colonies must be unreasonable in the highest degree if they were not perfectly satisfied.

The colony of Georgia at length joined in the general alliance. A provincial congress having assembled in the beginning of the month of July, they speedily agreed to all the resolutions of the two general congresses in their utmost extent, and appointed five delegates to attend the present. As it were to make amends for the delay, they at once entered into all the spirit of the resolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted similar; and declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed against America, they considered that circumstance as an insult rather than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They also addressed a petition, under the title of an humble address and representation, to his majesty; which, however threadbare the subject had already been worn, was not deficient in a certain freshness of colouring, which gave it the appearance of novelty. From this accession to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the appellation of the *Thirteen United Colonies*.

In the mean time the general congress, in compliance with the wishes of the people in general, and the particular application of the New-England provinces, appointed George Washington, Esq.; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and who had acquired considerable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the last war, to be general and commander in chief of all the American forces. They also appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqrs. to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, Esq. adjutant-general. Of these general officers, Lee and Gates were English gentlemen, who had acquired honour in the last war, and who from disgust or principle now joined the Americans. Ward and Putnam were of Massachuset's-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York. The congress also fixed and assigned the pay of both officers and soldiers; the latter of whom were much better provided for than those upon our establishment.

The Generals Washington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boston in the beginning of July. They were treated with the highest honours in every place through which they passed; were escorted by large detachments of volunteers, composed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and received public addresses from the provincial congresses of New-York and Massachusett's-Bay. The military spirit was now so high and so general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and the minds of all orders of people throughout the continent. Persons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered chearfully as private men, and served with alacrity in the ranks. Even many of the younger quakers forgot their passive principles of forbearance and non-resistance, and taking up arms, formed themselves into companies at Philadelphia, and applied with the greatest labour and assiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exercises and discipline. It was said, (but no computation of that sort

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sort can be ascertained) that no less than 200,000 men were in arms and training throughout the continent.

The blockade of Boston, was continued with little variety, throughout the year, and during a considerable part of the ensuing. The troops, as well as the remaining inhabitants, suffered much from fevers, fluxes, and the scurvy, which were brought on through confinement, heat of weather, and badness of provisions. Other matters which originated in this season, particularly the proceedings on the side of Canada, being extended in their principal consequences into the ensuing year, will with more propriety find a place in its history.

CHAP. IX.

Spain. Preparations against Algiers. Siege of Melille raised. Spanish armament effect a landing near Algiers; engagement with the Moors; Spaniards repulsed, and obliged to retire to their ships. War continued with Morocco. Italy. Cardinal Braschi elected Pope. Character and conduct of the new Pontiff. Inquisition abolished in Milan. Scarcity of corn, and distresses of the people in France; great disturbances; coronation at Rheims. Insurrection and devastations of the peasants in Bohemia. Grand commission appointed. Edict from the court of Vienna in favour of the peasants, puts an end to the troubles. Poland. Treaty of commerce with the King of Prussia. Regulations in favour of the Dissidents. Russia. Execution of Pugatscheff. Taxes laid on for the support of the late war taken off. Various other regulations for the benefit of the people. Trade on the black sea. Turky. Death of Mehemet Aboudaab. Death of the Chiek Daher. Siege of Bassora.

EUROPE has not for a long time, been so destitute of matter for political speculation, as in the year of which we treat. The keeping up of vast standing armies, and an avidity for increasing them equal to what the most immediate danger could excite, are now become so common, as neither to produce surprize or apprehension. Reviews, encampments, with the continual marching and manœuvring of troops, are grown equally familiar; they are considered as common occurrences, and passed over without notice or observation. The small princes find other amusements to call off their attention from military and political affairs; matters in which, in the present state of a few overgrown powers, they are indeed but little concerned. The great powers are so nearly poized, as neither wantonly to seek, nor much to dread a rupture. Thus a general distribution of strength is capable of producing the same effects, which a general imbecility has often done. Europe, however, has the seeds of contention at all times plentifully lodged in her bosom, and her fertile soil, in a favourable season, makes them shoot with wonderful luxuriance. A small change in the circumstances of any of the leading parties, would soon involve the rest in its consequences, and might, without the concurrence

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of any improbable, or even very extraordinary events, give a new face to the present political system.

It was reserved for the Spanish monarch, to attract this year the general attention. The vast preparations he made for chastizing the states of Barbary, seemed so much beyond their object, that the tribe of politicians, who are generally apt to refine upon the simplest things, and to suspect some mystery in the most obvious, predicted danger to more than one of his neighbours. Indeed these preparations were so mighty, that they might well alarm any of those who supposed themselves liable to be their object; and it is not improbable that some apprehensions were raised, which were only removed when their ultimate destination was ascertained by the event.

The state of Algiers, however, expected and prepared for this attack. Their present Dey is a man of abilility; and has taken certain measures which render it suspected, that he has formed a design of perpetuating that government in his family. He left nothing undone to render the place secure; and procured some Christian engineers to construct new batteries, and strengthen the old works. Though the fortifications are considerable, and covered by an enormous artillery, an enemy has still greater obstacles to encounter in the nature of the climate, and of the adjoining country; the heat of the weather, with the scarcity of water, and the lightness and sandiness of the soil, rendering the subsistence and operations of an army extremely difficult. To these obstructions may be added a still greater in the dangerous nature of a most turbulent sea, and of an open inhospitable coast, which for a long extent affords no shelter to the fleet, which must indispensably cover and support an army in such an enterprise. The Algerines are not, however, destitute of a bold and daring militia; but have a still much greater resource, in the courage and numbers of the native Moors, and numerous tribes of Arabs, who overspread their extensive territories; and who, however they may stand affected to the state of Algiers, are always ready, from the mortal aversion they bear the Spaniards, to engage in any opposition or enterprise against them.

The former have at all times been peculiarly unfortunate in their attempts upon Africa. It would seem as if Providence intended, upon those occasions, to punish them, for the cruelty and injustice which they practised upon the Moors in Spain. The fatal expedition of Charles the Vth to Algiers, in which he lost the finest army, and ruined the most powerful navy then in Europe, is well known. Neither have the attempts of other European powers upon that city been attended with much honour or advantage. These circumstances, however, were not sufficient to deter the present king of Spain, from going to an immense expence, and fitting out a prodigious armament by sea and land for the destruction of that piratical city and state.

The siege of Melille, was unsuccessfully continued by the Emperor of Morocco till the middle of March, and then disgracefully abandoned; his troops being so much dispirited by their continual losses, and the bravery and perseverance of

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of the garrison, that he did not venture to make use of the scaling ladders, and other materials which he had prepared for a general assault. His attempts upon Penon de Velez were equally fruitless. In a word, no prince ever entered into a war more wantonly, or conducted it more shamefully. Yet in these circumstances, and under the terrors of a Spanish invasion, he refused all proposals of accommodation with the Dutch; with whom he persisted in carrying on a war, which was as ill-founded, and as ineffectually supported as the former. So wild and unaccountable are the politics of ignorant and despotic princes.

In the mean time, all Spain seemed to be in motion. The ports were all crowded and in action; transports of all nations collected; great bodies of troops arriving every day in the borders of the Mediterranean; and every kind of military machine for defence or destruction, were plentifully stored on board the different fleets at Carthagena, Cadiz, and Barcelona. The transports were ballasted with bricks, which evidenced an intention of constructing fortifications and works; and a number of carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, and artificers necessary for such a purpose, were accordingly shipped.

The whole force assembled at length at Carthagena, and is said to have consisted of 7 sail of the line, of 74 guns each; 8 of 40 guns; 32 frigates from 20 to 56 guns; and about 20 smaller armed vessels of different constructions; with 400 transports, and 19,000 seamen and marines. On board this navy was an infantry of 22,000 men, and 4000 cavalry, all composed of the most distinguished regiments and best troops in Spain, with a prodigious artillery, said to amount in the whole, for the field and for battery, to 400 pieces, and 2000 men belonging to the train. This formidable force was provided with such immense quantities of stores, provisions, and necessaries, as seemed calculated for the establishment and support of a great and numerous colony. Several men of war were also equipped and in readiness in different ports, to support this armament in any emergency. The marine was commanded by Don Pedro Castejon, and the land forces by Count O'Reily, who had for some time stood very high in estimation in the Spanish service. Such a force, in its modern state of barbarism and imbecility, seemed sufficient to overwhelm all Africa.

The fleet being detained near a month by contrary winds, did not arrive in the bay of Algiers till the beginning of July, where the commanders found every appearance of a resolute and vigorous defence. They seem to have been undetermined for some time, in what manner to effect a debarkation; at length, a part of the fleet was employed to divert the attention of the enemy by a false attack upon some forts near the town, while the remainder were drawn off to cover the troops in their landing. The ships that attacked the forts seem to have conducted their business very badly, and suffered accordingly; but more through misconduct, than any design of approaching too closely to the enemy. In the mean time, the first debarkation of the troops were successfully effected; about 8000 men being landed by 4 o'clock in the morning, and the remainder following with great

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great expedition. The false attacks had not deceived the Algerines, and the Spaniards found all the neighbouring hills covered with great bodies of Moors, who, though not drawn up in much military order, shewed the greatest eagerness to engage them.

The general's intention was to take possession of a hill which commanded the landing-place, and immediately to throw up such works as would have rendered it a secure place of arms. By this means a safe communication would have been established with the fleet, their artillery would have kept the enemy at a proper distance, and the preparations for the siege would have been conducted with due leisure, and the arrangements accordingly properly laid. To insure success to his design, the general had ordered the troops of the first division to form immediately upon the beach, and strictly forbid their advancing upon the enemy until the second debarkation was effected, and the whole army supported by its artillery, drawn up in order of battle. This scheme, however well laid, was overthrown by that inherent aversion which subsists between the Spaniards and Moors; an aversion in its effects that seems to equal that natural antipathy, which is supposed to render certain animals incapable of enduring each other's sight, without instantaneous efforts of mutual destruction.

The first division, with a temerity and contempt of command that disgraced all discipline, and in which the commanders were equally culpable, and much more to be condemned than the soldiers, quitted the security which their station under the guns of the fleet afforded, and disdaining to wait for their fellows, rushed on to the attack, and found themselves in a few minutes most desperately engaged with the Moors, who equally eager for the encounter, gave them a reception which they little expected. The consequences of this unfortunate act could not be retrieved. The succeeding troops, as fast as they landed, ran of necessity to the succour of their friends; who they saw overborne, by the superior numbers and desperate courage of the enemy; and were themselves soon involved in similar circumstances, and equally in want of support. The engagement lasted with the greatest fury on both sides for 13 hours, when the Spaniards were at length obliged to retire with great loss under the cover of their ships; and notwithstanding the excessive fatigues they had undergone in the course of the day, found it necessary to take the immediate advantage of the night for a re-embarkation.

It must seem astonishing, according to the ideas which we generally form of the nature, discipline, and arms of Moorish troops, that almost any superiority in number which we can well suppose, should enable them for so long a time to withstand and repel the assaults of so regular, powerful and well appointed a force; for though the Spaniards, through their rashness and intemperance, gave up some of those advantages which they derived from military skill, arms, and discipline, they still retained so many others, as, it would seem, might have more than counterbalanced that difference. It is reported, that the national pride was much wounded, and jealousy excited,

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cited, by the appointment of a foreigner to the supreme command, in an expedition of such importance, and from which so much glory was expected; and that they particularly thought, as the contest was purely Spanish, and a point of rivalship with their hereditary enemies, Spaniards alone should bear the palm of victory. The same accounts say, that the general met with a violent opposition in the final council of war, and that his opponents there were among the foremost of those, who by their rashness and disobedience counteracted his designs.

Upon a medium of the Spanish accounts, (which are extremely defective) their loss appears to have been from six to 800 slain, and about 2000 wounded. Some foreign accounts state the loss at double that number, which, considering the length of the engagement, the fury of the combatants, and the number of officers of rank who were killed or wounded, does not appear improbable. These accounts recite many other particulars, on the veracity of which we have no authority to decide. They represent, that the Spaniards had landed their provisions, and many of their other stores, the loss of which occasioned the sudden and unexpected return of the fleet and army, without attempting any further service; this measure might however have been justified by the great number of sick and wounded, without recurring to any other cause. They likewise say, that the Spanish marine behaved very badly; that their dread of falling by any accident into the hands of the Moors, had so powerful an operation, as to render them too cautious in approaching the shore, and that all the essential service in that respect had been performed by two Maltese men of war, who behaved with their usual bravery. As the character of the Spaniards has ever been clear in the point of valour, this account must be received with caution and limitation. However these matters may be, this expedition must be ranked amongst the most disgraceful in its event, as well as the most formidable in its preparations, of any in the present age.

The clamours of the people, in which they were supported by some of the great families, were outrageous against the general. They were desirous of offering him as a sacrifice to the national honour, and to the manes of their deceased friends. This is the usual ebullition of national vanity, which will ever seek some foreign object of resentment, on which, if possible, to heap its own disgrace. The king, on the contrary, did not seem at all dissatisfied with the conduct of the general. He, however, complied so far with the opinions or prejudices of the people, as to remove him from the military department, and to afford him a very honourable retirement, in the important government of the province of Andalusia.

Other expeditions were threatened, and a continued, and expensive course of preparation was carried on during the year, which, as nothing was undertaken, cannot well be accounted for. The emperor of Morocco was so much alarmed by the late preparations, and dispirited by his ill success, that he solicited for peace with great earnestness; and at length obtained leave to send a minister for that purpose to Madrid.

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drid. The Spanish court was very haughty in its demands, and insisted, besides other conditions, on the payment of four millions of dollars, for the expences of the war, the cession of a considerable territory round each of the Spanish fortresses in Africa; and that he should also cede to Spain the port of Tetuan, and the island of Mogador. This affair was in agitation at the time of the failure of the late expedition; an event, which possibly had some influence in directing the emperor's answer; though it is also probable, that a compliance with the payment of the great sum of money demanded, was much beyond his ability; and the cession of Tetuan and Mogador could only be expected, if a Spanish army was advancing to his capital. However it was, he totally rejected the proposed conditions. The war has been since confined to several severe engagements between the Barbary cruizers and the Spanish ships of war, in which the former always fought with great obstinacy, and were generally great sufferers.

The intrigues of the conclave were at length terminated by the election of a sovereign pontiff; who owed his elevation more to the collusion, artifices, and refinement in finesse of the different parties, than to any weight of his own, or intention of theirs. The zealots are said to have carried the point by a fortunate stroke, and the exact timing of a critical opportunity; and the event is said, in the public papers, but we are not clear upon what authority, to have been so unexpected, that without any particular exception to the object of choice, the astonishment of the people prevented their shewing the usual marks of joy upon the publication of the election.

Feb. 14th.

John Angelo Braschi, the present pope, and who, upon his election to the pontifical chair, assumed the name of Pius the VIth, was born at Cesena, near Ravenna, in the Romagna, on the 27th of December, 1717. He is of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in that province, and is said to have a fine person, with a great share of sense, vivacity, and knowledge. He was greatly esteemed by Benedict the XIVth, who employed him in transacting many affairs of importance, upon which occasions he was always distinguished by his disinterestedness, zeal, and ability. He was likewise in favour with the late pope, from whom in 1773 he obtained a cardinal's hat, and was soon after appointed treasurer of the apostolic chamber. Though possessed of only a moderate fortune, he is said to have managed it in such a manner, as to have given frequent and undoubted proofs, both of the generosity of his heart, and the magnificence of his disposition. In a word, if he really possesses the qualities which are ascribed to him, the electors could not, perhaps, have better disposed of their suffrages.

He easily found means, in the opening of his government, to acquire that popularity which seemed wanting at his accession. Among other measures for this purpose, he considerably lowered the price of butchers meat, and privately reimbursed the butchers the loss which they sustained. Such little stratagems, however trifling they appear, are equally laudable and necessary

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to gain the affections of a people. By what hitherto appears of it, his reign promises to be prosperous, and his government such as will render his people happy. He seems liberal in disposition and manners, easy of access, unconnected with parties, and so totally free from bigotry, as to appear even a friend to toleration. We are however aware of the common error, of expecting too much from the virtues of new princes.

The new pontiff issued an ordinance, for the better regulation of the clergy in Rome, by which they are forbidden, under the most rigorous penalties, from appearing in the habits of the laity, from entering coffee or gaming-houses, from walking in the evenings with the other sex, and from entertaining any female domestics under 40 years of age. He also caused a strict scrutiny to be made into the report which had been industriously raised of the late pope's being dispatched by poison; by which it appeared, from incontrovertible evidence, that the whole was a falsehood, which owed its birth and circulation, as it is said, to the malice of F. Martinelli, consultor of the holy office, and some other minor conventual friars of the order of St. Francis.

Italy has afforded little other matter of attention. A new law has been passed in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which regulates the age, terms, and manner of admission, of persons of either sex, into the monastic orders. This law lays such wholesome restrictions with respect to age, public examination, and many other particulars, obliges such a length of time to be taken in the deliberation, and affords so unbounded a liberty to the agent in the determination, as will effectually cure the crying evils that arose from the unnatural violence and interested views of parents and relations, in compelling or circumventing those under their care, to embrace a mode of life for which they were not ordained by nature. It will also in its consequences, by degrees, wear away and reduce to nothing those religious orders; a measure which now seems to be a primary object with almost all the Roman Catholic sovereigns in Europe.

The regency of Milan has given a late instance of that general disposition to reduce the powers of the church, by abolishing for ever the tribunal of the inquisition in that duchy, and appropriating its estates to the support of an hospital for orphans. The republic of Venice also still continues inflexible in its opposition to the claims of the court of Rome; and the king of Naples has ordered the bishops, under heavy penalties, to fill up the vacancies of those numerous benefices in his dominions, which had hitherto been considered as the property, and were in the sole gift of the holy see. The marriage between the prince of Piedmont and the princess Clotilda of France, can scarcely be considered as an object of political attention, the ties of affinity between the two families having been already so closely drawn, as to require no additional cement of union.

The distresses of the people, owing to the scarcity and dearness of corn in France, threw that kingdom into an uncommon state of disturbance and commotion during a great part of the spring and summer,

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mer. It seems probable, that other causes or motives than those arising merely from the dearth, combined to aggravate those disorders. Parties have grown to a great height in that kingdom since the accession of the present monarch, and are said not only to pervade the innermost recesses of the palace, but to extend their influence to the provinces. The conduct of the rioters, in many instances, would indicate, that they had been influenced in those cases by other motives than want. The elevation of Mons. Turgot to the chief direction of the finances had, as it is said, given great offence to the powerful body of the farmers general. With these, certain political combinations chose to act on this occasion. Turgot appears to be a person of the greatest probity, and of very enlarged notions in matters of trade and political œconomy. He had done a great deal towards freeing the commerce of grain from many injudicious restrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation. This scarcity happening to coincide with the time of his regulations, was factiously attributed to them; and it is not improbable, that every proper precaution on the introduction of so new and critical a measure was not taken.

It is certain, that the distresses of the people were not only great, but in many cases intolerable. Bread, in several places, could not be procured for money; and the beggars are said to have refused the latter, whilst they rent the air with cries for the former; so that gold was no longer a security against want. This distress was the more irremediable, as other nations were not abundantly supplied. The scarcity of corn in England not only cut off that resource, but diverted a still greater, by the immense quantities which it drew from the American colonies. Mankind will bear the extreme of want with wonderful patience, while they suppose it to arise from a natural and inevitable necessity; but if they imagine it to proceed from any fault in their rulers, or think that relief is attainable if proper means were pursued for the purpose, however broken down they may be by the harshness of government, or the weight of laws, they will take fire at an instant, and no bounds can be prescribed to their violence.

Such was the case in France. The idea of hoarding and monopoly, of a combination of the rich to grind the faces of the poor, and even to suck the last remains of their vital blood, was every where spread. The people assembled in different parts of the kingdom, and were guilty of the greatest outrages. In the commission of these violences they counteracted, as usual, their avowed intention, and by destroying vast quantities of corn and flour, cut off the sources of that relief which was their apparent object. They also further increased the distresses of the people, by deterring the proprietors of provisions from venturing to bring them to market. In general, vengeance and destruction, not pillage, were their object. What appears very surprising, and seemed as if some, at least, of these riots had been excited only to distress government, was, that in several places, they left money to pay for the mischiefs they had done.

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The insurrection at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, was attended with more fatal consequences than any other we have heard of. The inhabitants of that city, finding that the markets were not supplied with corn sufficient for their sustenance, assembled in a considerable body on Easter Tuesday, and marched to a neighbouring farmer's, who had a large stock of corn on hand, which he refused to sell under a very advanced price. His house they burnt, and destroyed every thing about it; after that exploit, they sacked the house of the intendant, who thought himself very fortunate in escaping from their fury. The army being at length brought to quell the riot, seized upon a considerable number of the ringleaders, which so exasperated the people, that a terrible fray ensued, in which, it is said, that 500 persons were killed or wounded.

In the mean time, no means were left untried by the government, either to quell these disturbances, or to alleviate their cause. Troops were stationed to protect the markets, and the roads and rivers by which they were supplied; great companies of the burghers were armed in different places for the same purpose. Some examples were made, and in a few instances, where extraordinary acts of outrage had been committed, summary justice was executed without any form of trial, by hanging the offenders on the spot. These instances were however rare, and the punishments of any sort not numerous. The king granted a considerable bounty on the importation of corn, and obtained a particular permission from the states of the Austrian Netherlands for the exportation of that commodity to France, contrary to a general prohibition which they had previously issued. The public disorders, notwithstanding all these measures, increased to so alarming a degree, as at length to excite apprehensions of a general insurrection, and to make it appear necessary to call in the troops from the frontiers to the centre of the kingdom; so that the isle of France, with some others of the interior provinces, were in a manner surrounded and intersected with lines of armed men. It was reported, that persons of high rank, and of all conditions, both clergy and laity, had a share in those disturbances, and some were sent to the Bastile upon suspicion; but a critical enquiry into these matters was wisely avoided. The king proclaimed a general pardon to all those who would return peaceably to their respective homes, except the ringleaders; though this proclamation appeared ambiguous, and the distinction dangerous, yet as it was soon found that no farther enquiry was made or intended, all apprehension ceased. Whatever was the nature, or secret cause of these tumults, incendiary letters were still written, and threats used to burn the standing corn. It at length pleased Providence that a most plentiful harvest removed the distresses of the people both in France and most other parts of Europe. The government acted with great prudence and moderation through the whole of this troublesome affair.

The pageantry and splendor of the coronation at Rheims, perhaps, contributed June 11th.

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buted to allay the ferment in the minds of the people. Notwithstanding the schemes of œconomy that had been adopted, and Mr. Turgot's abilities in finance, the court still continued poor, and was under a necessity of anticipating the growing revenues, so that a free gift of 20 millions of livres, which was granted by the assembly of the clergy, was a very acceptable douceur. This assembly continued their sittings longer than usual, and it was much hoped that some favourable concessions in regard to the protestants, particularly in respect to their marriages, would have been obtained from them. This subject indeed occupied much of their time, and as it is a matter which the court and nation in general seem of late to be much interested in, great expectations were accordingly formed. It, however, requires time, and even a familiarity of thinking on the subject, to wear away ancient prejudices; and the assembly, after much debate upon it, broke up without coming to any conclusion.

The insurrection and devastation of the peasants in Bohemia and Moravia, have this year disturbed the repose of the court of Vienna, and been productive of much mischief in those countries. It would seem as if there were certain seasons, in which great bodies of mankind are particularly disposed to oppose and resent those oppressions and injuries, which for a long series of time they had endured with patience, or which at most produced no other effect than silent grudge or private murmur. The state of the peasants, in that kingdom, has at all times been extremely servile and miserable, and the oppressions of their lords nearly insupportable. Yet, except when religious disputes were the primary object, and civil liberty accidentally included, we do not know of any attempts they had hitherto made to better their condition. On the contrary, they entirely overlooked the favourable opportunities which were presented by some late wars, of profiting by the situation of public affairs.

The insurrection this year did not appear to have been a sudden and tumultuary proceeding, arising from any of those immediate and glaring acts of violence or cruelty, which will sometimes catch the passions of a whole people, and excite them even to madness. It seemed rather the result of a cool and serious reflection, long brooding over its injuries, and seeking revenge, in a certain degree, as well as redress; it also carried marks of concert and design, which seldom appear in that order of mankind, except they act under the influence of some great leaders. It is however to be observed, that the remains of the ancient Hussites, as well as the modern Moravian brethren, were either principals or auxiliaries in this insurrection; and that this appearance of order and union might have arisen from that discipline and intelligence between the parts, necessarily established in those religious sects, which are either trained under the immediate terrors of persecution, or the doubt and apprehension of an uncertain toleration. It is reported, that they sent deputies to intreat the protection of a great neighbouring prince, and that he totally refused to interfere in any manner; but recommended to them

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to apply to their natural sovereigns for redress. If this report be true, which from later circumstances appears doubtful, it would seem as if these troubles were not entirely clear from religious motives.

The first notice of this insurrection was about the season of the seed-sowing in spring, which rendered it feared that the miseries of a famine, which had been so lately experienced in that country, would again be renewed. The peasants assembled in great bodies, and in various parts of the kingdom at the same time, to the amount, it was said, of 80,000 men, and committed great violences in many places, upon the castles, towns, and palaces of the great lords. They demanded the abolishment of the servitude to which by the corvees they were bound to their lords, and which pressed so severely upon the lowest and most numerous order of the peasants, that they were obliged to labour for them six days in the week, and allowed only the sabbath for raising their own provisions. The emperor had already taken considerable pains to remedy those grievances, and it was some time ago said, that he had issued an ordinance for that purpose; but however that was, the strong opposition of the nobility rendered his general intentions fruitless. The impatience of the people was probably increased by this knowledge of the emperor's disposition; and the insurgents, to colour their violences, pretended that a patent in their favour had been passed, and was concealed by the nobility.

The court of Vienna was less alarmed at this insurrection than might have been expected, and shewed the greatest moderation, lenity, and tenderness, in its conduct towards the insurgents. Great bodies of troops were however detached from different quarters to Bohemia; and Count Collowrath, the great chancellor of that kingdom, was immediately dispatched to enquire into the grievances of the peasants. A high commission was afterwards appointed for the same purpose, consisting of persons of the first rank and character, and wholly uninterested in the matter of dispute, who were also to consider of such equitable regulations between the lords and their vassals, and to ascertain the rights of the one, and the duties of the other in so clear a manner, as would prevent any future disturbances of the same nature.

In the beginning, tranquillity was immediately restored wherever the troops appeared; the most notorious leaders fled to the mountains, and the bulk of the people were found peaceably in their habitations; the troops were employed rather to prevent mischief than to inflict punishment; and though many examples were necessarily made, they bore no proportion to the number or enormity of the excesses. In the mean time, the outrages were continued in all other places, and immediately renewed upon the departure of the troops from any particular district. At length, the dread of punishment arising from a continued repetition of offences, induced many thousands of the peasants totally to abandon their habitations, and to seek refuge in the vast mountains and woods that surround that kingdom. These having now no measures to keep,

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keep, grew more daring and cruel in their excesses, and at length arrived at such a degree of boldness, as to venture to encounter detachments of the troops, and to stand and return their fire with incredible obstinacy, and contempt of life, declaring, that it was a matter of indifference to them, whether they perished by fire, sword, the hangman, or the miseries which had driven them into their present state of desperation.

By these outrages, Bohemia presented a melancholy spectacle of ruin and desolation; for though the nobility, their bailiffs, servants, and officers, were the immediate sufferers, all orders of mankind, by degrees, partook in the common calamity. At length, the grand commission having made their report to the court of Vienna, a patent was founded upon it in the month of September, which at once restored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom, and security and happiness to the peasants. Though the corvées were not entirely abolished, they were regulated in such a manner, as to render the burthen comparatively light to the vassals, and to afford them a reasonable time for attending to domestic affairs, and the providing of a necessary provision for their families. Instead of the whole week, the lowest order of peasants are now to appropriate only three days to the service of their lords; whilst those of the second class, and who contribute a certain proportion to the exigencies of the state, are subjected by the corvees to two days in the week; and the upper class, or real farmers, to one only; those two orders being also subject to a certain fixed service of horses or oxen.

A change was also made with respect to the raising of the public revenues, which was much in favour of the lower orders; their burthens being very considerably lessened, to the amount it is said of a million of florins annually, and new duties laid upon commodities which are chiefly consumed by the rich, to supply the deficiency. These regulations caused the greatest joy among the lower orders of the people; but, as may be expected, were far from being pleasing to the nobility. It is not impossible, considering the emperor's character, and the endeavours he had before used in the business, that however he might regret the temporary mischiefs with which it was attended, he was not sorry that so fair an opportunity was presented, for affording relief to the bulk of the people in that country.

No material change has taken place in the circumstances of Poland, since the conclusion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Petersburg directs all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a sway, as it does those of its domestic provinces. It is true, that the nobility are still as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever in that country; but fortunately for themselves and the people, the power which overawes and controuls them, is of so superior a strength and magnitude, as effectually to restrain them from those desperate efforts, which have, of late, so repeatedly heaped ruin upon themselves and the republic. Under the order preserved by that strong grasp, the country is beginning

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ning to recover from the effects of those dreadful calamities which it has so long endured; and its extensive plains once more to smile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Petersburg has also produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers; they both having desisted from several of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic. The unfortunate city of Dantzick has, however, found no alleviation to its sufferings; and seems a victim abandoned to its fate. In the mean time, the Russian troops are still detained in Poland; and it is probable, that causes or motives will never be wanting, for their keeping a strong force in that country.

March 18th. A treaty of commerce which has been concluded between the Republic and the king of Prussia, as it is very advantageous to the latter, may probably be a means of prolonging harmony in that quarter. The unfortunate Dantzickers are sufferers in this as in every thing else. While measures seem to be taking by the permanent council and government to encourage foreigners to repeople the desolated provinces of that kingdom, which they will find a work of long time and much expence, before any considerable benefit is received, they are continually harassing the Jews, (who form a great body of the people, and are the most industrious of its inhabitants) in such a manner, by additional poll taxes, and partial oppressive restrictions, as will probably oblige them totally to abandon the country. Such is the boasted policy of statesmen and nations; and so prevalent will the force of prejudice and error ever continue.

The Dissidents have been at length remembered by the court of Russia; and their privileges are now ascertained and secured. They are particularly secured in the public profession and exercise of their religion, and are allowed churches and schools even at Warsaw; but are restrained from the use of bells in the former. Some other regulations have taken place in their favour, particularly a right of appeal in all cases of grievance to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion are to be admitted as assessors. They are, however, still debarred from sitting in the senate, and from occupying any office in the departments of administration.

Russia enjoys her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and splendid magnificence. All her affairs are conducted upon a great and extensive system, and all her acts are in a grand style. She sits supreme between Europe and Asia, and looks as if she intended to dictate to both. We see in her a great but still growing empire, which not having reached the summit of her destined power, feels life and vigour glowing in every part: The successes and consequences of the late war, have enlarged the spirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In such a state, every thing is bold and masculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

The impostor, Pugatscheff, with four of his Jan: 21st. accom-

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accomplices, were publicly executed at Moscow in the beginning of the year. Pugatscheff, with his principal associate, named Persilief, were beheaded; the three others were hanged, and eighteen more underwent the knout, and were sent to Siberia. If the sentence had been fulfilled, Pugatscheff's hands and feet would have been first cut off and exposed to the people, before the final operation took place; but through some singular mistake, the executioner cut off his head first; an error, for which it is supposed he suffered a severer punishment than that which he inflicted. Pugatscheff met his fate with the most undaunted resolution; but was induced to acknowledge the justice of his sentence, the deception he had used, with his true name and condition; all of which agree in the material parts with the account which we have already given of him. If a history of his life, which is said to have been published by authority at Moscow, can be relied on, he went through a series of the most extraordinary adventures of any man living, even exclusive of the consequences of the late imposture; but this account is of so romantic a cast, and recites matters of so exceedingly improbable a nature, that its authority seems very doubtful. It is, however, certain, that he was, even by birth, of the first rank and condition among the Cossacks, and that through his uncommon abilities, as well as the strange vicissitudes of his life, he had acquired a degree of knowledge and learning, which would not have been thought despicable in the most polite nations. It is said, that an observation made several years ago by the celebrated Count Tottleben, of the striking resemblance which he bore to the late Emperor Peter the IIId, took such possession of his mind, as to have been the operating cause of that calamity and ruin, in which he involved with himself a great part of the empire.

The heavy burthen of the late war has not prevented the empress from already taking off most of the taxes which were laid for its support; and as if the strength and riches of government in that country, increased with its expence, she has also abolished a number of the ancient taxes, which were either considered as discouraging to manufactures and agriculture, or burdensome and oppressive to particular provinces, or orders of the people. In the same spirit of beneficence and good policy, she has lent great sums of money, interest free, and for a specified term of years, to those provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and to crown a general pardon, has strictly forbidden any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches used on its account, but condemns all matters relative to it, to perpetual silence and oblivion.

She has also established a number of other regulations, all tending to the security, advantage, and happiness of her subjects; to abolish pernicious distinctions, destroy ruinous monopolies, restrain the cruelty of punishment, remove oppressive or impolitic restrictions and prohibitions, and to restore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in those different ranks which they fill in society. A pardon was also passed to those criminals, who had already

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already undergone a long degree of suffering for their crimes; and an ordinance issued to prevent any future criminal prosecution from being admitted, unless it was commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was shewn with respect to imprisoned debtors, who under certain limitations, and in certain circumstances, were released from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were discharged from their obligations.

Nothing could be more flattering, than the splendid preparations which were made at Moscow by the empress and great duke for the reception of Marshal Romanzow, upon his return from that war which he had so gloriously conducted, and happily concluded. An arch was erected upon the occasion, and every thing prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the ancients. This honour, however, the general, either through wisdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumstance did not lessen the intended splendor and magnificence in other respects, nor the public honours paid to the general. Rewards and honours were most liberally distributed to the great actors in the war, while their value was doubled by the manner in which they were conferred, and the public testimonial of their merit and services, thus given in the face of their country. Besides a large estate, a great sum of money, and magnificent presents in plate and jewels, which were bestowed upon Marshal Romanzow, he was also presented with a diploma, by which the addition of Sadounaisky was made to his surname, a word which is said to signify *The ultra Danubian*. The surname of Chesme (besides great pecuniary rewards) was also granted to Count Alexis Orlow, alluding to the name of the port in the Lesser Asia, in which he had destroyed the Turkish fleet.

July 21st.

The greatest apparent harmony subsists between the late contending powers of Russia and the Porte. Nor has this good neighbourhood been at all interrupted by some disturbances in the Crimea, where the Tartars deposed their Chan, Sahib Gueray, who had always assisted the Russians, and was accordingly established by them, and restored their warlike chief Cowlet Guerai, who had as constantly opposed their enterprizes. It seems as if both powers, to avoid all foundation for disputes, had resolved for the present not to interfere in the cabals of these people, with respect to the choice or succession of their princes. In the mean time, Russia is by no means indifferent to the vast sources of wealth and power which are opened to her by the occupancy of the Black Sea. She has long struggled with the insurmountable obstacles which nature threw in her way in the Baltic; and which would for ever prevent her establishing an extensive and advantageous commerce, or becoming a great maritime power on that side. A sea shut up and unnavigable for near two thirds of the year, and incumbered with numberless impediments at all times, could never answer those purposes in any degree suitable to the ambition and views of such an empire as Russia. She accordingly

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cordingly omits nothing that may contribute to the opening and establishment of a great trade on the Black-Sea, and for that purpose, the empress has furnished some particular merchants with the use of ships free from any charge for freight, and has promised to indemnify them for any losses they may sustain in the outset.

There has been a considerable appearance of vigour with respect to internal government, in the councils of the Porte since the conclusion of peace. The state of weakness and disorder which so long prevailed in that empire, had enabled the governors of provinces to acquire such wealth and power, and to fortify themselves so strongly in their governments, that they nearly forgot all dependance on the state, and being under no apprehension of enquiry or controul, the people were ruined by their cruelty and oppression. Thus, as their power increased in proportion to the extent of their enormities, so did the difficulty and danger of removing them from their commands. Upon the restoration of peace, the people took that opportunity, in almost all quarters, to send their complaints to the Porte, and to represent the intolerable tyranny under which they languished. These complaints were favourably attended to, and the remedy of that evil became the principal object of policy with that government during the present year. Some address and stratagem were necessary for the accomplishment of this purpose. The most powerful bashas were allured from their governments, under the appearance of thorough satisfaction in their conduct, and a pretence of promotion to greater; but as soon as they were thus circumvented out of their strength and fastnesses, they were immediately strangled, and the immense riches they had acquired by their oppression forfeited to the state. Those of less power were treated with less ceremony; and different means leading to the same end were used with some others.

This year has proved fatal to the brave, and very old Chiek Daher. Mehemet Aboudaab, being tempted by the fame of his riches, set out at the head of a great army from Egypt, to gratify his avarice by his destruction. The force was so disproportioned, that the chiek could make no effectual resistance in the field, and his garrisons were soon subdued. Gaza surrendered immediately; but Joppa stood a long siege, which so enraged Aboudaab, that he was guilty of the most horrible cruelties when he took the place. These struck so general a terror in the people, that Dacre and other places submitted without resistance. There was, however, still an appearance, that the chiek's ancient fortune would not have entirely abandoned him, by the sudden death of Aboudaab, in the midst of his successes and cruelties. This appearance was fallacious. The captain basha arrived at that critical time, upon the coast of Syria, with a very considerable force, to which the Egyptians being added, under the command of so active an officer, rendered the Chiek Daher's fate inevitable. His head was sent to Constantinople, and his treasures seized.

The Persians have besieged the

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the city of Bassora, during the greater part, if not the whole of the year. Though they have met with frequent repulses and losses, they notwithstanding continued the siege with such obstinacy, and the means of relief were so remote, that it does not seem improbable but the place may by this time be in their hands. We shall observe to the honour of the present Grand Signior, that he shews the same favourable disposition to the Christians in his dominions, by which his brother was so much distinguished.

CHRO-

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CHRONICLE.

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CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. BEING new year's day, was observed at court as usual. Particularly the forty boys, educated for the sea, in mathematics, &c. in Christ hospital, were, according to annual custom, presented to his Majesty by their president.

In the year 1680 a regular estimate was made of the annual amount of the poor rates in England, which was 665,362l. and the last year, 1774, it was 3,000,000l.

It appears by an exact calculation, that 94,000 head of black cattle, and about 800,000 sheep and lambs, were sold in Smithfield-market during the course of last year.

In the same period, 3720 vessels were cleared from the port of Newcastle, coastwise; and 386, oversea; making in all 4106.

The neat duties received at the Custom-house of Dublin, for goods imported and exported there, from the 3d of January, 1774, to the 3d of January of this year, 1775, both days included, amounted to 360,260l. of which 352,309l. was on goods imported, and 2,951l. on goods exported.

2d. One Robert Wilds was committed to Dover-castle, for infusing into the liquor given to some women at a country hop, drops of a poisonous quality, by which some were thrown into convulsions, others seized with a giddiness and stupor, and all were more or less affected. We insert this by way of caution to our readers, to discountenance tricks of so dangerous a nature.

4th. About seven o'clock a shock of an earthquake was felt at Leghorn, and another about eleven o'clock; but happily neither of them did any damage.

The difference between the height of the liquor in the thermometer this morning and the 2d, was above six degrees and a half; which is a more remarkable change in the temperature of the atmosphere, than has happened in so short a time for many years past.

The Earl of Dartmouth, by the king's orders, wrote a circular letter to the governors of his majesty's colonies in America, requiring them to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the holding of any more congresses. But, considering the nature of the unhappy quarrel between the mother country and these

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colonies, the consequences of these orders, if any, and indeed every other circumstance relating to this quarrel, must be too interesting not to deserve an able pen, and a more conspicuous place in this work than the present. Accordingly, the reader may expect to find all these particulars in the historical part of it.

A boat was overset coming up the river, below Cuckold's point, by which accident five passengers, and the waterman, were drowned. None of these unhappy persons would, in all probability, have perished, had they been in cork jackets. But, as the lugging about of cork-jackets, and even the bare putting of them on, would prove too troublesome to people not constantly using the water, what should hinder the watermen from providing themselves with cork belts, and cork collars, for their occasional passengers, who might hold these things in their hands, till there was occasion to use them, and then slip them on in the twinkling of an eye? Perhaps, a small premium to the first waterman who should adopt this practice would in a short time introduce it; and then their own interest would soon render it universal. Besides, they might be allowed a reasonable recompence for the use of these preservatives.

Mr. Brower, print-cutter, near Aldersgate-street, was attacked on the road to Enfield by a single highwayman, whom he recollected to be a tradesman in the city; he accordingly called him by his name, when the robber shot himself through the head.

The Christians in the Crimea are fled to the Russians, and the empress has given orders to build a large town for their reception between Kerch and Janicale.

5th. The house of Mrs. Staples, a widow Lady at Reading, in Berkshire, was, during her absence to drink tea in the neighbourhood, broke open, and robbed of effects to the amount of 700*l.* the maid-servant being gone to see a puppet-show.

6th. Though twelfth-day, there was no court or drawing-room. But the Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain to his Majesty's household, made the usual offering at the chapel royal, in the absence of their Majesties.

A plan is agreed on for building on the ground belonging to the Temple, which has been taken from the river, a range of buildings like the front of the Adelphi, with a commodious terrace-walk next the river.

7th. A woman applied to a resolver of lawful questions, in a court in Fleet-street, to be satisfied in relation to some future events; but, while poor Albumazer was consulting the stars in his chamber in order to resolve her doubts, he seems to have been entirely ignorant of his own present fortune; for some thieves (supposed to be the enquirer's confederates) stripped his other apartments of every thing that was conveniently portable.

9th. Two serjeants of the Surry militia, and two other men, in coming from Kingston towards London, meeting a fish-man of about 70, with part of a field-gate on his back, asked him if he came honestly by it; and, on his seeming confused, one of them attempted to secure him; but, before he could effect it, the fellow pulled out a large knife,

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knife, and stabbed him in the breast, who immediately cried out he had received his death's wound; then, the others endeavouring to secure him, he stabbed a second in the belly, a third in the arm, and the fourth in the groin. At length, several people coming up, he was overpowered, and conducted to the New Gaol. One of them died the next morning, and two of the others soon after. Of such fatal efficacy is any weapon in desperate hands against naked, though far superior strength and numbers!

Last week her Majesty received a present of sable skins from the Empress of Russia, which are said to be the grandest ever seen in England.

An order has lately been issued at Hamburgh, to prevent the merchants of that republic, from supplying the piratical states of Barbary with cannon and other warlike stores.

10th. Six Criminals were executed at Tyburn; four for house breaking; one for stealing a bank-note out of a letter in the general post-office; and one for stealing money and bank-notes in a house in the Tower. The criminal executed for stealing the bank-note, confessed to the stealing of three more. He, who suffered for the theft in the Tower, had been formerly capitally condemned for another crime; but being pardoned on condition of transportation, unhappily for himself, broke jail before he could be shipped off; and took to his old courses again.

A well-dressed man knocked at a milliner's, in Pallmall, under pretence of wanting some ruffles; and being let in by the mistress, immediately locked the door on the inside, pulled out a pistol, and with horrid imprecations threatened to destroy her if she spoke a word; he then tied a bandage over her eyes, bound her, and stripped the shop near of 80l. worth of lace and linen.

11th. The keeper of an ale-house in Bishopsgate ward, was complained of before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, at Guildhall, for harbouring the watchmen of that ward during their hours of duty; and, being convicted upon the statute of the 21st of King James, for suffering tipling in his house, paid the penalty of ten shillings, besides being disabled by the same statute from keeping an ale-house for the space of three years.

Last week a serge-maker, on the information of one of his poor weavers, before two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, being convicted of paying a woman her wages, not in money, but by note, was fined for the same, pursuant to several statutes made for the relief of the woollen manufacturers.

16th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey; when the court passed sentence of death on eight convicts; sentence of transportation for seven years, on forty-three; and for 14 years, on three more. Three were ordered to be branded in the hand, and four to be privately whipt. And on the 15th of February, four of the capital convicts were executed at Tyburn. The fifth was pardoned on condition of transportation for his natural life. One of those who suffered, was for robbing a farmer's boy of sixpence.

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18th. Being observed as her Majesty's birth-day, the court at St. James's was exceedingly numerous and splendid.

The Lord Mayor has at length established the just forms of proceeding in all causes before the court of Aldermen.

A few days since a most daring robbery was committed by nine men, in disguise, in the dwelling-house of Mr. Liney, at Fyfield, near Marlborough. After getting in at the window, one of them went to the bed where Mr. and Mrs. Liney were, and held a pistol to the former's head, threatening his life, if he stirred, while the others commanded Mrs. Liney to shew them where their money was; which being done, they took upwards of fifty pounds in cash, some tea-spoons and other valuable effects, the buckles from Mrs. Liney's shoes, and eight pounds from the maid-servant; after this they made a fire, and regaled themselves with bread, cheese, strong beer, &c. They then desired Mrs. Liney to say, if any person else came to rob the house, that 'George had been there;' and commanded her to go to bed, swearing if the family did not lie in bed till nine o'clock, they would kill them before they were nine days older.

The King of France, in one of the councils lately held in his presence, determined, that for the future the punishment of deserters should not be death; but to work, as slaves, on the public roads.

The following is a complete list of the Emperor of Morocco's navy; at Larache, two frigates of 30 guns, and 200 men, each; three, of 24 guns, and 150 men, each; two, of 20 guns, and 130 men, each; and one galliot of 22 oars, 12 guns, and 90 men, all ready to put to sea. At Tetuan, two xebecs of 30 oars, 20 guns, and 200 men, each. One galliot of 32 oars, 16 guns and 100 men; three, of 24 oars, 10 guns, and 90 men each; and one of 16 oars, 8 guns, and 70 men; all ready for sailing. There are also ready for launching, one xebec, of 26 oars, pierced for 16 guns; and two galliots of 22 oars, pierced for 12 guns, each. At Sallee, one vessel of 24 guns, and 180 men. One xebec of 20 oars, 18 guns, and 120 men; and three galliots of 30 oars, 10 guns, 130 men each, ready to be launched. At Tangier, one galliot of 36 oars, 20 guns, and 160 men, besides several others very forward on the stocks.

The court of Petersburgh has consented to the Grand Signior's sending the investiture of the sword and aigrette, as caliph, to the Khan of the Tartars, who is, notwithstanding, to be entirely independent in his temporal concerns. The Grand Signior has conferred the titles of Prince of Moldavia, and cabinet counsellor, on the drogoman of the Porte, who attended the Reis Effendi in this negociation.

Turnbull's and Latimer's instrument for taking the distance of the moon from the sun, was tried and proved upon Gateshead Fell, near Newcastle, by Mr. William Hope, an experienced mariner, who declared, that by means of that instrument, the longitude may be determined at sea, as often as such an observation can be made, with the greatest exactness.

A hackney coachman was summoned before the Lord Mayor for grossly abusing a lady, and violently shoving the coach-door against

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gainst her, as she was getting in, because there were already four in the coach; and for their refusing to carry them. The Lord Mayor told the coachman, that, according to law, he had a right, before the lady got in, to insist upon sixpence more than the fare for the fifth person; but as he made no such agreement, he was obliged to drive them where he was ordered; that the fine for his offence was 20s. but he should this time pay only ten; at the same time his lordship cautioned him, not to be guilty again of the like offence, as, if he did, he should pay the whole fine.

21st. The rebel Pugatschef, who had a long time maintained a rebellion in the extreme parts of Russia, was executed at Moscow, when, by a mistake, his head was first severed from his body, and then his hands and feet; these were then shewn to the spectators, and afterwards his head. He suffered with undaunted resolution, as did likewise three others, companions in his treason. It is generally believed the executioner will lose his tongue for mistaking his orders, and cutting off the rebel's head, before he cut off his limbs. Pugatschef was thus punished, merely for the murders, robberies, and devastations committed by him and his followers; the Empress of Russia having previously remitted the crime of treason against herself.

The canal between Chester and the Aqueduct-bridge, near Huxley-mill, is now open, and a vessel of 70 tons, with coals, &c. went up it the 16th instant.

Sir William Browne having directed his executors to procure a die for annually striking off two medals of gold, of five guineas value each, to be sent to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge about the beginning of January, to be given by him, at the following commencement, to two under-graduates, one for the best Greek ode in imitation of Sappho, the other for the best Latin ode in imitation of Horace, on a subject to be appointed by the Vice-chancellor; also one other gold medal, of like value, to be given by him to the under-graduate who shall produce the best Greek epigram after the model of the Anthologia, and the best Latin epigram after the model of Martial: the Deputy Vice-chancellor has appointed for the subject of the odes for the present year,

In memoriam Gulielmi Brown, equitis, M. D. And of the Epigrams,

De præmiorum ad doctrinam promovendum utilitate.

23d. By his majesty's order in council of this date, a former order of the 28th of October last (directing that no horned cattle, nor any hides, skins, horns, hoofs, or other part of any horned cattle or beast, nor any hay, straw, litter, fodder, or other things which have been employed about infected cattle, or the hides, or any other part of such cattle, or have been in or near the places where any such infection hath been, and are liable to retain the same, should be imported from any ports or other places on the coast of France, within the districts of Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne, Poictou, Guienne, and Gascoine, into Great-Britain, or Ireland, or any of the dominions thereto belonging) is extended to Languedoc and Provence, in consequence

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sequence of information having been received, that the distemper among the horned cattle in Gascoine hath spread itself into the first of these provinces. And this, by another account, it is said to have done in a person's clothes.

A petition from the American merchants, relative to the present disturbances in North-America, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Hayley, one of the city members, and referred to a committee of the whole House. Mr. Hayley desired it might be referred to the same committee to which the consideration of the American papers was referred; but his motion was over-ruled.

The States General published a declaration setting forth, that, as the Emperor of Morocco had broken the peace concluded with them in 1752, ordering, that all vessels belonging to the republic should be seized as lawful prize from the first day of the same month, their high mightinesses have given the necessary orders for the equipment of divers ships of war; and for the better encouragement of their sailors and marines, have declared, that all prizes taken from the enemy, should become the entire property of the captors, besides other advantages.

Most of the schools in the kingdom of Poland are in a deplorable situation for want of masters, or of funds for their support. The king knows this, and laments that the exhausted state of his coffers deprives him of the power of making provision for them as he is desirous of doing; however, the prince bishop of Plocko, his brother, hath supplied those in his diocese to the utmost of his ability; and following the example of the good shepherd, who feeds, not devours, his flock, he retrenches his own necessary expences, and distributes for that sole object, worthy of his zeal, 12,000 florins a quarter. The general prince Adam Czartoriski gives an equal example of generosity in the palatinate of Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiow, where he hath the general inspection of learning, in quality of commissary of the national education.

It seems, that when the Jesuits, who were formerly the chief teachers in Poland, as in all other Roman Catholic countries, were suppressed; not only they were left without bread, but little or nothing of what was taken from them, was reserved for the noble and necessary purposes, for which it had been originally bestowed.

24th. A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when the two meal-weighers went through an examination, which lasted three hours; but no discovery was made of any bad practices being carried on in the corn-market, in Mark-lane, to advance the price of corn.

26th. Bamber Gascoigne, esq; moved that the speaker's chaplain should preach the 30th of January sermon before the House; when it was observed, that the preaching before the House on that day, was not only a mockery of religion, but a direct attack upon the revolution, and an insult to the royal family upon the throne; and that therefore that solemnity ought to be abolished. But the act of Parliament was insisted on, and the motion agreed to, by 112 against 83; and accordingly the anniversary sermon on the martyrdom of K. Char. I. was preached before the House

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House of Commons by the Rev. Mr. Onslow, at St. Margaret's; as was that before the House of Lords by the Bishop of Worcester, at Westminster Abbey.

The archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury in convocation assembled, waited on his majesty with a most humble address, in which they own with concern, that a strange licentiousness both of sentiment and conduct, with a spirit of frivolous dissipation and ruinous profusion, of disrepect to superiors, and of contempt of lawful authority, have made an alarming progress in this nation, and present a gloomy prospect to every serious and considerate mind.

The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have given two gold and two silver medals, engraved by Mr. Pingo, viz. to Sir Alexander Dick, Bart. for specimens of British rhubarb, 1774, a gold medal; to Mr. William Tadman, for turnips cultivated among beans, 1774, a gold medal; to Mr. Michael Calender, for specimens of British rhubarb, second premium, 1774, a silver medal; to Mr. John Delamotte, for children taught to weave black lace, 1774, a silver medal.

On this occasion, we cannot help recommending to the society's attention, the surprising tree called *Garofero*, &c. described in the second part of this volume, p. 92. Perhaps it might thrive in some parts of Great-Britain or Ireland; particularly in the southern declivities of our southern mountains.

The present winter has been uncommonly severe in several of the southern as well as northern parts of Europe. In the neighbourhood of Bologna, in particular, the roads were so covered with snow the latter end of October, as to stop the courier best used to them. Yet no such weather was felt in the British islands, owing, no doubt, to their being surrounded by the sea. Several of the great and rich, however, behaved with their usual goodness to the poor. Her majesty ordered 500l. to be distributed among poor objects in the cities of London and Westminster. The archbishop of Canterbury's lady ordered 100 guineas to be distributed in coals, bread and meat, to the poor inhabitants of Lambeth; and his grace, 100l. to the same, in money. The Duke of Dorset ordered 1000 weight of beef, the same quantity of bread, and 50 cords of wood, to be distributed among the poor inhabitants contiguous to his estate at Sevenoaks, in Kent. The Duke of Marlborough gave 150l. to the poor of the city of Oxford. The Earl of Sandwich and Lord Hinchinbrook ordered 300l. to be distributed to the poor in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon.

DIED, the 12th instant, near Chapel of Seggat, in the parish of Auchterless, North-Britain, Peter Garden, at the extraordinary age of 131. He retained his memory and senses till near the last. He had lived under ten sovereigns, viz. Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, Richard Cromwell, Charles II. James II. William and Mary, Anne, and George I. II, and III. He remembered to have been sent, when a boy, to the wood to cut boughs for spears, in the time of the civil wars. 28th.

And much about the same time, a man of 103 years of age died in the parish of Marykirk.

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FEBRUARY.

1st. A most violent storm of wind and rain did incredible damage in and about London, and on the river Thames. The people about Deptford and Greenwich had been alarmed with the reveries of a crazy prophet, who had predicted that on this day these towns were to be swallowed up by an earthquake; and on the breaking out of the storm, it is said, some of the inhabitants were weak enough to leave their houses, and to fly to London.—At Portsmouth, the tide being attended with a hard gale from the south, rose higher than ever was remembered by the oldest man living. All the houses in the Point had from one to two feet water in their lower rooms, and boats were rowed from the Beach up to the Point-bridge. The island on which the town stands, was in a manner laid under water; several hundreds of cattle, sheep, &c. were drowned, and much damage done to the fields sowed with corn. A whole row of houses were entirely swept away by the sea, from the back of the Point; but happily no lives, that we hear of, were lost. Great damage was likewise done by the same storm at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where two men were drowned in the store-houses, in endeavouring to save some goods.

2d. At night, upwards of five hundred of the soldiers garrisoned in Dublin, paraded in regular form to the gaol of Newgate in that city, and with sledges threatened to break open the prison door, unless some of their brethren, who were there confined for outrages against the peace of the city, were that moment set at liberty. Prudence in the gaoler, and the dreadful remembrance of what passed on a similar occasion in the mayoralty of Alderman Geale, made him comply with their request. He opened the prison-doors, and delivered up the culprits to those who demanded them.

3d. Came on to be argued, before the judges of appeal, in Serjeant's Inn, Chancery-Lane, the long depending cause relative to the disfranchisement of Alderman Plumbe, brought by writ of error before their lordships, when Mr. Mansfield, as counsel for the plaintiff in error, endeavoured to prove that his client, as a citizen of London, was not subject to disfranchisement for not obeying the lord-mayor's precept, to summon as chief warden of the Goldsmith's company, the livery of the said company to attend in Guildhall, to hear his majesty's answer to the humble address and remonstrance of the corporation of London; as the only legal business of convening the livery, he said, was for them to elect their members of parliament, magistrates, and other officers; all other corporate business of the city coming under the cognizance of the common-council; and he recited many law reports to confirm his argument. Mr. Davenport, as counsel for the defendant in error, observed, that it was the duty of the plaintiff to obey the lord-mayor's precept, and that he was obliged to do so by his oath as a freeman; that it was impossible to know the sense of the citizens but by such meetings; that no person was so proper to call them together as the mayor or chief magistrate,

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magistrate, and he enforced his arguments by many law-cases. The judges then adjourned the further arguing of this cause until some day next term.

A most daring and desperate assault was made about ten at night, upon the watch-house in Moorfields, where a prisoner was kept in charge, by above 40 ruffians armed with cutlasses, pistols, and other offensive weapons, who wounded the watchmen, rescued the prisoner, almost demolished the watch-house, robbed the constables, committed other almost unparalleled outrages, and then went off in triumph. Some of them were soon after apprehended, but the gang was too numerous to be soon subdued.

Three months before the death of the late King Lewis the XVth of France, his majesty proposed to the marquis of Brunois, to buy his chatéau de Brunois, for the Count de Provence his grandson, and brother to the present king. The marquis refused to sell it; the death of the king stopped any further proceeding in the affair at that time. Since the present king came to the throne, his majesty has declared that he has adopted the intentions of his grandfather; and the marquis still persists in his refusal, claiming to have his right and pretensions decided by justice, against the sovereign authority. This question will form one of the most interesting causes that has ever happened since the foundation of the French monarchy.

The Danish government has declared the trade to Bengal free, on paying a duty of 8 per cent. a regulation which greatly affects their East-India company, who have now no longer an exclusive privilege; and a large ship was already preparing at Copenhagen to take advantage of the above licence.

In the course of the evi- 4th.
dence given before the select committee, appointed to try and determine the Hindon election, the following circumstance came out. On a day previous to the election, a man, disguised in a fantastic female habit, went about the town for two successive days, to canvass for two of the candidates. This figure, which was called the dancing Punch, called at the door of almost every elector, and gave each five or ten guineas; and sent for such as had not been canvassed at their own houses, to an inn in the town, and there distributed its favours in the same manner. Some others, in the opposite interest, attended in an outer apartment of the house, where their friends sat in an inner room, and there obliged the electors to sign an acknowledgment for a certain sum of money; which being done, a paper, containing ten or fifteen guineas, was handed out to every elector by some unknown person, thro' a hole in the door just large enough for that purpose. It appeared likewise, by the hearsay evidence of the persons who proved these facts, that there had been a meeting in the interest of the two other gentlemen at a malt-house in the said town, where sums of money were distributed among the electors, not by a dancing Punch, nor through a hole in the door, but by a person in propria persona, and in the face of upwards of fourscore persons.

Upon this the committee came to the following resolutions:

That Richard Smith, and Thomas Brand Hollis, Esqrs. by their agents,

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agents, have been guilty of notorious bribery, in procuring themselves to be elected and returned burgesses to serve in this present parliament, for the borough of Hindon, in the county of Wilts.

That James Calthorpe, Esq; by his agents, has been guilty of notorious bribery, in endeavouring to procure himself to be elected and returned a burgess, to serve in this present parliament for the said borough of Hindon.

That Richard Beckford, Esq; has, by his agent, endeavoured, by promise of money, to procure himself to be elected and returned a burgess, to serve in this present parliament, for the said bourough of Hindon.

That the Rev. John Nairn, of Hindon; Fasham Nairn, Esq; late of Bury-street, St. James's; Francis Ward, of Sherborne-lane, London; —— Stevens, a butcher at Salisbury, commonly called Jobber Stevens; Francis Mead, John Hart, William Lucas, Thomas Howell, John Becket, baker, William Penny, William Bye, sen. William Becket, and Wm. Burnett, of Hindon, have acted as agents, and been accessary to, and concerned in, the notorious acts of bribery and corruption that have been practised at the last election for the said borough of Hindon.

That the House be moved for leave to bring in a bill to disfranchise the said borough of Hindon, in the said county of Wilts.

And the above resolutions were confirmed by the House of Commons on the 24th instant; when it was likewise resolved, that no writ should be issued for a future election, for one month.

The weather suddenly changed in Saxony and other parts of Germany, from severe frost to incessant rain for two days and two nights: and there being a deep snow on the ground, the rivers in consequence swelled to an immoderate height, and every where overflowed their banks, insomuch that it was feared the grain stored on both sides of them, would be entirely carried away. But in Hungary the damage sustained is almost incredible. Among other dreadful relations, it is said, that, of the inhabitants of seventeen villages in the island of Raczkover, surrounded by the Danube, only one person escaped; and the citizens of Pest had nearly shared the same fate, the whole of their suburb having been destroyed, several streets reduced to ruins, and not a house escaping without injury.

5th. This morning, by a high tide, immense damage was done at the wharfs below bridge; the water on many of them being near three feet deep ——— A large ship laden with sugars, &c. broke away from a wharf near London-Bridge, and was lost on the starlings. The following day, the water was more than a foot deep in Westminster-hall.

6th. The grand cause between the county of Dublin, which had presented a late grant of 35 acres of the Phœnix park from his majesty to Sir John Blaquiere, Knt. of the Bath, came on in the court of King's Bench, before Lord Annaly and the Justices Robinson and Henn; when, after a trial which lasted near eleven hours, the jury withdrew for about ten minutes, and brought in a verdict in favour of the crown for Sir John Blaquiere.

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7th. An order having been issued by the House of Lords, directing an officer of that house to take into custody the printer of a morning paper, the officer called at the offending printer's office the same evening and the following morning, when he was told that the printer was not then at home, but would give him (the officer) a meeting on Saturday morning at eleven o'clock. In expectation therefore of his coming, the printer attended at his office from eleven o'clock till half an hour past one, when he was advised by his friends to dispatch a letter to the officer, informing him of his long attendance, with directions to the bearer of his letter to wait for an answer. In the mean time, it is said, that several peace-officers, &c. were in waiting near the printer's house, to take into custody any persons that might offer violence to him; but no person came to take him into custody, nor was any answer returned to his letter.

9th. Both Houses of Parliament waited on his majesty, with a joint address relative to the present disturbances in North America; which, with his majesty's answer, the next day, to the House of Commons, and some resolutions of theirs in consequence thereof, will be given in our article of State Papers.

10th. At a court of common council, that court came to the following resolution:

"That the thanks of this court be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, for having offered to the House of Lords a plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately subsist between the administration in this country and its American colonies; and to all those who supported that noble Lord in so humane and constitutional a measure." And at a court of common-council, held the 13th, the town-clerk acquainted the court, that he had waited on the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham with these their thanks, and that his Lordship returned the following answer:

"Lord Chatham desires the favour of Mr. Town-clerk to offer to my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Commons, in Common-council assembled, his most respectful and grateful acknowledgments for the signal honour they have been pleased to confer on the mere discharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity. Under deep impressions of former marks of favour, able construction of his conduct during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himself too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured, and strengthened by the greatest corporate body of the kingdom."

12th. Between four and five o'clock, all the inhabitants of St. Columb, in Cornwall, were alarmed by an uncommon clap of thunder, attended by lightning, acting with such extraordinary violence, that the eastern pinnacle of the tower (a strong and well-built structure) was torn and shattered to pieces, and the timber, &c. of the church much damaged. Some of the stones of the pinnacle, of above 300 weight, were thrown upwards of 300 yards on every side of the tower; and others of an inferior size to a much greater distance.

Last week an oak in Langley wood, the property of the bishop of

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of Salisbury, near Downton, Wilts, supposed to be a thousand years growth, was sold for 40l. It measured 6 feet 2 inches diameter, and contained about ten ton of timber.

14th. Cardinal John Angelo Braschi was unanimously elected pope, and assumed the name of Pius VI. and on the 22d he was anointed and crowned in the Vatican church with the usual ceremonies. John Angelo Braschi was born at Cesena the 27th of December 1717; his family is one of the noblest of the province of Romania, and have in their arms the eagle and the fleur de lis. He is a very fine person, has a great share of sense, vivacity, and knowledge. Benedict XIV who esteemed him much, confided several important employments to him, in which he always distinguished himself by his disinterestedness and exactitude. Though he never possessed but a small fortune, he knew how to find opportunities to shew the generosity of his heart, and his taste for magnificence; besides these great qualifications, he is extremely pious and public spirited, of which he has not ceased to give proofs since his advancement, particularly by keeping his nearest relations at a due distance; and by lowering the price of meat four farthings per pound, without prejudice to the butchers, to whom he makes good the difference out of his own private purse.

17th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

A bill for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax for the service of the year 1775.

The bill for better regulating his Majesty's marine forces while on shore.

The bill to explain, amend, and render more effectual an act for prohibiting the exportation of utensils made use of in the woollen, linen, and other manufactures.

21st. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when three criminals for house-breaking, one for highway robbery, and two for returning from transportation, received sentence of death; and, on the 21st of April, one of those condemned for house-breaking, and one of those condemned for returning from transportation, were executed at Tyburn. At the same sessions 31 were sentenced to be transported for 7 years, 6 to be branded in the hand, 2 of whom are to be imprisoned 6 months, 13 to be whipt, and 30 delivered on proclamation.

A large body of the White Boys in Ireland made a most desperate attack on the house of Robert Butler, Esq. in the town of Ballyragget, in consequence of an association entered into by that gentleman, and the other inhabitants of Ballyragget, to suppress them. But Mr. Butler, having had timely notice of their wicked designs, assembled his neighbours, &c. and gave them so warm a reception, that they were glad to make off with the loss of two killed on the spot, and several wounded.

The recorder and common serjeant have lately delivered in their opinion to the committee of the city lands with regard to the city marshals and their men, on a point which has been depending upwards of two years, that the places of head marshal and under marshal should according to ancient records, be given away; for then the court of aldermen, or the lord mayor, upon any complaint of their ill behaviour, would have a right to dismiss

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miss them immediately; whereas, when places are bought, they are supposed to be a security for life, whatever misdemeanor the purchasers may be guilty of.

The late Dr. Smith's prizes of 25l. each, for the best proficient in mathematical learning, at Cambridge, have been this year adjudged to Mr. Vince, A. B. of Caius college, and Mr. Coulthurst, A. B. of St. John's college.

22d. The lord-mayor moved in the House of Commons, that the proceedings of that House of the 17th of February, 1769, might be read; which being done, some other extracts which his lordship called for, were likewise read. He then made a speech upon what he called proceedings unjustifiable, illegal, and unwarrantable; and moved, that the resolution of the 17th of Feb. 1769, which declares, "That John Wilkes, Esq; having been this present session of parliament expelled this House, *was, and is incapable* of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament," be expunged from the journals of this House, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. Mr. Serjeant Glyn seconded the motion, and then a general debate ensued, in which Lord North, the Hon. Charles Fox, Col. Fitzroy, Sir George Saville, the Attorney- and Solicitor-Generals, Col. Barré, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wallace, the two Mr. Grenvilles, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Adair, Capt. Luttrell, and several others, were speakers. The arguments were warm, and to the point. The question was repeatedly attempted to be put, but was as often prevented by new speakers rising. At length, a little after 12, after about eight hours debate, "the question, the question," was so far the prevailing call, that it was put, and the House divided, when the numbers were, for the motion 171, and 239 against it.

24th. A petition was presented to the House of Commons from the Corporation of London against the bill to restrain the trade and commerce of Massachuset's Bay and New Hampshire, and the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantation, in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, on the ground of its being an unjust, cruel, partial, and oppressive bill, injurious to the trade of Great-Britain, and tending to increase the wealth and strength of her rivals and enemies.

24th. By advice over land from Bencoolen, the Soloans, an Asiatic nation, this day took the East-India-company's new established settlement at Ballambangan, and in it, effects to the amount of 926,000 Spanish dollars and upwards, the garrison and other servants of the company retiring to Laboan, another settlement, with effects to the amount of 240,000 dollars. However, thirteen of the garrison were missing. By the same advice it appears, that in a great storm, on the coast of Surat, thirty ships of different nations were totally lost.

The above island of Ballambangan, concerning the settlement of which a dispute has been for some time past subsisting between England, Spain, and Holland, is situated in the East-Indies, at the north point of Borneo, and lately belonged

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ed to the king of Sooloo, who, in 1762, made a cession of it to the English. In 1763 Mr. Dalrymple took possession of it for the English East-India company, and hoisted the British flag there; since which a proper force was sent over, and a regular settlement made on the island, under the direction of Mr. Harbord, one of the council of Bencoolen who was appointed governor. This gave umbrage to the Spaniards and Dutch, who are extremely jealous of our fixing a trading station so near to the Philippines and Moluccas; and accordingly the last advices previous to that of its being taken, as above, by the Soolooans, mentioned, that the Spanish governor of Manilla had peremptorily required the English to evacuate the island; but with this demand Mr. Harbord did not think proper immediately to comply; and, when the intelligence came away, he was preparing to defend himself, though with little prospect of success, against so superior a force. According to the treaty of Munster, in 1618, the only treaty subsisting between the English and Spaniards, which explains and regulates the rights and limits of the latter, in the East-Indies, the Spaniards have no right to extend their East-Indian navigation farther than they had at that time carried it. Consequently they can have no claim to Balambangan.

Lord Effingham complained in the House of Lords of the licentiousness of the press, and produced a pamphlet, entituled, "The Present Crisis with respect to America considered", published by T. Becket, which his Lordship declared to be a most daring insult on the King; and moved, that the House would come to resolutions to the following effect:

That the said pamphlet is a false, malicious, and dangerous libel, subversive of the principles of the glorious revolution, to which we owe our present invaluable constitution; and of the rights of the people.

That one of the said pamphlets be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Old Palace-yard; and another, at the Royal Exchange.

That these resolutions be communicated to the House of Commons at a conference, and that the concurrence of that House be desired. Which resolutions being read, were unanimously agreed to.

Pursuant to the above resolutions, a conference was held on the 27th, between the two Houses of Parliament, when the Commons concurred with the resolutions of the Lords on the 24th, and the pamphlet was unanimously ordered to be burned accordingly.

A second conference now ensued, arising from a complaint of the Earl of Radnor in the Upper House, and of Lord Chewton in the Lower House, against a periodical paper, called the Crisis, No. 3. published for T. Shaw, &c. In the Lower House, this paper in question had been voted a false, malicious, and seditious libel; in the Upper House, the word *treasonable* was added; but, upon re-considering the matter, that was omitted: but it was, like the other, unanimously ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The principles of these offensive publications were diametrically opposite to each other. The pamphlet asserted a right in the sovereign

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sovereign to levy taxes without consent of parliament, provided that consent was with-held. In obedience to the above orders, these pieces were burnt, on the 6th of March following, by the common hangman, at Westminster-hall gate.

In the mean time, the Lord Mayor had issued his precepts, for summoning the constables of nine of the wards of the city, to attend a similar execution of them, at twelve o'clock the next day at the Royal Exchange. The concourse of people on this occasion was prodigious. Some of them were at first very riotous: they seized and threw about the first brush faggots which were brought, and treated the city marshal and the hangman very ill: but more faggots being brought, and dipt in turpentine, they immediately took fire, and soon consumed the publications in question. But soon after the sheriffs and other officers had quitted the place of execution, a man of decent appearance burnt, at the same place, a copy of the late address upon the American affairs, and the Birmingham petition.

The House of Peers heard counsel in a cause brought before their Lordships by appeal from the high court of chancery. The case was remarkably curious, the question to be decided being, Whether Thomas Sansam, to whom an estate was bequeathed as soon as he should arrive at the full age of twenty-one, did accomplish that age, or not, being born between the hours of five and six in the morning of the 16th of August, 1725, and dying about the 11th in the forenoon of the 15th of August, 1746, when he was killed by a fall from a waggon? The heir at law to Thomas Sansam claimed upon the presumption that he had attained to the full age, according to the will of the testator; and Lord Camden had so decreed. But the family that was to inherit, in case the said Thomas did not arrive at the full age of twenty-one, appealed from this decree, insisting that more than sixteen hours were wanting to complete the full term: but that plea was over-ruled by their lordships, and the decree affirmed, because he was living on the day that completed the period.

A cause of Macklin against Clarke, Aldys, Lee, James, and Miles, came on to be tried by way of indictment in the court of King's Bench, before Mr. Justice Aston and a special jury. The indictment consisted of two counts; the first specifying, that on the 15th of November, 1773, the defendants had been guilty of a riot; the other, that they had been guilty of a conspiracy; both in order to cause Mr. Macklin to be dismissed from their stage by the patentees of Covent-Garden theatre. The judge, after hearing the evidence, and summing it up with accuracy and impartiality, desired the jury to exercise their judgment; and if they thought the defendants guilty of both counts, they were to find a verdict generally; if only of one count, they should find accordingly. The jury then withdrew, and in about twenty minutes brought Clarke in guilty of the riot, and the others of the conspiracy. But judgment was deferred till next term.

Another remarkable trial came on before Lord Mansfield at Guildhall, wherein a notorious Jew swindler was plaintiff, and a silversmith defendant.

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defendant. The action was brought to recover a penalty of 180l. of the defendant, for selling to the plaintiff's brother a parcel of silver buckles, the same not being of the standard, and not having the marks prescribed by act of parliament. In the course of the evidence, it appeared, that some time ago the defendant had caused the plaintiff's brother to be apprehended upon a warrant, for defrauding the defendant of the very buckles, for the selling of which this action was commenced. The persons examined on the part of the plaintiff were, his brother, and the assay-master of Goldsmith's-hall; the former, stimulated by a motive of revenge, had forgot the commission of the fraud he had exercised upon the defendant, and also some very material circumstances, which, if he had chosen to recollect, would have rendered it unnecessary for the defendant to have called a single witness; the buckles being produced in court, both the assay-master, who was called on behalf of the plaintiff, and the defendant's foreman proved, to the satisfaction of the court and jury, that they were not buckles manufactured by the defendant, but had been made with the above defect for the purpose of loading the defendant with this action. Upon this, the plaintiff was nonsuited; and his brother immediately, by direction of the court, taken into custody for perjury.

26th. As some persons were going through Moorfields, a dog belonging to one of them was observed to scratch at a particular place; and his master not being able to get him from it, they had the ground opened; when the body of an infant just buried was found, with its legs cut off, and lying by the body.

28th. In the course of this month, the last, and next, several petitions, &c. besides those already mentioned, were presented to the several branches of the legislature against the measures in agitation against the revolted provinces in North-America; particularly by the West-India and North-America merchants of London; the people called Quakers; and the merchants of Waterford, in Ireland. On the other hand, the people of Pool thought proper to address and petition in favour of the same measures. We shall give in the subsequent sheets of this volume as many of these pieces, and such others as shall be hereafter presented, in the course of the year, as our bounds will admit of.

BIRTHS. On the 20th instant, the wife of Mr. Lewin, cheesemonger in Fenchurch-street, was delivered of twins.—This is the fifth time she has had two at a birth; and they are all living.

DIED, the 3d of this month, at Paris, Monsieur Belloy, author of the Siege of Calais, and several other pieces which did him great honour.

The 16th, at his apartments at Mr. Carr's, sadler, in the Fleet-market, London, the Chevalier Descaseaux, well known in London by the name of the French poet. He has left a great personage a curious sword, a valuable gold medal, and a curious picture.

10. At Burrowstounness, Janet Nimmo, aged 102.

12. At New Reay, in Caithness, Mr. Francis Tait, school-master of that place, aged 102.

18. Rev.

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18. Rev. Joseph Goodwin, fifty years vicar of Shipton under Whichwood, Oxfordshire.

20. Mr. Tullius Baker, aged 81, worth 40,000l. most of which he has left to charitable uses; among the rest, 5000l. in marriage portions to any ten young women whom his executors may think most deserving.

MARCH.

1st. Being St. David's Day, the society of Ancient Britons held their anniversary festival; when the collection amounted to 562l. 19s. 9d.

2d. The House of Peers heard an appeal, brought by James Nicol and Thomas Davis, Esqrs. against Governor Verelst, for cruel treatment in India. The appellants had sued the Governor in his Majesty's court of Common Pleas, but the proceedings were stopt by an injunction from Chancery, on the ground of appointing a commission from that court to examine witnesses in India, in justification of the Governor's proceedings; to remove which injunction the present appeal was lodged. But their Lordships, after hearing counsel on both sides, were pleased to affirm the injunction.

Mr. Nuthall, Solicitor to the Treasury, on his return from Bath, was attacked by a single highwayman on Hounslow-Heath; who, on his demands not being readily complied with, fired into the carriage, in which were Mr. Nuthall, a young lady, and a little boy, who happily received no other injury than being much frightened. Mr. Nuthall returned the highwayman's fire, and, it is thought, wounded him sorely, as he rode off precipitately. When they arrived at the inn at Hounslow, Mr. Nuthall wrote a description of the fellow to Sir John Fielding; but he had scarce closed his letter, when he suddenly expired.

3d. Came on, before Judge Aston, in the court of King's Bench, a cause, in which the Master of a sloop was plaintiff, and the Master of a collier defendant. The action was brought against the collier for running down the sloop, by which two men were drowned, and 448 quarters of wheat were lost. After examining several witnesses on both sides, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff.

8th. An appeal to the House of Peers, in one of the most important tythe causes that ever came before any court, was heard by their Lordships. Mr. Chaplin, of Rysom, in Lincolnshire, being in possession of an old monastical estate, which, for 174 years before the induction of the present rector, had paid a modus of 15l. a year in lieu of tythes, had tendered the said sum to the present incumbent Mr. Bree. But Mr. Bree refused to accept of the same, and insisted on tythes in kind, as by law intitled. On this a law-suit commenced, and the cause was heard before Judge Blackstone, and a verdict given in favour of the defendant, Mr. Chaplin. But the Judge being dissatisfied with that verdict, and making his report accordingly, the court of Exchequer ordered a new trial; to prevent which the present appeal was made to the House of Peers; when, notwithstanding there was no church at Rysom, that the rector neither preached nor prayed there, and seldom or never was seen in the parish;

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rish; that the dead might bury the dead, and the inhabitants baptize and marry one another; yet the Law-lords being of opinion, that, by law, the tythes were the rector's maintenance, and must be paid; the Lords, as it was a law-case, affirmed the order of the court of Exchequer for a new trial.

At the sale of coins at Langford's, an Aquitain halfpenny of Richard I. sold for 4l. 8s. and an Aquitain penny of Edward the Black Prince, for 10l. 15s.

A few days ago, as a farmer at Morton-Banks, near Bingley, tenant to Henry Wickham, of Cottingley-hall, Esq. was making a drain in a field, he fortunately discovered a copper chest, about 20 inches below the surface, containing near 100 weight of Roman silver pieces, coined at 15 different periods, some of them of so early a date as Julius Cæsar. They are about the size, but nearly three times the thickness, of a sixpence, and the impressions are very perfect. There was also in the chest a silver image, about six inches long.

14th. Robert Rous, one of the turnkeys of the New Gaol, Southwark, seeing a prisoner, who was committed there for different highway robberies, with rags tied round his fetters, ordered him to take them off; and, on his refusing to do it, he immediately cut them off; when, finding both his irons sawed through, he secured him, and then sent up two of his assistants to overlook a great number of prisoners who were in the strong room. Upon this the prisoners immediately secured one of the assistants in the room, and all fell on him with their irons, which they had knocked off. Rous hearing of it, went up with a horse-pistol, and extricated his fellow-turnkey from their fury, and then locked the door. All the turnkeys, as well as constables, now surrounded the door and the yard; and the prisoners fired several pistols loaded with powder and ball at two of the constables; when, the balls going thro' their hats, and the outrages continuing, one of the constables, who had a blunderbuss loaded with shot, fired through the iron grates at the window, and dangerously wounded one fellow committed for a burglary in the Mint. At length a party of soldiers, which had been sent for to the Tower, being arrived, and having loaded their muskets, the room was opened, and the prisoners were all secured and yoked, and 21 of them chained down to the floor in the condemned room. Some of the people belonging to the prison were wounded.

The sheriffs of the city of London, attended by the city remembrancer and other officers, presented to the House of Lords a petition from the court of common council, concerning a bill passed the House of Commons, to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachuset's Bay, &c. in America.

15th. A petition of the American merchants against the bill for restraining the trade of New-England, &c. was presented to the House of Lords.

Died the Princess Carolina Augusta Maria, youngest daughter of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, aged 8 months; and on the 22d her remains were carried out of town, and interred in the royal chapel at Windsor, in a vault provided there

by

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by his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester for himself and family.

16th. The people called Quakers presented a petition to his Majesty in favour of the Americans; and soon after some of that persuasion were invited to a conference with Lord Dartmouth.

The Supporters of the Bill of Rights have voted 500l. for the present relief of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and of the poor distressed fishermen of New-England.

17th. The Rev. Mr. Newnham, one of the minor canons of Bristol cathedral, in company with another gentleman and his own sister, having the curiosity to see Pen-park-hole, a remarkable cavern, about four miles from that city, went altogether to the place; and Mr. Newnham having a desire, if possible, to measure the depth of it, as there was no account of its ever having been fathomed before, advanced to a declivity at the mouth of the hole; but, as he was preparing to let down his line, all on a sudden the ground gave way, and though he had the agility to catch a bough which hung over the hole, yet that too giving way, he slipt down, and was ingulphed in the sight of his friends, who could only bewail his untimely fate, without being able to afford him relief. His body, however, was, after five weeks fruitless attempts, found floating on the water at the bottom of the hole, by a man who suffered himself to be let down into it for that purpose.

18th. About one in the morning, a terrible fire broke out, at Mr. Hopkins's, hosier, the corner of Warwick-lane, Newgate-street. The fire had made considerable progress before it was discovered, but not enough to prevent Mrs. Hopkins nearly reaching the street-door; when, recollecting that she had left her children behind, she went again up stairs, when the fire had got to so great a height as to prevent her return; and leave her, after some fruitless attempts to escape from the top of the house, no alternative but to fling herself from thence into a blanket, which was held by the people below in the street, to break her fall: she fell upon her back, none of her limbs were broke, neither did she appear to be bruised, yet about 4 o'clock the same morning she expired. The eldest daughter, about nineteen, threw herself also into the street, and was dreadfully bruised. The youngest daughter in town, about seven, together with her nursery-maid, perished in the flames. A servant maid clung to the leads upon the house till she was nearly suffocated, when she let go her hold, and fell into the street, very much bruised by the fall, upon which she was sent to the hospital. The house of Mr. Newman, oilman, next door to Mr. Hopkins's; and that of Mr. Phillips, tobacconist, the opposite corner, were considerably damaged. This disaster is said to have been occasioned by the firing of the chimney of the copper, in which a fire had been left burning when the servants went to bed. Mr. Hopkins was gone, with two of his daughters, about thirty miles into Kent, in order to place them at school there. The account-books were saved; but the stock in trade, and the furniture, were all destroyed.

A treaty of commerce was signed at Warsaw, between the ministers

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of his Prussian Majesty and the republic of Poland. We shall give it our readers in its proper place.

19th. The sailors belonging to the ships lying at Shields and Sunderland, began in a very riotous manner to stop all the ships that were bound to London with coals, by going aboard and unbending their sails, abusing the captains and sailors that were willing to proceed upon their voyage. Some ships in the confusion made the best of their way over the bar, with little wind; but they were soon followed by a great number of boats, well manned, which overtook and boarded them, forcibly brought them back with much difficulty and great hazard to Shields against wind and an ebb tide, and unrigged and moored them. The rioters now collected a great quantity of lighters, or keels, and made a boom of them quite across the river, so that no craft could pass up or down without their permission. The magistrates, foreseeing this storm, had sent for five companies of the 31st regiment to Tynemouth and Morpeth; which, with the seasonable arrival from York the next day of three troops of the Scots Grey dragoons, soon put a stop to this mischievous riot, which had infected the mob at Newcastle, who stopped the working of all the colliers below bridge, and determined to do the same by all the colliers in the two rivers Tyne and Wear.

The following is a particular account of a late dreadful fire at Newmarket: It broke out about five o'clock in the afternoon, in a straw loft belonging to Mrs. Bascubee, at the Bull inn; and the wind being very high, communicated with uncommon rapidity to above thirty out-houses, which were all consumed, together with a wheelwright's shop, a barn full of wheat, three small tenements, a malting which contained above 400 coombs of malt, besides 100 coombs of barley, most of it brought in that day; a pease-stack, containing about 40 coombs of peas; a barn, with some rye in it, and six pigs, a cow and calf, together with a store-house and 100 hogsheads of beer. The ground on which the above buildings stood, is supposed to be about five acres, and was all on fire in less than half an hour: providentially for the inhabitants, the wind was full south: had it been north, the whole town would have been in the most imminent danger of being destroyed. The damage sustained, however, is supposed to amount to more than 3000l. But no lives were lost; nor was any body materially hurt. It is strongly suspected, that these buildings were maliciously set on fire, as fifteen buckets belonging to the engine were stolen the week before.

21st. A very extraordinary affair happened at a certain hospital; two women, one of whom having the appearance of a nurse, the other of a maid-servant, applied to the committee to let them have a male child, the youngest in the hospital, for their lady, who wanted to adopt one for her own. These women, on the committee's close examining them, confessed that the lady's husband was gone abroad; and, as she told him before he went she believed she was pregnant, it was necessary on his return to shew him a child; they likewise acknowledged the lady came from the Isle of Wight, to London

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London to lye-in. As it appeared the adoption of this child was calculated to deprive some heir at law of an estate, or for some other unlawful purpose; the intention of this paragraph is to caution those persons whom it may concern to be on their guard against such infernal practices.

22d. At a quarterly general meeting of the proprietors of East-India stock, the company was given to understand, by an official letter from the treasury, that they had nothing farther to expect from government for expences they incurred in taking the Manillas; and by another letter, that, as the act which obliges the company to export annually a certain quantity of woollen-cloth, was just expiring, their Lordships intended to apply to parliament for a renewal of it. These advices, as we may well imagine, occasioned very warm debates.

A large caravan of 1500 laden camels, going from Bagdat to Damascus, was lately plundered near Palmyra by Sheek Tyawr, chief of the Amizy Arabs: 600 Persians, some of them persons of distinction, who accompanied it, in their way to Mecca, were likewise stripped; and it is said two hundred of these wretched travellers soon after perished with cold. The loss of this caravan is said to be very great, and falls heavy on the merchants of Bagdat, Bassora, Damascus, Aleppo, and Constantinople.

23d. A petition from the American merchants was presented to the King, praying his Majesty to withhold the royal assent from the bills now depending against the trade and fisheries of the Massachusett's Bay, &c.

24th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

The bill for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia.

The bill to continue an act for allowing the free importation of Irish salted provisions, &c

And also to several road, inclosure, and private bills.

25th. His Grace the Duke of Athol was installed Grand Master of the most ancient and honourable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, according to the old institution.

One of the oldest clerks of the Seal-office was found hanging in the said office in the Temple. The cause assigned for his committing this violence on himself, was, a reprimand he lately received from one of his superiors, which he could not brook, having been in that office more than forty years, with an irreproachable character.

As one Benjamin Scolfield, of Pudsey, was clearing away some rubbish from a place on Pudsey-Common, called King Alfred's Camp, adjoining to an old cave, he accidentally found the thigh-bone of an horse, in the cavity of which were upwards of one hundred Roman silver coins, many of them of prior date to Julius Cæsar.

26th. Some thieves, from an adjoining empty house, got in at the garret-window of Mr. Fernandez's house, in Devonshire-square, and went into his bed-chamber, from whence they carried

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off an iron chest, containing cash, bank notes, bills of exchange, and jewels, to the amount of 10,000l. and that without giving the least alarm, though there was company at the time below stairs. However, most of the notes, &c. were soon after found in the house of a woman, in St. Mary Axe, who some time ago was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey; but was pardoned, at the intercession of her Majesty.

27th. About eight in the evening, a fire broke out at a rope-warehouse in Narrow-street, Limehouse, which in five hours destroyed twenty-seven houses and two deal-yards, together with the furniture, and every thing else on the premises. The flames were so rapid, from the quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, old junk, &c. stored up in them, that the firemen could not venture near enough to give any effectual help; besides which, there was a great want of water for above an hour after the fire broke out, nobody present knowing where the plugs lay; and the tide at that time being out. At length the chasm formed by the slip going down to the Horse ferry happily prevented the flames from spreading, so that with the assistance of seventeen engines, the fire was got under by three in the morning. On this occasion, several poor housekeepers lost every thing they were possessed of. It is very remarkable, that the same premises were burnt down about eleven years ago, when more than forty houses were destroyed.

Sir George Savile moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the circulation of notes for small sums in Yorkshire, where there are some in circulation among the manufacturers, from 5s. down as low as 6d. to the shameful abuse of the industrious poor.

30th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for restraining the trade of New England, and the fisheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland.

The Oxford canal bill.

The Thames navigation bill.

The bill for repairing the Newmarket roads.

And also to six other private bills.

A motion was made in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act 31 Eliz. relative to the erecting and maintaining of cottages. This act was made in consequence of a complaint made in those days against the engrossing of farms, and enacts, as a means of supplying the markets with poultry, eggs, butter, &c. that no new cottage shall be erected, except for the free residence of the parish-poor, without adding thereto four acres, or more, of land.

The Moors, who, in consequence of their declaration of war against Spain, had laid siege to Melille, a Spanish fortress on the coast of Africa, have entirely raised that siege, and desired a perpetual peace with Spain. Notwithstanding which, the Emperor of Morocco soon after declared war against the Dey of Algiers, for not assisting him, as the declaration set forth, by attacking Oran, another place belonging to the Spaniards, according to promise.

A smart shock of an earthquake has been lately felt at Martinico; and another along the Barbary coast. The first destroyed the

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the fortifications of the island where it happened; the latter, those of Oran; and both besides did other considerable damage.

31st. Two gold medals given annually by the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of Cambridge University, for the encouragement of learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Hall, of St. John's College, and Mr. Hewet, of Caius.

Letters from Bohemia bring the most afflicting accounts of a revolt among the peasants there, and the Hussites, who have joined them. These revolters, who are divided into several corps, commit many excesses, and do much damage in the different places they pass through. They have, among the rest, pillaged the beautiful town of Klumitz, which belongs to count Ferdinand de Kinsky, and would have served the castle in the same manner, if it had not been guarded by four companies of infantry, who drove them away. The manor of the count Browne, and several others, have been very ill used by them. This revolt is said to be occasioned by some of the peasants being persuaded, that the superior nobility with-hold a patent, written in letters of gold by the Emperor, by which servitude and the corvees, to which they are subject towards their lords, are abolished. For this reason they go from lordship to lordship to demand this patent; and, on being refused, plunder and pillage, and carry with them the officers and domestics belonging to the lords. But these commotions were soon appeased, the court of Vienna having sent five regiments of infantry, with a corps of dragoons and hussars, against the insurgents, great numbers of whom were surrounded by these troops. Among those that were taken on this occasion, were several of the chiefs, who were hanged at Prague. His Imperial Majesty, to manifest his clemency, had previously ordered a general pardon to all that should return to their duty, the chiefs only excepted.

We are assured that the Emperor had already resolved to abolish the unlimited service of the peasants, and that Count de Collowrath had received orders to make the necessary regulations for that purpose; but that, the present circumstances intervening, a courier was dispatched to that nobleman, with orders to leave every thing in Bohemia on the same footing.

It has since appeared, that a plan had been formed in Bohemia to break out in an open revolt against the lords, and was to have been put in execution the 16th of next month.

DIED lately, viz. the 11th inst. at Newport-Pagnel, Buckinghamshire, Mr. Mitchell and his wife, with a son and daughter of theirs, and all within three days of each other.—When such odd combinations of circumstances happen, whether of premature death, sudden death, or long life; extraordinary barrenness or fertility, &c. it is but reasonable to suppose that such combinations are not owing to chance, but to some powerful hidden cause. Would not the exploring of this cause be matter of the most rational entertainment; and the discovering of it, a source of the greatest utility?

And on the 21st, was found dead in his bed, at his lodgings in Bull-head-court, Jewin-street, a very old man, who, for upwards of twenty

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years had not suffered any person to go into his room, and till within two days of his death went about in a most ragged, miserable condition. After his death upwards of 50 guineas were found under his pillow, and a good deal of money in other parts of his room; he also had money in the public funds. He died without a will. When he walked out, his appearance being very deplorable, many people offered him money, but he would not accept of any, and generally expressed great resentment at their kind offers.

APRIL.

1st. The States General have issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of arms, ammunition, gun-powder, &c. in Dutch or foreign ships, from any of their dominions, without licence; and a translation of it appeared in this evening's Gazette.

Mr. Jefferson and Mrs. Jefferson, an elderly couple, were both found dead in their beds, at their house in Portugal-court, Deptford, with their throats cut in a shocking manner; some villains having first murdered them, and then robbed the house.

By a letter from Philadelphia, a number of vessels belonging to Montego Bay, in Jamaica, which had for some time past made it a practice to cut wood on the island of Cuba, were suprized by a Spanish vessel fitted out for that purpose; and nine sloops and schooners fell into their hands.

A raven's nest, with five young ones in it, was to be seen, built under one of the windows of the parish church of Yeat, in Somersetshire. It was supported by the bough of a tree fastened to the wall with dirt by these birds.

4th. The Earl of Bristol attended the levee at St. James's, and resigned all his places under the government.

A sturgeon, 7 feet 10 inches long, and weighing 1 cwt. 3 qrs. 7lb. caught in the river Thames, near Brentford, was sent by the Lord Mayor, as a present to his Majesty.

5th. At a common hall, held at the request of several of the citizens of London, to consider of a remonstrance and petition to the Throne, respecting the measures in agitation with regard to America, the thanks of the Lord Mayor, &c. were voted to be given to those Lords who protested against the bill to prohibit the people of New England from sharing in the Newfoundland fishery, &c. and also to those Commoners who voted against the same; and to several other lords and gentlemen, who distinguished themselves in opposition to these bills.

A lease, for twenty one years, of the place of one of the fifteen Sea Coal Meters of London, was sold at Guildhall to Mr. Tomkins for 6050l. So that the sale of this place may be reckoned to be worth to the city upwards of 4000l. per annum, one year with another; a fine fund, alone, for acts of magnificence and charity!

7th. At a grand rout given at the Mansion House, it is computed the company amounted to near one thousand persons; many of them persons of the first rank of both sexes; who all expressed the greatest satisfaction at the

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the uncommon regularity and elegance of the entertainment.——In the Egyptian hall, where the company dined, was a beautiful piece of painting, representing the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, or love united with wine. In the ball-room, an emblematical painting at the top exhibited to the eye a landscape of rural felicity, the charming nymphs and swains tripping over the green, and seeming to invite those below to the sprightly dance. The lamps were illuminated in a new taste, and by the variety of their colours, disposed in wreaths upon the pilasters, in imitation of the orders of architecture, had a most pleasing effect. To crown the whole, many of Mr. Cox's pieces of mechanism, from the Museum, all in full tune, continued their musical movements during the greatest part of the dinner.

The city marshals have received orders from the Lord Mayor to attend every market-day at Smithfield, to prevent, as much as possible, all iniquitous practices there; and particularly all barbarous treatment of the cattle brought there for sale; and if they find any offending, to take them into custody.

8th. The following message from his Majesty was delivered to both Houses of Parliament:

"His Majesty, desirous that a better, and more suitable accommodation should be made for the residence of the Queen, in case she should survive him; and being willing that the palace in which his Majesty now resides, called the Queen's house, may be settled for that purpose, recommends to [both Houses] to take the same into consideration, and to make provision for settling the said palace upon her Majesty, and for appropriating Somerset-house to such uses as shall be found most beneficial to the public."

Addresses, upon this, were immediately moved for, to thank his Majesty for his most gracious message, and to assure him that the contents should be taken into consideration.

They write from Montalto di Castro, in the diocese of Rome, that a fire broke out a few nights ago in a wooden cabbin, wherein about two hundred labourers slept, in the Pontifical Morass. Twenty-five of the poor wretches were burnt to ashes; and, of seven more taken out half dead and senseless, two soon expired. Several others were terribly burnt and maimed. The flames were supposed to be occasioned by some sparks from the fire, which it is usual to keep in the middle of such sort of cabbins to preserve the poor tenants of them from the the bad air.

Agi Osman Pacha, grand- 9th.
son of Topal Osman Pacha, was strangled as he was making his entry at Negropont, of which he was appointed governor. To prevent any disturbance, the Janisary Aga of the place, who was charged with this commission by the Grand Signor, had the precaution to shut the gates of the fortress, whilst he was on the bridge, and to tell the troops who preceded him, and those that followed him, that the bridge was broke. At the same time notice was given to the Pacha, who had then only ten or twelve people with him, that he must go into the little castle, next the bridge, to settle his accounts

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counts with the Sultan. But, as soon as he got off his horse, they delivered him the Grand Signior's order, which condemned him to death, for having refused to go and fetch the slaves from Bender, and for having extorted 700 purses from the Turks and Greeks of Romelia. Upon this, he desired to see his son and his Selictar, one of his principal officers; which was refused him: he next offer'd 50,000 sequins for fifteen days respite, which was likewise refused; then he made his prayer, and put the rope about his neck. His head was immediately sent to Constantinople. This governor had forty mules laden with silver in his train.

10th. The Lord Mayor, attended by the Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Lewes, Hayley, and Newnham, William Lee, Esq; Mr. Stavely, Mr. Deputy Howse, Mr. Saxby, Mr. Mascall, Mr. Hern, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Gorst, and Mr. Jacob; with the Sheriffs and city officers, as usual, waited upon his Majesty with a petition and remonstrance relative to the measures now in agitation against the inhabitants of the Massachuset's Bay, &c. The reason for his Lordship's not being attended by a greater number, was, the Lord Chamberlain having previously informed the Sheriffs, that his Majesty would not receive more than the usual number of liverymen. When the Lord Mayor arrived at St. James's, he was moreover informed by the Lord in waiting, that his Majesty expected his Lordship should not speak to him: To which the Lord Mayor answered, that the caution was needless, as he never expected or desired that honour.

A few days ago, a collier discovered in a coal-mine, near Bridgnorth, in Shropshire, seventy-five yards below the surface, the ruins of a water-mill, and the skeleton of a man, without any head; likewise the remains of some animals, but in such an imperfect state, that they could not even so much as conjecture their original figures. The learned there account for these things by imputing them to an earthquake which happened about two centuries ago.

Mr. Crayle, of Bond-street, had lately stolen from him jewels to the worth of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. This theft was committed by a man who had formerly been a favourite servant in the family, and who, under pretence of visiting his late fellow servants, contrived to open Mr. Crayle's secret repositories for his valuable effects, by means of false keys. Besides the jewels, the thief took away 2000 new guineas, and several Bank-notes; but what is very extraordinary, after discovery of the robbery, suspicion immediately fell on the proper person; and, a search warrant being obtained, the whole of the jewels were found in his lodgings; but the thief himself was gone off for France with all the money, in company with a favourite Dulcinea.

A few days ago, a farrier in Dean-street, Soho, undertook to run his horse 22 miles in one hour, for a considerable wager; and performed it with ease in 59 minutes and a half on the Rumford-road. What makes this case exceedingly remarkable, is the horse's being upwards of twenty years old.

11th. Gen. Elliot, commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, went to the castle of Dublin, and resigned all his employments, amounting to 5000l. a year.

Orders

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Orders have been issued in all the sea-ports of France, prohibiting the taking in of any cargoes for the English colonies; and to inform those who do so, that it will be at their own risk.

12th. The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's houshold wrote to the Lord-Mayor, to inform him, that his Majesty will not receive, on the throne, any address, remonstrance, or petition, of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. And, as the consequences of this letter have been very interesting, and would take up too much room in this part of our work, we shall, in some of our subsequent sheets, give the best account of the whole transaction our bounds will permit us.

The same day, the Earl of Effingham, by a letter to Lord Barrington, begged leave of his Majesty to retire from the service, and that without selling, as usual, what he had bought, that he might not be obliged to inforce those measures with respect to America, in his military, which he had thought himself bound to oppose in his legislative capacity.

13th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the West-India islands.

The bill to punish mutiny and desertion in the American colonies.

The bill for appointing Commissioners to execute the land-tax act of this session.

The bill to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

The bill for vesting part of the garden of Lincoln's Inn in the Accountant General of the Court of Chancery, and for erecting offices thereon, &c.

The bill for making better provision for the poor in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone.

The bill to explain and amend an act to prevent frauds in the manufacture of hats, the woollen, and divers other branches of trade.

The bill to enable Sir Nigel Grisley and son, to make a navigable canal from certain coal-mines at Apedale, in Staffordshire, to Newcastle under Line.

And also to several road, inclosure, and private bills.

Letters from Constantinople mention a fact, of which the Ottoman history cannot perhaps produce any example, and which proves, that though the late war may have cost the Turks a great deal of money, it has taught them how necessary it is to deviate from their ancient customs, and follow the tactick rules of the other European powers. They have begun, it seems, by establishing a military school, under the direction of a professor named Kerwomand, a native of Britanny, who was some years ago in the service of one of the principal Christian powers. He opened his course of studies the 15th of last month. This is a plan of the Chevalier Tott's, who, with the above-mentioned professor, is to have the instruction of the scholars. The latter has a pension granted him of 3000 piastres per annum.

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By a letter from the Isle of Man, the tides for several days together, about the middle of this month, were lower in the different ports of that Island, than could be remembered by the oldest man living; and the same was observed on the western coast of this kingdom.

The Empress of Russia, commiserating the distress of the provinces which were lately the seat of the rebellion, has been pleased to advance to them a million and a half of roubles for ten years, at the rate of one per cent. for the first three years, and three per cent. for the remaining seven. It is to be distributed amongst the proprietors of peasants, in the proportion of forty roubles for every man lost by them in the late troubles.

19th. Hostilities commenced between his majesty's troops and the inhabitants of Massachuset's Bay, by skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, in the neighbourhood of Boston. See the historical part of this work.

21st. The Generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe, set sail for Boston, on board the Cerberus man of war, Captain Shads.

The same day the Society for the recovery of persons apparently drowned, heard a sermon in favour of the institution, preached at St. Bride's, by the Reverend Mr. Harrison, and afterwards dined together; when eleven out of eighteen persons saved by their means within the last twelve months, were introduced to the Society, as living proofs of the importance of the institution. See, in our article of Projects for this year, a full account of the establishment of this most laudable Society, with the methods recommended by them for the recovery of persons apparently dead by drowning, &c. the premiums offered by them for employing these means; with a list of the lives saved in consequence of these measures; and the particulars of some of the most remarkable cases.

There happened about this time some terrible disturbances at Dijon, in France, and in the village of Valteline, in the Bressan, a province of Italy, on account of the great scarcity and dearness of provisions, particularly of corn. At Dijon, they set fire to a farmer's house, who had kept his corn up, and would not sell it but at a very high price; and the populace then sacked the house of the intendant, who was obliged to make his escape. In short, the disorder was so great that the troops were called in, who took up 100 of the rioters; notwithstanding which, it at last grew to such a height, and lasted so long, that more than 500 persons were either killed or wounded.

In the village of Valteline, above a thousand assembled in a tumultuous manner, and went armed to Brescia, where they forcibly broke open and pillaged the public magazines of corn, and likewise those of some private persons, and carried off with them as much as they were able, without shewing the least sign of fear, so desperate had necessity made them.

25th. Sir Geo. Yonge, chairman of the select committee on the Shaftesbury election, reported to the lower house the six following resolutions:

Resolved, That W. Sykes, Esq. is

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is not duly elected a burgess to serve in this present parliament for Shaftesbury.

Resolved, That Thomas Rumbold, Esq; is not duly elected a burgess to serve in this present parliament for Shaftesbury.

Resolved, That Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq; is duly elected a burgess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Shaftesbury.

Resolved, That Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq; ought to have been returned a burgess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Shaftesbury.

Resolved, That the most scandalous and notorious bribery has been practised at the late election for the said borough.

Resolved, That it may be recommended to the House to make enquiry into the same, in order that the said offenders may be brought to condign punishment.

Sir George Yonge having delivered the report in at the table, the same was read by the clerk, and the several resolutions agreed to by the House, *nem. con.*

Having then repaired to his place, he acquainted the House, that in the course of their proceedings, several matters had come out, in the course of the evidence, as iniquitous as indecent, and equally offensive to the laws of God and man; that, whatever their opinion might be, which he assured the House was decisive, they determined to submit to the House the whole of the evidence, by way of report; that, under that idea, they meant not to prescribe any particular mode of proceeding to it, but leave the whole matter before it, for its consideration and judgment; and that he was instructed, in the name of the committee, to move the House, "That the report of the proceedings and evidence had and taken in the said business be laid before the House to-morrow se'nnight, the 4th of May; and that the same be previously printed, and a sufficient number of copies be delivered to the members.

Ordered, That no new writ be issued out for the election of a member for the said borough before the expiration of the above time.

It was moved, That the deputy clerk of the crown do attend immediately to alter the return.—He attended and altered the return.

After the above matter had been settled, Mr. Mortimer was sworn in, and took his seat.

The House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, to consider of his majesty's message relative to the settling of Buckingham-house on her majesty, in lieu of Somerset-house, when they came to several resolutions, which were afterwards reported, and are in substance as follows: 26th.

That it is the opinion of the committee, that the palace lately known by the name of Buckingham-house, and now called the Queen's-House, be settled on the Queen, in lieu of Somerset-house, in case she shall survive his majesty.

That, from and after the determination of such settlement, the said palace be annexed to and vested in the crown of Great-Britain.

That the palace of Somerset-house, which, by an act made in the second year of his present majesty's reign, was settled upon the Queen, be vested in his majesty, his

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his heirs, and successors, for the purpose of erecting and establishing certain public offices.

Was held the anniversary feast of the governors, &c. of the Lying-in Infirmary, when 457l. was collected towards the support of that charity.

The iron chest belonging to the Court of Requests, St. Margaret's-hill, was broke open, and robbed of 170l.

27th. Between one and three in the afternoon, a remarkable phænomenon, representing in a most beautiful manner three suns, was distinctly seen from Flamstead-hill, Chatham-barracks, Bexley, and other parts adjacent.

By a letter from Chatham-barracks, there appeared there about a quarter after one in the afternoon, a true regular circle (coloured) round the sun; the diameter of the circle, with a Hadley's quadrant, measuring 45 degrees, 34 min. Another white luminous circle, a part of whose periphery at that time went through the sun's centre, by observation made the diameter 93. There was another concentric circle (coloured also) at about 5 degrees from that round the sun, and segments of two more coloured at places very bright, which were also concentric to each of the other circles. The light of the sun was somewhat opake, by the shadows, as if two or three digits were eclipsed. The whole of this, without any variation, appeared upwards of an hour and twenty minutes.

At Bexley, by another letter, from Mr. Bailey, two mock suns were seen, nearly as bright as the real sun, of which no notice is taken in the letter from Chatham; there were other mock suns of a bright white, glaring to the eye, but seen in water coloured like the rainbow; there were likewise mock suns of a fainter white, and the circle, which appeared very luminous at Chatham, appeared very faint at Bexley. There were some other differences between the appearance of this phænomenon, at these two places, though so near each other.

In 1749, a phænomenon of the same kind was seen at App'eby, in Yorkshire; but we do not find that any thing remarkable followed that appearance; but for some days after this seen in Kent, the weather proved remarkably dry and cold, the wind shifting from N.E. to N.W. with blighting fogs and frosty nights; and scarce any rain in 30 days.

A few days ago, Jerry Lucas, a bricklayer, went into a public-house, called Stone Bridge, in Salisbury, and began to lash the landlord, Mr. Hodges, with his apron, in a kind of joke; however, continuing it too long, and not leaving off when he was desired, Mr. Hodges gave him a blow with a battledore; on which Lucas struck him with his fist, and knocked him down. Unhappily, by the fall, Mr. Hodges skull was fractured, and notwithstanding immediate assistance was procured from the faculty, he survived only till Friday night, when he expired in great agonies.——The jury, however, brought in their verdict Manslaughter.

27th. Lord North made the following motions in a committee of the whole House, appointed to consider what encouragement ought to be given to the fisheries of Great-Britain and Ireland.

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land.—"That a bounty of 40l. be given to the first 100 ships that arrive with a cargo of 10,000 cod-fish caught on the banks of Newfoundland; 20l. for the next 100 ships; and 10l. for the next 100 ships.—That a bounty of 500l. be given to the ship that arrives with the greatest quantity of whale-oil; 400l. for the next greatest quantity; 300l. for the next; 200l. for the next; and 100l. for the next.—That Ireland have liberty to import blubber and whale-fins, the same as England.—That the duty on seal-skins imported into Ireland do cease, and be no longer paid.—That Ireland have leave to export cloathing to America, for so much of the army as they supply and pay for.—That a bounty of 5s. per ton be given to all flax-seed imported into Ireland."—The encouragement to be given to the linen manufactory of that kingdom was postponed.

The vestry of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, have ordered that the following bounties shall be paid by the Churchwardens for the most ready assistance by ladders, in cases of fire:—For the first three story ladder raised up, 1l. 10s.; for the first two-story ladder, 15s.; for the first one-story ladder, 5s.—They have likewise ordered, that a further bounty, to be fixed at the discretion of the vicar and churchwardens, not exceeding 5l. shall be given for any other effectual assistance in the preservation of life.—It is hoped, that every parish, both in town and country, will imitate so humane and laudable an example.

Several persons concerned in the late riot and rescue in Moorfields, on the 3d Feb. were tried at Hicks's hall, found guilty, and condemned, as follows: John Taylor, James Nimmy, and Wm. Hatchman, to be imprisoned seven years in Newgate; John Morris, Joseph Hawes, Abraham Isaacs, Arthur Levi, John Lerosse, Jos. Ephraims, Thomas Hatchman, and Moses Rebus, to be imprisoned five years in Newgate; Patrick Madan, whose being apprehended on suspicion of felony, was the first occasion of the riot, to five years imprisonment; Edward Oliver, to be imprisoned in Newgate three years. As there was some reason to apprehend, that an attempt might be made to rescue them, a party of the guards was sent for, who attended till the trials were over, and then conducted them to Newgate. Edward Cooke, two of whose fingers were cut off at the time of the riot, appeared as evidence on the occasion. All the prisoners begged hard to be transported; but this was thought too great an indulgence for such daring wretches. The trials lasted four hours; during which the mob of low Jews and Christians round Hicks's hall was greater than ever remembered.

29th. Trial was made of Mr. Hartley's method of securing houses from fire, on a building which he had erected for that purpose at Bucklebury, in the county of Berks, to which several gentlemen were invited. The building consisted of two rooms, one over the other, with a stair-case of communication between, and a space under the floor of the lowest room just high enough to admit of a person's going under it. The fire was first laid on the floor in the room, then close to the wainscot in two corners, and under the bed; but,

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but notwithstanding the fire's being thus lighted in several places, its progress was so slow, on account of the floor being armed with the plates, that it was above an hour and a half before the whole room was on fire: at length, however, all the furniture and wainscot were completely in a blaze; the flames burnt with the greatest violence out of the door, window, and chimney, to a considerable distance; and the inside of the room appeared one perfect mass of fire. Yet, the door that led to the stair-case, being armed with fire-plates, the stair-case, though contiguous to the room, felt no effect from the flames; and several persons continued in it all the time. The room over, and the space under the room, felt as little, persons going in and out of them, all the time of the experiment; neither were the joists of the floor and cieling any way injured by the force of the fire. After this, the stairs, which were likewise armed with the fire-plates, had a charcoal fire laid upon the landing-place, and one of the steps, which burnt out of itself, like a fire on a hearth, without doing any other damage than burning the part whereon it lay.

Advice has been received, that the ships which carried the Judges to the East-Indies were arrived safe at Madrass.

The Spaniards are said to have formed a settlement in the island of Tinian, to prevent the English from having any supply from that island in their voyages to the South Seas.

From the great improvements in agriculture, by the gentlemen and farmers in the three Lothians, and neighbouring counties of Scotland, particularly in the article of winter-feeding and fattening of cattle, the market of Edinburgh has been lately better and cheaper supplied, during the winter and spring seasons, than most other towns in the kingdom. A lesson to the inhabitants of those places, who think they have any reason to complain of the scarcity and dearness of provisions at their respective markets, to form and encourage societies for the improvement of agriculture.

A terrible thunder storm, accompanied with gusts of wind, and hail-stones of uncommon magnitude, did considerable damage in several of the middle counties, particularly in those of Northampton and Buckingham, where it unroofed houses, tore up trees by the roots, destroyed the blossoms, and broke many windows. Some persons were killed by the lightning in other parts. It was likewise felt in London; and during the thunder and lightning, which was very terrifying, some villains got into the house of Mr. Berry, in Rolls-buildings, and carried off plate and other valuable articles to the amount of 2000l. and upwards. 30th.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Maidstone, thirteen were capitally convicted, all of whom were reprieved, except one for a highway robbery.

At Winchester, ten were capitally convicted, two of whom for a burglary were left for execution; the others were reprieved.

At these assizes, a trial came on before Mr. Justice Blackstone, and a special jury, wherein the owners of

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of a ship, belonging to Dordrecht, were plaintiffs, and two other persons defendants; the cause of action was for detaining the said ship and cargo, contrary to the express orders of the owners; and for refusing to deliver up the ship and cargo to the person to whom the owners had given full power to receive the same; when, after a full hearing of seven hours, the jury, without going out of court, brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs, with 424l. damages, and full costs of suit.

At Worcester, eight were capitally convicted; viz. five for highway-robberies, one for sheep-stealing, and two for burglary; but they were all reprieved, except one found guilty on two indictments, one for a highway robbery, the other for stealing a horse, who was left for execution.

At Chelmsford, twelve were capitally convicted, of whom five were left for execution.

At Huntingdon, three were capitally convicted; but all reprieved.

At Oxford, two were capitally convicted; one of them was reprieved; the other, for the murder of Edward Bowden, his master, at Bicester, was executed.

At Reading, two were capitally convicted; but were afterwards reprieved.

At Hertford, four were capitally convicted, two of whom, for robbing on the highway, were left for execution.

At Bedford, two were capitally convicted; but one of them was reprieved.

At Norfolk, four were capitally convicted; one, for returning from transportation; one, for a burglary; and two for sheep-stealing; the two last were reprieved.

At Lincoln, one was capitally convicted for a highway robbery; and another, for horse-stealing. The first was reprieved, and the second left for execution.

At Nottingham, one was capitally convicted for the murder of Mary Dufty in that town, received sentence of death, and was executed.

At Derby, a woman was condemned for the murder of her bastard child, but was reprieved.

At Shrewsbury, eight persons received sentence of death; of whom, one for plundering a wreck; one for the murder of Ann Chandler; and one for horse-stealing; were left for execution.

The criminal left for execution for plundering a wreck, was a person of fortune; the wreck, that of the Charming Nancy, lost on the coast of Anglesea, in 1775. Another, who had been found guilty at the same time of the same offence, was respited by the judge, who passed sentence upon them. At the time they were found guilty, they moved an arrest of judgment; but, their case being referred to the judges, the judges decided against them; in consequence of which they received sentence at the above assizes.

At Aylesbury, five persons were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Hereford, six persons were capitally convicted, but all afterwards reprieved, except one.

At Leicester, three were capitally convicted.

At Lancaster, one was capitally convicted.

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At Surry assizes, nineteen were capitally convicted, two of whom were for murder.

At Exeter, six persons were capitally convicted.

At Warwick, five received sentence of death.

In Sussex, a woman was capitally convicted, but was reprieved.

At Dorchester, five were capitally convicted.

At Northampton, two were capitally convicted.

At Taunton, four were capitally convicted.

At Brecon, one was capitally convicted.

At Haverfordwest, four were tried for the murder of Mary Roberts, and after a trial of eight hours acquitted.

At Monmouth, two for highway robberies; and one for burglary, were capitally convicted; but one of the highwaymen only was left for execution.

At Bury St. Edmund's, three were capitally convicted.

At Coventry, one received sentence of death.

At Gloucester, six were capitally convicted.

At York, twelve were capitally convicted, besides Captain Bolton, for the murder of his apprentice girl.

Some days ago, five hearty old men accidentally met together at the Flying Horse, Newington-Butts, of the following ages, viz. 82, 80, 78, 74, and 69, comprising together 383 years; the old blades made themselves very merry on the occasion.

BIRTHS. Was brought to bed lately, viz. the 4th instant, the wife of a peruke-maker, in Portland-street, Cavendish-square, in the fifty-fourth year of her age, and thirtieth of her marriage, and who never had a child before, of two sons and a daughter, all, along with the mother, likely to live.

MARRIED lately, viz. the 2d of February, Captain Waller, of Deptford, aged 81 years, to Mrs. Ford, of Peckham, aged 79.

DIED lately, viz. the 18th of January, at Birmingham, Mr. John Baskerville, printer, a gentleman well known, and much admired by the lovers of good paper and printing, as being the manufacturer of his own paper and types.

19th Feb. Mrs. Ellison, in Westgate, Newcastle, possessed of a fortune of 180,000l.

20th, Mr. Joseph Collyer, the spirited translator of the Messiah, and Noah, and the Death of Abel, from the German; and author of a Dictionary of the World, a History of England, a System of Geography, and several other useful works.

And the 1st instant, at his lodgings at Deptford, in an advanced age, Mr. Julius Warstone, formerly a purser in the royal navy, reckoned to have died worth 16,000l. but so penurious, that he would not keep any servant, nor allow himself common necessaries. His fortune he left to a neighbour, whose wife used to go every day to make his bed.

5th, Mary Watkins, Wargrave, Berks, aged 105.

Mrs. Humberford, Esher, Surry, aged 105.

16th, John Monday, Esq. of Dursley, Gloucestershire, aged 99, who by one wife had 21 children, 19 of whom are now living.

17th, At her house in New Norfolk-street, Lady Gertrude Hotham, sister

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ister to the late Earl of Chesterfield; her death was occasioned by one of her ruffles catching fire, which communicated to her clothes, and burnt her in a shocking manner.

30th. Daniel Mulleery, at Liney, Ireland, aged 127.

And, on the 25th instant, was interred in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, Mrs. Elizabeth Stukeley, aged ninety-nine years and ten months.—She was grand-daughter to Mrs. Ann Master, who had twelve sons and eight daughters, and died in the year 1705, aged ninety-nine years and six months, as appears by her monument in that church.

MAY.

1st. Lord Petre, accompanied by the officers of the grand lodge of Free-Masons of England, laid the foundation-stone of Free-Masons-hall in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, with the following ceremonies: the grand master, preceded by the grand stewards, past and present grand officers, in their regalia, and an excellent band of martial music, came in procession to the ground about twelve o'clock; when his lordship, attended by his deputy, wardens, secretary, treasurer, and architect, went down into the trench, and laid the stone with the usual forms. An anthem was then sung by brother Du-Bellamy, and an oration pronounced by brother James Bottomly. The company then returned in procession in coaches to Leather-sellers-hall, where an elegant entertaiment was provided.

The Museum Lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

Ended the session at the Old Bailey, when the court passed 9d. sentence of death on two criminals, for highway-robbery; nine, for house-breaking; one, for stealing cattle; one, for horse-stealing; and one, for stealing from a person, to whom he was clerk, two warrants, one for 213l. the other for 156l. 4s. for which he had received the money; and, on the 7th of June, five of the house-breakers, and the clerk for stealing the warrants, were executed at Tyburn.

At this sessions, Thomas Bates, late a serjeant in the third regiment of Guards, was tried for the murder of his wife, and found guilty of man-slaughter only. He bore a very good character, she a very bad one; which, no doubt, had great weight with judge and jury; as one witness swore positively that he had *threatened to butcher her*.

About four in the afternoon, a terrible fire broke out at Mr. Coverdale's, biscuit-baker, on Wapping-wall, which raged with great rapidity for several hours, and burnt down near twenty houses.

The same afternoon, some workmen pulling down a house in Handcock-yard, near Salisbury-court, and not taking care to shore it up properly, the whole building fell in, killed one of the workmen on the spot, and greatly bruised two others.

According to annual custom, Mr. Alderman Harley, 4th. president, with the trustees and subscribers to the charity schools, preceded by upwards of 5000 charity-children, forming two processions, one from the Royal Exchange, the

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other from Covent-garden Piazza, went to Christ-church, Newgate-street, where, after a sermon preached by Dr. Ogle, Dean of Westminster, an anthem was sung by some select children, in which the whole joined four times in chorus. The president, stewards, trustees, &c. dined at the London Tavern, where an ode was sung in honour of those laudable institutions.

A law, of this date, has been published at Florence, which forbids any girl being received into any convent under ten years of age, or taking the veil till twenty; and, as soon as she makes her proposals for the latter, she is to be let out of the convent, and live in the world for six months; at the expiration of which she is to be examined by a secular ecclesiastic of known piety and learning, who shall have no employment nor any relation in any convent whatever. The government is to chuse the examiners, and a secular judge is always to be present at the examination. The examinations made by the ordinaries of each place are not forbid, but that appointed by government is always to precede them. No money is to be taken with the lay-sisters, their services being deemed a sufficient consideration for their subsistence. As for the monks, they can only make their irrevocable profession at the age of twenty-four; and they must first give in their baptismal extracts in form to the government, who will then give them permission to take the vows; nor can any be admitted without such permission. The subjects of the Grand Duchy, who, to evade this law, shall go into any convent out of that state, shall be accounted as foreigners, and can never fill any employment.

At 8¼ P. M. a remarkable phænomenon was observed by a gentleman at Waltham-abbey.—A meteor, representing a nebulous star, appeared just above the moon, passed eastward, with a slow motion, parallel to the ecliptic, through an arch of about 5 or 6 degrees, and then disappeared. It subtended an angle of 6 or 7 minutes, and was of the same brightness and colour with the moon. 8th.

Was completed the subterraneous tunnel at Norwood-hill, upon the line of the canal navigation from Chesterfield to the river Trent, when three vessels sailed through the same with no less than 300 people on board, attended with a band of music. They performed their subterraneous voyage in one hour and one minute. This tunnel is 2350 yards long, 12 feet high, and 9 feet 3 inches wide, and in the deepest part 36 yards below the surface of the earth. It was first begun in November 1771, and is now completed. The range of the tunnel is so truly directed, that a person, standing at one end thereof, may see out at the other. The open cutting from thence to Retford, being 16 miles in length, has been navigable ever since the beginning of November last; which reduced the price of that necessary article, coals, at Retford, from 15s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per ton, and lime from 16s. to 9s. per chaldron, notwithstanding the coals have been subject to the expence of land-carriage for four miles from the nearest collieries to the navigation. Upon 9th.

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this part of the line are 39 locks, 24 bridges, 7 aqueducts, 18 culvets, 8 side-trunks, and 4 weirs. The works from Norwood-hill towards Chesterfield are carrying on with the greatest dispatch; and likewise from Retford to the Trent, upon an enlarged scale, to admit vessels of 50 or 60 tons burthen to come up from the river Trent to the town of Retford.

10th. Died at Zell, about midnight, her Majesty Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway, of a malignant fever, after an illness of five days, to the great grief of their majesties and all the royal family; and on the 13th her majesty's remains, accompanied by sixteen captains, were carried in a hearse, drawn by six horses, and attended by a double guard of soldiers, to the church in that city, where it was interred in the royal vault. The burial expences, amounting, private as it was, to 3000l. were defrayed, by order, out of his majesty's own privy purse.

The mourning on this melancholy occasion, was such as is generally ordered and observed on the death of such exalted personages, and so nearly related to the king on the throne; with the usual exceptions in favour of the officers of the army, fleet, and marines. And on the 24th, a committee of the lords with white staves, and also a committee of the house of commons who were of the privy-council, waited on his majesty at St. James's with their address of condolence on the death of her majesty.

To the latter his majesty made the following most gracious answer: "That he returns his thanks to that house, for the concern they have expressed for the great loss which has happened in his family by the death of his sister, the queen of Denmark."

Mr. Justice Aston reported to the court of King's Bench, his minutes of the evidence on the trial of Messrs. Leigh, Miles, James, Aldus, and Clarke, on the 24th of February last, the four first of whom were convicted of a conspiracy and riot, and the latter of a riot only, in Covent-garden theatre on the 18th of November 1773, with intent to drive Mr. Macklin from the stage. Lord Mansfield observed on the nature of the offence, called it a national disgrace, and in very severe terms reprobated the conduct of the parties concerned in it. He said, in the first stage of the business he had urgently advised the defendants to make Mr. Macklin an adequate compensation for the great damage he had sustained; that he then particularly pointed out as an adviseable measure the saving of the costs, by putting an end to the matter at once; that the law expences were now swelled to an enormous sum, which sum the defendants themselves had given rise to, by their obstinacy and want of prudence.—Some time was spent in the court's endeavouring to make an amicable adjustment of the matter, and a final conclusion of it. Mr. Colman was proposed as arbiter general, which the defendants unanimously agreed to, but Mr. Colman declined the office; at length Mr. Macklin, after recapitulating his grievances, informed the court, that to shew he was no way revengeful, with which he had been charged, he would be satisfied with the defendants paying his

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law expences, taking one hundred pounds worth of tickets on the night of his daughter's benefit, a second hundred pounds worth on the night of his own benefit, and a third on one of the manager's nights, when he should play; this plan, he observed, was not formed on mercenary views; its basis was to give the defendants popularity, and restore mutual amity. Lord Mansfield paid Mr. Macklin very high compliments on the honourable complexion and singular moderation of this proposal; his Lordship declared it did him the highest credit; that generosity was universally admired in this country, and there was no manner of doubt but the public at large would honour and applaud him for his lenity. His Lordship added further, that notwithstanding his acknowledged abilities as an actor, he never *acted* better in his life than he had that day. The proposal was accepted by the parties, and the matter was thus ended. During the course of the business, Lord Mansfield took occasion to observe, that the right of hissing and applauding in a theatre was an unalterable right; but that there was a wide distinction between expressing the natural sensations of the mind as they arose on what was seen and heard, and executing a pre-concerted design, not only to hiss an actor when he was playing a part in which he was universally allow'd to be excellent, but also to drive him from the theatre, and promote his utter ruin.

Soon after the above decision, the managers of Covent-garden theatre met, and generously agreed to give up their claim to the hundred pounds worth of tickets.

A motion was made in the same court to make the rule absolute against one Whitaker, in Fleet-street, for publishing, and Griffin in the Strand for printing, a letter in a morning paper of March the 1st. 1775, highly reflecting, it was alleged, on Lord and Lady Mexborough; but the process not being sufficient to satisfy the court that Whitaker was the publisher, or Griffin the printer of the paper, and moreover that the blanks and innuendoes were far from being grounds sufficient to grant an information, the motion was overruled, and the order discharged.

11th. The House of Commons went into a committee of the whole House on the bill to vest in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge a perpetual copy-right in books of useful learning within the said universities. Governor Johnstone moved, that the following clause be added to the bill: "Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall extend to grant any exclusive right, otherwise than so long as the books or copies belonging to the said universities are printed only at their own printing presses, and for their sole benefit and advantage; and that, if any university shall delegate, grant, lease, or sell their copy-right, or exclusive right of printing books hereby granted, or any part thereof, or shall allow, permit, or authorise any person or persons to print or re-print the same, or shall hold them in trust for the use of any person or persons whatsoever, that then the privileges hereby granted are to become void and of no effect, in the same manner as if this act had never been made." Governor Johnstone was supported by the Attorney-

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Attorney-general, Mr. John Johnstone, &c. The clause was opposed by the friends of the London booksellers. After a hard struggle, it was carried, to add the clause to the bill. By the bill, as it is now amended, the universities get for themselves alone a perpetuity in the copy-right of all books which shall be gifted to them in future, provided such books were never before published; but they are not allowed to buy or sell copy-rights. By the above clause and other amendments, the intention of such London booksellers, as meant to obtain copy-rights in perpetuity delegated to themselves by the universities, is frustrated; and the bill, as it now stands, met with no further opposition.

Mr. William Faden, who was convicted on Monday the 27th of February last, of printing a libel on Alderman Kennet, in the Public Ledger of Tuesday, September 27, 1774, was brought up to the court of King's Bench to receive sentence, when Mr. Justice Aston delivered the judgment of the court, sentencing him to pay a fine of 200 marks, and remain in custody till the same was paid.

Came on to be heard, in the court of the Duchy of Lancaster at Westminster, before the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy, assisted by Lord Mansfield and Judge Gould, and attended by all the leading counsel at the bar, the long contested question between the Crown and the occupiers of the houses in the precinct of the Savoy in the Strand; when, after a full hearing, the court decreed the right in favour of the crown. This question commenced in 1702, when the Savoy hospital was dissolved by a decree of Lord-Keeper Wright; and though it had several times, at different periods, been brought for trial in the court of Exchequer, no final decision of the question was ever had till now; but by this decree, the right of the crown to the possessions of the hospital, as parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, is firmly established.

Was held the anniversary of the meeting of the sons of the clergy, at which were present the Right Hon. the Lord-Mayor, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, President; the Bishops of London, Exeter, Chester, Worcester, St. David's, Rochester, and Litchfield and Coventry; Aldermen Bull, Plumbe, Thomas, Hopkins and Newnham; Sheriffs Plomer and Hart. The collections on the rehearsal and feast-days were as follow, viz. on the 4th, at St. Paul's, 210l. 16s. 3d. the 6th, at ditto, 211l. 10s. 3d. at Merchant Taylor's Hall, 444l. 6s. 9d. Total of the contributions, 866l. 13s. 3d.

Some weeks ago, two fellows went to the house of Mr. Boyer, button-maker, in Horseshoe-alley, pretending to have an order; but the maid refusing to open the door farther than a chain would admit, they pulled her partly through the opening, cut off her pockets and made off.

13th. There fell, in and about Murcia, in Spain, a storm of hail, which lasted about twenty minutes. Many of the stones were of the size of oranges, weighing a pound, and some twenty ounces, and the greatest part of them eight ounces. The country people were all thrown into the utmost consternation by it. The damage, it was

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feared, would be very great, from the quantity of corn, silk, barilla, &c. which was destroyed.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord-Mayor, some of the Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of London, waited upon his Majesty with an address and petition.

Monsieur Pia, of Paris, has lately presented the Medical Society, of Crane-court, Fleet-street, with a complete apparatus for the recovery of persons apparently drowned.

By letters from Hamburgh, the King of Prussia has caused it to be notified to the merchants of Konigsburgh, that they are no more to frequent the fairs at Leipsic, his majesty having taken measures to have two annual fairs held in New Prussia, where all sorts of merchandizes shall be brought for sale. His Prussian majesty has also caused six frigates to be built at Stettin, three of which are to be sent to Spain to purchase cargoes of salt, which are to be vended in New Prussia and Poland.

16th. The Empress of Russia issued an ukase, whereby various taxes are abolished, some of which were laid on during the late war, and others were of old standing.

The taxes laid on during the late war, and which are now abolished, were, the tax of 80 copecks over and above that of 1 rouble 20 copecks paid by merchants and handicraftsmen. The tax of 100 roubles on each furnace for iron-work. The tax of five roubles on each furnace in copper founderies. The tax of four copecks on each pood of cast iron. The tenths of founded brass. The tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind.

The additional tax of one rouble per annum on each weaver's loom employed in fabrics, or by private persons in their own houses; as likewise the tax of one per cent. on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods. And a general liberty is given to establish manufactories without the permission of the colleges.

The taxes upon the estates of the Livonian noblemen.

Amongst the taxes of old standing, which are now abolished, were the tax on tanners and skinners work; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on soap-works, on oil-manufactories, on private salt-works, and that on malt and hops, which, mentioned generally, is understood to relate to the malt and hops grown and made here.

The prohibition is taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire of erecting smith's shops, and small iron works; and they are henceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatsoever.

There are several others of less importance, but they have not the smallest influence, either directly or indirectly, on foreign trade.

The same edict contains a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon. It takes off all prohibitions against marrying without the consent of the governors of towns or provinces, and all duties hitherto paid to obtain their permission.

It admits all burghers, who declare upon oath that they are possessed of a capital of 500 roubles, into the class of merchants; by which they are exempted from those taxes, which their former rank subjected them to; but, in lieu of these, they are to pay one per cent. upon

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upon their capital, whatever it may be, and which they are likewise to declare upon oath; and, vice versa, those who have hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who do not actually possess a capital of 500 roubles, return into the class of burghers.

All peasants, enfranchised by their lords, are, at their reversion, to chuse whether they will enter into the service of government, or become burghers or merchants, that they may be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon is granted to all persons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in oblivion; as also a release to all prisoners who have been confined for any crimes whatever for the space of ten years, without judgment having been passed upon them; nor is any crime, committed so long ago as ten years without being brought to light, to be examined into; and this is to be henceforward a permanent law throughout the empire.

All insolvent debtors, who have been confined for the space of five years, are to be released.

All heirs of persons, who were indebted to the crown, are discharged from the payment of such debts.

All nobles, serving as subaltern officers, are to be subject to no other penalties and punishments than such as have been inflicted on their superior officers; nor are the corporal punishments of the private men to be, for the future, so severe nor so ignominious, as they have hitherto been.

The senate has received a special order to lower the duty on the sale of lands, houses, &c. from six to four per cent.

On the same day the treaty of peace with the Porte was published in the Russian language.

17th. The fort of Ticonderoga, which had been taken from the French by his majesty's troops during the last war, was surprised by a party of the Americans, under the Colonels Allen and Easton.

About half past eight o'clock in the evening, a fire broke out, in a barrack, on Treat's wharf, in Boston, New England, while the soldiers there were receiving a number of cartridges; one of them having taken fire and communicated it to many more, which immediately set fire to the room, and soon catched the adjoining buildings. All the stores on the south side of the dock were destroyed, except that at the head of the wharf, occupied by Mr. S. Elliott. All the stores from Mr. Elliott's to Mr. Ellis Gray's, which makes the north corner of Spear's wharf, except that occupied by the Commissary's office, were also destroyed. The fire raged with great fury all night. It was at length stopt by the pulling down of a shed. Twenty-seven stores, one cooper's shop, and four sheds, were burnt but not one dwelling-house. The whole loss was thought to amount to 40,000l. sterling.

Was tried at the bar of the court of Common Pleas, by a special jury from the county of Suffolk, an action of ejectment brought on the respective demises of three several persons assuming the name of Naunton, against William Leman, Esq; for recovery of a considerable estate in the said county, wherein the plaintiff suffered a judgment of nonsuit. It seems the claim to this estate

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estate has been litigated for ten years and upward, in every court in Westminster-hall, without a single determination in favour of the claimants.

An experiment was made a few days ago, on the Ipswich road, with the plow, contrived to throw up the sides of roads in order to raise them in the middle, and it answered beyond expectation. More work can be done by it in the same space of time than can be done by fifty men.

So rapid have been the changes of Governors in America, since the death of his late majesty, that there are now no less than three persons in England, who have been Governors of Boston, viz. Governors Pownal, Bernard, and Hutchinson; three, who have been Governors of New-York, viz. Governors Hardy, Monckton, and Tryon; four, who have been Governors of New-Jersey, viz. Governors Pownal, Bernard, Boon, and Hardy; four, who have been Governors of South-Carolina, viz. Governors Lyttleton, Pownal, Boon, and Montagu; and three, who have been Governors of Virginia, viz. Governors Lord Loudoun, Pownal, and Amherst; not to mention the new Governors, Lord Dunmore, Franklin, Gage, Colden, and Ball, now in their governments.

19th. Was held the anniversary meeting of the guardians of the Asylum for female orphans, when the collection amounted to no more than 100l. 14s. 6d.

The town of Philipstade in Wermeland, in Sweden, was lately entirely burnt down, together with all the magazines of corn; a loss which must be severely felt in so northern a climate.

23d. By virtue of a commission from his Majesty, the following bills received the royal assent, viz.

The bill to enable the different universities in Great-Britain, and the colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, to hold, in perpetuity, their copy-right in books given or bequeathed to them for the advancement of learning.

The bill to empower justices of the peace to administer oaths in certain cases relative to the poor.

The bill for altering, explaining, and amending, several acts of parliament of Scotland, respecting colliers, coal-bearers, and salters, &c.

The bill for completing and maintaining the pier of Megavissey in Cornwall.

The bill to repeal an act against the erecting of cottages.

The bill to enable his majesty to license a play-house in Manchester.

The bill for the better relief and employment of the poor, within the hundreds of Mitford and Launditch, in Norfolk.

The bill to permit the free importation of raw goat-skins into this kingdom.

The bill to permit the importation of painted earthen ware, except gally tiles, the manufacture of Europe, to be sold in Great-Britain.

The bill to dissolve the marriage of Robert Greene, Esq. with his now wife.

And also to several road, inclosure, and private bills.

We have already said something concerning the first and fifth of these bills; and it will be still more proper to say something concerning the

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the third, the condition of the poor wretches it regards being such as could scarce be supposed to exist in any part of the British islands. This may be seen by part of the preamble to the said bill, and the heads of it, which are as follow:

"Whereas many colliers, coalbearers, and salters in Scotland, are in a state of slavery or bondage, bound to the collieries and saltworks, where they work for life, and are sold with the mines; Be it enacted, That,

"1. No person shall be bound to work in them in any way different from common labourers.

"2. It shall be lawful for the owners and lessees of collieries and salt-works to take apprentices for the legal term in Scotland.

"3. All persons under a given age, now employed in them, to be free after a given day.

"4. Others of a given age, not to be free till they have instructed an apprentice."

24th. The Duchess of Kingston, lately returned from abroad, appeared in the Court of King's Bench, to answer an indictment preferred against her for marrying the late Duke, her former husband being then alive. Her Grace came through the back door of the Duke of Newcastle's house, and went up the stairs which lead to Lord Mansfield's room, behind the court of King's Bench.——As soon as the court sat, Mr. Wallace acquainted the court with the business relative to her Grace, and that the parties were all ready, and attending without: Lord Mansfield then gave directions for them to be called in, and her Grace, attended by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Mountstuart, Mr. Le Roche, and Sir Thomas Clarges, came out from the anti-chamber into court. Her Grace having paid her obedience to the judges and counsel, sat down between Mr. Justice Aston and the Duke of Newcastle; the Sheriff of Middlesex was then called upon, in whose custody she was; and, the indictment being read, she entered into a recognizance, herself in 4000l. and her four other sureties above named in 1000l. each, personally to appear to answer the said indictment, whenever called upon by the king and her peers in parliament assembled. Her Grace then, in a very polite manner, took leave of the court, and retired.

25th. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, when they entered upon the business of the marshalmen. After some debates, it was finally determined, in the following manner, viz. that the four under-marshalmen who purchased their places, shall, in lieu of the perquisites they used to enjoy, have an additional salary of 30l. per ann. each, to commence from the year 1773 for their lives; and the other two marshalmen, who did not purchase their places, as they have been sworn in before the court of aldermen, and have executed the business of the office, shall be continued at the old salary; that those places shall not be at the disposal of the city marshals; but, as they fall, shall be disposed of by the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council assembled together.

The linen and carpet manufactories of Mr. Cheap, at Edinburgh, were burnt to the ground, with all the warehouses thereunto belonging;

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ing; and a great part of the goods in these buildings were likewise destroyed.

26th. His majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to

The bill for settling Buckingham-house on her majesty instead of Somerset-house, &c.

The bill for redeeming 1,000,000l. of the capital stock of the three per cent. annuities, and for establishing a lottery.

The bill for granting to his majesty a certain sum out of the sinking fund, and for applying certain moneys therein mentioned for the service of the present year.

The bill to explain and amend an act to establish a fund for defraying the administration of justice, and supporting the civil government of Quebec.

The bill for the encouragement of the fisheries carried on from Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe.

The bill for giving a public reward to such person or persons as shall discover a northern passage from Europe to the west and southern ocean of America.

The bill to amend an act to enable the Speaker of the House of Commons to issue his warrants to make out new writs for the choice of members to serve in parliament, in the room of such members as shall die during the recess.

The bill to enlarge the term of letters patent granted to William Clockworthy, for the sole use of a discovery of certain materials for the making of porcelain.

The bill to amend an act for making better provision for the poor in the parish of Shoreditch.

And to several private bills. After which his majesty made a most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, and prorogued them to the 27th of July.

Came on to be re-argued, before the judges of appeal, in Serjeant's-inn, Chancery-lane, the cause relative to the disfranchisement of Alderman Plumbe, brought by writ of error before their lordships; when Mr. Wallace, as counsel for the plaintiff in error, endeavoured to prove that his client, as a citizen of London, was not subject to disfranchisement, for not obeying the Lord-Mayor's precept to summons, as chief warden of the Goldsmiths company, the livery of the said company to attend in Guildhall, to hear his Majesty's answer to the humble address, &c. of the common-hall. He contended, that the Alderman could not offend in his duty as a freeman, as he acted only on the summons being given him in the character of warden, and quoted many law-cases to support his arguments.

Mr. Leigh, counsel for the defendant in error, observed, that it was the duty of the plaintiff, as a citizen of London, to obey the lawful commands of the Mayor, which he was bound to do by the oath of a freeman; that the summons the Lord Mayor sent him was not only on a legal, but a necessary business; and that, by his refusing to obey it, he was subject to disfranchisement; and he cited many City reports to corroborate his argument. Mr. Wallace made a reply, and expatiated a great deal on the hardship of disfranchising, or depriving a man of a freehold for life, for the omission of an act that could not be attended with

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with any material consequences. The judges then adjourned the court till the 7th of July, when it is expected their Lordships will give judgment.

By letters from Corsica, it appears that France, having laid aside all thoughts of parting with that island, has not only offered premiums for the encouragement of agriculture there; but has sent over a number of husbandmen to it from France, who are to promote among the inhabitants the culture of grain, of vines, and of olives, the raising of plantations, and the rearing of cattle.

The Emperor of Morocco having lately applied for a peace to the King of Spain, his Catholic majesty has declared, in answer to the request of the Moorish Prince, that he will not grant it to him, but on the following conditions: 1. That he shall pay him four millions of hard dollars for the expences occasioned by the late rupture; 2. That he shall return the twenty-four Spaniards taken prisoners; 3. That he shall grant four leagues of country round the places in Africa in the possession of Spain; and, 4. That he shall cede to Spain the fort of Tetuan, and the island of Mogador.

27th. A cause was determined in the court of King's Bench, which is of importance to the trading part of the nation. A tradesman at Carmarthen gave an order, by letter, to a watch-maker at Coventry, for some watches, and directed him to send them by land carriage; which he accordingly did; but the tradesman, having never received them, refused to pay for them. Upon this, the watch-maker arrested him, and a law-suit ensued, which was brought, at the last assizes at Coventry, before judge Eyre, who dismissed it. The plaintiff therefore brought it into the Court of King's Bench; when, after a short hearing, Lord Mansfield declared in favour of the plaintiff, as follows, with costs; and made the rule absolute: that, when the vender of goods complies with the orders of the vendee, in conveying them in the manner desired, the moment they are delivered to the carrier, they become the property of the vendee; and, whether he receives them or not, he is equally answerable for the payment of them to the vender; but, if he does not receive them, he has his remedy against the carrier. If, on the other hand, the vendee orders goods to be sent by any particular waggon, and the vender sends them by another, and they miscarry, then the vender must look to the carrier for the recovery or payment of them, and not to the vendee.

28th. A letter from Jamaica, of this date, says: "By a vessel put in here we learn, that they have had three shocks of an earthquake at Hispaniola in two days, which have disconcerted the schemes of the Spaniards, who had built store-houses, &c. and intended to make that place a rendezvous for their fleet designed for the American and West-Indian service.—Their store-houses are thrown down and the sea has broke in and done great damage. Most of the ships that lay there are much damaged, but we do not hear of above five lives being lost."

The new ship Port Morant, Raffles, from Jamaica to London, loaded with six hundred hogsheads of sugar, and several puncheons of

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of rum, having struck on a place called the Hog-styes, in the windward passage, both ship and cargo were totally lost. The captain, crew, and several of the passengers, were saved by taking to the boats, and getting to a rock, on which they lived for ten days, with nothing to eat but some raw beef and pork that they saved out of the ship; when they were providentially taken up by a small vessel, carried to Providence, and put on board the Charlotte, Green, who has brought them home.

Capt. O'Kelly lately sold one of his Eclipse colts for 1000 guineas down, and 500 more, if he wins the first time he starts.

29th. An important question, between the Stationers company and Mr. Carnan, of St. Paul's Church-yard, concerning the right of printing Almanacks, was determined, by the unanimous opinion of the judges of the court of Common Pleas, in favour of Mr. Carnan; and, the Friday following, being the 2d of June, the injunction obtained by the Stationers company in the court of Chancery, November 29, 1773, to prevent Mr. Carnan's printing and selling almanacks, was dissolved by the Lord Chancellor.

A cause was tried in the Common Pleas, in which Miss Davies, formerly a singer at the Opera-house, was plaintiff, and Richard Yates, Esq. manager of that house, defendant. The trial lasted from ten in the morning till six in the evening, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 1500l. her salary for a season, and 500l. for a benefit which she was besides to have, and which she valued at that sum; both, exclusive of costs.

The two unfortunate Perreaus (of whom we shall take the proper notice in another place) were removed from Newgate by a writ of Habeas Corpus to the court of King's Bench, in order to be examined as witnesses, in a trial upon an action of Trover, brought by Mr. Belliard, jeweller, against Sir T. F——. It appeared, that the plaintiff had left Daniel Perreau a diamond ring of 500l. value, till he, the plaintiff, should be able to make one of the same value of a different fashion for him; that on the detection of the late forgeries, Sir Thomas, as principal creditor, seized the ring in question as part of Daniel Perreau's real property. After a short consultation, the jury found for the plaintiff, with one shilling damage, which intitles him to costs of suit.

Three placarts have been lately published at Copenhagen; the first, prohibits the exportation of potter's clay from the Isle of Bornholm; the second, the importation of foreign fustians, called there Olmerdogg, or Parchents; and the third, the importation and use of foreign tin-plates in Denmark, Norway, and the principalities of Sleswick and Holstein, except what are called the large black iron plates.

31st The following advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette:

"A gentleman, who served as an officer all last war in the King of Prussia's army, offers his service to the province of Pennsylvania. The men that will be entrusted to his care, he obliges himself to teach, in

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in a very short time, the most useful and necessary manœuvres, especially quick firing, even without a rammer, for which purpose he knows how to prepare suitable cartridges, besides the art of advancing and retiring properly; and, lastly, how to avoid all confusion in an engagement. Enquire, &c.

There was now to be seen, as a shew, in London, what the owner was pleased to stile a Siren or Mermaid: and though, by its not being submitted to the examination of the college of Physicians, or the Royal Society, the proper judges of such uncommon subjects, we have reason to doubt of its genuineness, and therefore took no notice of it in our article of Natural History, we cannot prevail on ourselves totally to omit it. It differs materially from that shewn at the fair of St. Germaine, some years ago; so that there is reason to believe, there are two distinct genera, or, more properly, two species of the same genus, the one resembling the African blacks, the other the European whites. That which was formerly shewn had, in every respect, the countenance of a Negro; this has the features and complexion of an European. Its face is like that of a young female; its eyes, of a fine light blue; its nose small and handsome; its mouth small; its lips thin, and the edges of them round like that of the codfish; its teeth are small, regular, and white; its chin is well-shaped, and its neck full. Its ears are like those of the eel, but placed like those of the human species; and behind them are the gills for respiration, which appear like curls. Some are said to have hair upon the head; but this has none, only rolls instead of hair, that, at a distance, may be mistaken for short curls. But its chief ornament is a beautiful membrane or fin rising from the temples, and gradually diminishing till it ends pyramidically, forming a foretop like that of a lady's headdress. It has no fin on the back, but a bone like that of the human species. Its breasts are fair and full, but without nipples; its arms and hands are well proportioned, but without nails on its fingers; its belly is round and swelling, but no navel. From the waist downward the body is in all respects like the cod-fish. It has three sets of fins, one above the other, below the waist, which enable it to swim erect upon the sea; and it is said to have an enchanting voice, which it never exerts except before a storm.—The proprietor says, it was taken in the Gulph of Sanchio, in the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, by a merchantman trading to Natolia, Aug. 1774.

There are now living, in the parish of St. Bees, Cumberland, two brothers, and three sisters, whose ages are, 87, 85, 83, 81, and 71: in all, 407 years.

And in the workhouse at Camberwell in Surry, a woman named Jones, aged 125 years, who remembers her being at service when King Charles the Second was crowned in 1660, and at this time enjoys her perfect senses: and, what is full as observable, the nurse who attends her is aged 101. The tenderest care imaginable is taken by the governors and masters of that charity to preserve the lives of two such remarkable persons.

DIED lately, at Sheltington near Tamworth, in Warwickshire, aged fifty-seven, Mr. Spooner, farmer, of

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of that place. He was thought to be the fattest man in England, weighing, four or five weeks before his death, forty stone and nine pounds. He had not been able to walk for several years, but had a little cart and able horse to draw him abroad for air. He measured, after his death, four feet three inches across the shoulders. He was drawn to the church-yard in the cart he used to ride in. His coffin was made much longer than his body, on purpose to give the bearers room to carry him from the cart to the church, and from thence to the grave. Thirteen men carried him, six on each side, and one at the head. His fatness, some years ago, saved his life; for, being at Atherstone market, and some difference arising between him and a Jew, the Jew stabbed him in the belly with a pen-knife; but the blade, being short, did not pierce his bowels, or even pass through the fat which defended them.

And, on the 1st instant, Doctor Rutty, one of the people called quakers, an eminent physician in Dublin, and author of some very learned and ingenious pieces.

Mr. Israel Lyons, eminent for his extraordinary genius and extensive knowledge, particularly in botany, mathematics, &c. He accompanied Capt. Phipps in his voyage to the North Pole, as principal astronomer; and was the author of the tables annexed to the account of that voyage, and of several other ingenious publications. He has left many valuable notes and observations, for an edition of Dr. Halley's works collected into a volume, which he had just prepared for the press, with the sanction of the Philosophical Society.

Humphry Coates, Esq. late a candidate for Westminster, and remarkable for his steady adherence to Mr. Wilkes.

On the 13th, Doctor Nicholas Robinson, at Islington, a celebrated physician, author of many learned pieces.

On the 18th, Jonathan Howes, in East-Smithfield, aged 106.

On the 24th, Michael M'Laughlin, aged upwards of one hundred, at Athlone in Ireland. He had five wives, the last of whom he has left with a child not above a year and a half old.

JUNE.

1st. During the Montem, a yearly festival celebrated on this day by the Eton scholars, at Salthill, there fell the most violent storm of hail and rain ever remembered in that part of the country. The hail-stones were as large as playing marbles, and the sudden flood was such, that several persons were up to the ancles. Most of the many noblemen and gentlemen who were present, were as wet as if they had been drawn through a river.

This day came on at Westminster-hall, before Lord Mansfield, an action in which the Earl of Bristol was plaintiff, and the printer of a morning paper defendant, for a libel in the said paper on the 5th of December last; when the jury gave a verdict for his Lordship with 300l. damages.

A man was carried before the Lord Mayor, for attempting to bribe the two Blue coat boys, who drew the Museum lottery, to conceal a ticket, and bring it to him, promising he would next day let them have it again; when one of them

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them was, it seems, to convey it back privately into the wheel, but without letting go his hold of it, and then produce it as if newly drawn; the man's intention being to insure it in all the offices against being drawn that day. But the boys were honest, gave notice of the intended fraud, and pointed out the delinquent, who, however, was discharged, as there is no law in being to punish the offence.

At a meeting of tradesmen at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, it was unanimously agreed to contribute to the stopping of the circulation of bad halfpence, by refusing to take any.

As one of the charity boys of St. James, Clerkenwell, was bathing in a pond at Islington, he was seized with the cramp, and sunk; and his body was so entangled in the mud at the bottom, that it was a very considerable time before it could be found. It was then carried to a public house at Islington; when Mr. Church, of that place, one of the medical assistants to the Society for the recovery of drowned persons, was sent for. It is generally believed that it was near an hour before any means whatever were used to restore this object to life; and it was an hour and a half more, before any pulsation was perceived; and what could then be perceived, was very feeble. This however was sufficient to make Mr. Church persevere in the means he thought proper for full four hours; when the boy fell into strong convulsions, and after some time became sensible. He had a tolerable good night, and was pronounced out of danger next morning. This case is inserted to keep alive the attention of our readers to the above most useful establishment; and to shew, among many other cases, that on such occasions, scarce any circumstances can be desperate enough to excuse the not putting in practice their prescriptions, or not persevering in the use of them. See our first article under the head of Projects for this year.

The Russian admiral lately arrived at Spithead saluted the English flag with fifteen guns, which were returned with thirteen. But he refused this compliment, till he had received orders to pay it from her Imperial Majesty's ambassador at London.

The magistrates of Brussels have issued orders, that all Jews, settling in that city for the future, shall pay 300 florins yearly to the receivers of the Empress Queen's revenue, or be banished; and that, if any Jews should, under pretence of being travellers, stay there above forty-eight hours, they shall be obliged to pay the same sum.

5th. Lord Sandwich, accompanied by Lord Seaford, Sir Hugh Palliser, Mr. Banks, and Omiah, the native of Otaheite, began his annual survey of the Royal Navy, by examining the state of Chatham-yard. The artificers and workmen of the dock-yards, with the officers of ships and seamen in ordinary, were mustered before his Lordship. Omiah was conducted by Mr. Peake, builder's assistant, on board the Victory, of 100 guns, now repairing. His surprize at seeing so large a ship can scarcely be expressed. By this survey, it appeared, that there were eighty-seven ships then fit for service, including those already in commission; and also several frigates.

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6th. A buttock of beef, which some time ago had been sent from London to Charles Town, in South Carolina, in the Pallas, Capt. Turner, as a present, would not be suffered to be landed there. It was therefore brought back again, and this day eaten at the Jamaica coffee-house, Rotherhithe.

The reigning Prince of Nassau-Usinguen, being willing to establish, in a Catholic church in his country, the exercise of the Lutheran religion, and having sent thither for that purpose a Bailiff, accompanied by several armed men, the inhabitants, assisted by some peasants of the country of Mentz, opposed them; and the opposite parties came to blows. The Bailiff was dangerously wounded, and some of his companions were killed.

7th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when fourteen convicts received sentence of death, viz. the two unfortunate brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau, for forgery; four, for street, field, and highway robberies; three, for house-breaking, and house-robberies; one, for theft; one, for firing a pistol at Walter Butler, one of the patrole, near the Foundling Hospital, and wounding him in the neck; two, for coining; and one, for horse-stealing. One received sentence of transportation for fourteen years; sixteen, sentence of transportation for seven years; and nine convicted of coining halfpence, were branded in the hand, and sentenced to suffer an imprisonment in Newgate for twelve months. One, for a fraud, was fined 1s. and ordered to be imprisoned six months. And on the 19th of July following, seven of the above capital convicts were executed at Tyburn; among whom were the two coiners. But the two brothers were not so much as reported, in hopes the trial of Mrs. Rudd, supposed to be concerned with them, might produce something to exculpate them, or at least alleviate their guilt, without exposing them to the aggravated distress of suffering after a reprieve.

8th. Came on before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, the well known cause between Charles Morris, Esq. cornet of dragoons, plaintiff, and the Rev. Mr. Charles Everard, defendant. The action was brought for the recovery of damages for a caning which the former received in the Hay-market from the latter. The defendant not denying the fact, Lord Mansfield directed the jury to find for the plaintiff what damages they thought proper. The jury, after going out about fifteen minutes, returned into court with a verdict for the plaintiff with 20l. damages.

His excellency Count de Guines arrived at his house in Great George-street, from France, after gaining, on the 2d., a decree of the Chatelet, against one of his secretaries, who had accused his excellency with ordering him to game for his, his excellency's, account in the English stocks. His excellency, immediately on his arrival, was visited by all the foreign ministers, the secretaries of state, and a great number of the nobility.

Mrs. Ivy, of the Borough, in coming from Guildford, was stung by a gnat on the chin; which so inflamed her jaw and head, that a mortification ensued, and she died in less than twenty-four hours.

12th This being the day appointed for the coronation of

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of his most Christian Majesty, the places in the cathedral at Rheims, where the ceremony was to be performed, were filled at five in the morning. At six the Queen made her appearance, and in about half an hour after his most Christian Majesty. The ceremony was performed by the Cardinal de la Roucheaumon, and ended a little before one; the whole having been conducted with the greatest regularity as well as magnificence. The throne was no less than sixty feet in height.

An advertising conjuror, being convicted before the Lord Mayor, of defrauding a poor servant maid out of place, of fourteen pence, on pretence of telling her her fortune, thought he might escape punishment by being a house-keeper, and as such not coming within the meaning of the Vagrant act; but, as that act expressly mentions persons pretending to be skilled in physiognomy, &c. or to tell fortunes, shall be deemed vagrants, the Lord Mayor over-ruled that objection, and committed him to Bridewell to hard labour for the space of one month; and declared that, for the next offence of the like nature, he would commit him as an incorrigible rogue, and have him tried as such at the sessions.

14th. M. Brizio Guistiniano was crowned Doge of Venice with the usual ceremonies.

The senate of Milan lately received a supreme order, abolishing for ever the tribunal of the inquisition; and applying the effects of it to the use of the hospital for orphans.

17th. The Americans before Boston were driven by the King's troops from some works which they had thrown up, the preceding night, on one of the heights of the peninsula of Charles Town, called Bunker's Hill.

Ended the drawing of the Museum lottery.

Between five and six in the afternoon, the following melancholy accident happened in Chiswell-street. One of some houses building on contract for Mr. Gilbert, grocer, fell in, occasioned by the slightness of the workmanship, and buried twelve persons in the ruins; three of whom were killed; the rest were taken out alive, but seven so much hurt, that they were sent to St. Bartholomew's hospital with very little hopes of recovery.

The town of Lenczno, in Poland, belonging to the grand general Branicki, and famous for its horse markets, was some time since entirely burnt to ashes, on the first day of the fair.

Appeared in the public papers, the copy of a proclamation, issued by General Gage, at Boston, on the 12th of last month, offering his majesty's pardon to all persons who should immediately lay down their arms, except Samuel Adams, and John Hancock; declaring all those rebels who should not comply with these terms; and all persons to be traitors, who should aid and assist, or hold any correspondence with the rebels; and moreover, ordering martial law to be in force within the province of Massachuset's Bay, so long as the present unhappy occasion shall require it. 18th.

The Besborough, lately arrived from Coast and China, after a voyage of near three years, has

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brought home some of the greatest curiosities of the animal and vegetable kind that ever were seen in Europe. The following are a few of the most surprising; The skin of a large Oranoutang, which died on the passage; this creature came from a remote part of the island of Sumatra; one would take them to be a species of the human creation; they have many of the actions of man; and even seem to have a kind of government and police among themselves; but their speech, if it may be called such, is not intelligible.—A large Brandafornia, from the diamond mines of Golconda, something resembling a monkey, with a large white beard, fierce, strong, and terrible, yet very tractable: this kind of creatures are made use of by the natives of Golconda as coolys or slaves in the mines.—During a very hard gale of wind, being put in the cable tier below, he drew the splice of the sheet-cable; which is almost incredible.—A small black amphibious animal, in every part resembling our cat, only it has no tail; caught on a reef of rocks near Princess's Island, in the Straits of Banca, where it lived on flying fish, which it is very expert in catching: it now lives on small fish or fresh meat; it is very docile and tractable.—A large horned dog, by the natives called Picrobus, made every way like a dog, all to its horn and claws.—An exceeding beautiful Crown-bird, and two Cockatories, who have been so well trained, during the voyage, that they will answer some little questions, and even ask them.—Among the plants there is the famous Maribolys, or walking plant; being in a small basket of earth, when the sun shines on it, once a day, it will gradually move about by the help of its branches; a tea-tree, with a few blossoms on it; a real tallow-tree; a nutmeg and cinnamon tree; and several other exotics; besides a number of small birds.

When the learned and ingenious Doctor Franklin arrived some time ago at Philadelphia, the General Assembly of the Province, which was then sitting, on hearing of his arrival, immediately asked his consent to be chosen one of their delegates to the Continental Congress; and, on his consenting, elected him accordingly.

21st. At a Quarterly General Court of the Proprietors of East-India stock, the half-yearly dividend from Christmas to Midsummer was declared to be 3 per cent.

22d. Being the day appointed for keeping the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day, who entered into the 38th year of his age on the 4th instant, it was celebrated with the usual joy and splendour. Lord Stormont's St. Andrew's cross, set round with diamonds, and appended to his riband of the order of the Thistle, was cut from it, at court, by some sharpers, who made off with it undiscovered. It was worth several hundred pounds.

The same day, his Majesty's birth-day was celebrated with bonfires and illuminations of a new kind, at Mr. Hartley's, at Bucklebury. The bonfires were made within doors, not without; and the illuminations were made upon the floors of the several apartments. Their Majesties healths were drank round a great bonfire in one room; in another thirty-seven large faggots, answering to the years of his Majesty's age, together with a quantity

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quantity of pitch and tar, were burnt. As this room was too hot for company, the following toasts were drank in the room above, while the fire below was burning in its utmost fury, viz. the king, queen and royal family, peace and unanimity, &c. Several other fires were made in different parts of the floors, stair-cases, &c. which were all left to burn out; yet no damage happened to any parts of the building, but where the fires were actually laid.

23d. An entertainment, called a Regatta, borrowed from the Venetians, was exhibited, partly on the Thames, and partly at Ranelagh; and, as it was quite new in this country, we shall give a more particular account of it in our appendix to this article.

25th. The inhabitants of Somerset-house received written notices, to quit their apartments by Michaelmas-day next, signed by the solicitor for the affairs of his Majesty's treasury.

26th. This day a cause came on in the court of Common Pleas, Guildhall, between a gentleman, plaintiff, and a lottery-office-keeper in the city, defendant; the cause of this action was as follows: the gentleman, passing by the lottery-office, observed a woman and boy crying, on which he asked the reason of their tears; they informed him, that they had insured a number in the Lottery the night before, and, upon enquiry at another office, found it to have been drawn five days before, and therefore wanted their money again; the gentleman, taking their part, was assaulted and beat by the office-keeper. The jury gave a verdict in favour of the gentleman, with five pounds damage.

The long contested dispute between the post-master general and the East-India company, was at length amicably settled. All letters from India directed to private persons, are for the future to be sent to the Post-office, and regularly delivered from thence as other foreign ship letters are; so that all persons, who have relations or friends in India, may be sure of receiving their letters from them regularly, without applying so many times at the India-house as they were formerly obliged to do.

The two prizes annually given by the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, for two compositions in prose and verse, were respectively adjudged to Mr. Grattan, fellow of New College, and Mr. Warton, scholar of Trinity.

28th. Yesterday and this day came on to be argued in the court of Chancery, a plea put in by the Duchess of Kingston, to a bill filed by Lady Meadows, the sister and heir at law of the late Duke of Kingston. Her Grace pleaded a sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court, by which she was declared to be a single woman before the late Duke married her, and also the probate of the late Duke's will; when, after a long and solemn debate of the matter, the Lord Chancellor was pleased to allow her Grace's plea.

Was tried before the Barons of the Exchequer, a cause wherein the Rev. Mr. Bateman, vicar of Whaplode, in Lincolnshire, was plaintiff, and his parishioners defendants. This gentleman, in 1770, filed a bill for the accustomed tythe of sheep, of barren and unprofitable cattle, and for the tythe of lands before held untytheable, as formerly belonging to the abbey of

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Crowland; and, on that ground, he gained a decree in his favour, April 4, 1774. But, to prevent the effect of this decree, the parishioners filed a cross-bill in November last, in the court of Exchequer, on the ground of establishing moduses, and obtained an injunction to stop proceedings against them in the spiritual court. To dissolve this injunction the present trial commenced, and the court has dissolved the same accordingly.

29th. Was held at the Old Bailey a high court of admiralty for the trial of capital offences committed on the high seas, when five mariners were tried for mutiny on board the ship Little Will, whereof Joseph Spence was master, and in which mutiny the said Spence lost his life, the ship was seized by the mutineers, and afterwards reseized by the officers. The prisoners, however, not appearing to be ringleaders, were all acquitted.

The master of a vessel on the slave trade was also tried for the murder of one of his men, by striking him on the head with a crow; but it appearing that the man died of a putrid fever, and that the whole charge was an infamous scheme to extort money, the master was honourably acquitted.

The same day, General Harvey and Sir William Erskine had the honour of presenting to the king a very curious dragoon-saddle, which was honoured with his majesty's approbation for its peculiar lightness and construction, as it affords a much easier seat to the rider, and the means of carrying hay and corn enough for three days, with a complete set of camp equipage, &c. without any material inconvenience. The hay consists of two trusses; one beat into the length of 3-4ths of a yard, placed under the cloak-bag; the other beat equally close into two balls, and hung like kettle-drums before the rider. This saddle was made by Mr. Gibson, Saddler, in Great Windmill-street, St. James's; and the merit of it had been previously ascertained, by actual experiment, before General Harvey, who ordered a handsome reward to the men employed for that purpose.

The king has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Ireland, for constituting one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin, for maintaining, educating, and apprenticing the orphans and children of decayed seamen in his majesty's royal navy, &c.

The silver medals annually given by the historical society in the university of Dublin for the best English compositions, were this year obtained by the Rev. Mr. Scott, for prose; for verse, by Messieurs Ball, Charles Henry Coote, and Edward Synge.

30th. His Imperial majesty arrived at Luxembourg, from a tour of some weeks he had been making, incognito, through Italy.

Four vessels containing about seven hundred emigrants, have sailed for America from Port Glasgow and Greenock, in the course of the present month, most of them from the north Highlands.

Whilst the Diet of Poland was granting new liberties to the Dissidents, the Jews, whose numbers and credit were very great in Poland, have been treated very rigorously. They are forbidden from carrying on any public trade in the streets;

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streets; and, as this is depriving them of all the usual means of subsistence, they are leaving Warsaw. They were offered warehouses for their goods, which they refused. Prince Poninski, willing to engage them to settle on his estate at Wola, about half a league from Warsaw, promised them his protection, as did likewise Prince Sulkowski, if they would establish themselves there.

Count Alexis Orlow, before he left Leghorn, published a manifesto, the substance of which was, "That the Empress of Russia, his sovereign, pardoned the republic of Ragusa the hostilities committed against her, on condition that that republic would, for the future, observe the most scrupulous neutrality, and allow the Russian consul the same prerogatives that the other consuls enjoyed; particularly that of having a chapel in his house, for the exercise of the Russo-Greek religion.

The same princess, at the solicitation of the inhabitants of the new acquired province of White-Russia, to have their taxes put upon the same footing on which they were before it came into her hands, instead of barely granting them their request, was graciously pleased to reduce their taxes still lower, by taking off one half of what they were rated at.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Black Sea, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where she will not meet with those hindrances which nature has placed in the Baltic, the climate of which puts a stop to trade the greatest part of the year, and the dangerous coasts cause numberless shipwrecks during the remainder; her imperial majesty had been pleased to allow ships freight free to Mr. Gousetnikoff, a Russian merchant, who has raised a capital for that undertaking; and also to promise to make good all his losses, leaving, at the same time, the whole profits which may accrue from such trade to himself. To confirm part of what has been observed concerning the Baltic, it may not be incurious to observe, that, this last winter, the ice prevented any foreign ships from reaching the road of Revel till the 15th of May, and that of Cronstadt till the 21st. And that the 25th of May, when the squadron that conveyed the King of Sweden to Finland arrived at Abo, the trees there were without any signs of verdure.

Accounts from Constantinople mention positively, that the Grand Signor, having received complaints from his subjects of the grievances they suffer from the governors of the different provinces of his empire, thought himself obliged, not only to issue several firmans to most of his pachas and other officers, with regulations for the establishment of good order throughout the Ottoman empire, and very favourable to the Christians and Jews; but likewise to make examples of some of the governors. Accordingly, one was strangled and beheaded by his highness's orders, and his head exposed at the door of the seraglio; and more than seventeen others, of three tails, were deposed, and sent into exile, among whom was Achmet Effendi, first favourite of the emperor. Among the above firmans was one particularly addressed to the pacha of Salonica, enjoining him to reform his houshold, which for the

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future is only to consist of 150 persons, instead of 400 or 500, which was a great expence to the people under his government. And this order, it is thought, will be made universal with regard to all the pachas.

BIRTHS. On the 25th instant, the wife of Mr. Ladenberg, wine-merchant, in Castle-street, Leicester-fields, in the 54th year of her age, was brought to bed of twins. Mrs. Ladenburg, though married upwards of 30 years, never had a child before.

JULY.

2d. A grand Spanish Armada, which had been preparing for some months past, and which many persons affected to think too strong to be intended against any part of the world but Great Britain, arrived before Algiers; and, on the 7th, miscarried in an attack upon that place.

The burning mountain, called Pacayita, in the province of Guatimala, in New Spain, after threatening an eruption, for some time, by subterraneous noises, and earthquakes, actually broke out, after a most violent report; when a lava of nitrous and sulphureous matter poured down the side of the mountain, whilst it threw up clouds of cinders and smoke, which consumed near 40 leagues of the district of St. Antonio Cuchutepeque: The town of St, Christoral Amatiglan was entirely deserted; from nine cavities in this mountain the flaming lava continued to run till the first of August following, to the outh sea; and it was then feared that the Pecaya Grande would also break out, as it was in vast agitation; which would finish the destruction of the valley of Pancho, in which stands the town of St. Jago, the capital of the province.

Two men, concerned in trepanning a tradesman's daughter, about 18 years of age, from the house of her father, a tradesman in this city, on board a ship in the river, and sending her abroad, were examined before the lord-mayor; the hearing lasted three hours; counsel being employed; after which the prisoners were remanded back to the Poultry-compter for a further examination; and, after such examination on the 10th, were recommitted to the same prison, with time till next January, to return the girl to her parents, on pain of being tried for the offence at the following sessions. And, in the mean time, a prosecution was ordered to be commenced against the master of the ship for receiving her on board.

7th. Lord Chief-Justice De Grey, Lord Chief-Baron Smythe, Mr. Justice Aston, and Mr. Justice Ashurst, the commissioners appointed to review the proceedings on an information of disfranchisement filed against Mr. Alderman Plumbe, met, according to adjournment, at Guildhall, and delivered their judgment, which was, That they were unanimously of opinion, that the information was erroneous in many particulars, which they severally specified; and that Mr. Alderman Plumbe, by neglecting to summon the livery of the Goldsmiths company, of which he was prime warden, to attend Alderman Beckford, when lord-mayor, at a common hall, had not been guilty of any offence against his

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his oath and duty as a freeman; consequently the judgment of disfranchisement pronounced against him in the mayor's court by the recorder was by them reversed.

8th. The Russian squadron under the command of Admiral Bassballe, sailed from Portsmouth for Russia.

10th. The royal regiment of artillery, quartered at Woolwich, were reviewed by his Majesty on Blackheath. Part of the exercise consisted in an attack by some of them, on a kind of fort garrisoned by the rest, on the opposite side of a temporary bridge. About a quarter before eleven the fight began, and lasted an hour, in which the engineers, &c. acquitted themselves with satisfaction to his majesty, and a prodigious number of spectators. The Duke of Gloucester was present.

Two caravals, bound from Tetuan, with a reinforcement of Turks, for Algiers, happening to fall in with two Maltese frigates, there ensued a very long and fierce engagement, in which 800 Turks were killed. The caravals were likewise taken and conveyed to Malta.

11th. The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when sentence of death was passed on four convicts; two, for house-breaking; and two, for robbing on the highway; and of transportation, on sixteen; seven were ordered to be privately whipped; two, branded in the hand; one of whom was John Walsh, for bigamy, who is also to be imprisoned six months in Newgate; thirty-nine were discharged by proclamation; and, on the sixteenth following, the two house-breakers, and one of the highwaymen, were executed at Tyburn.

This morning a fire broke out at the soap-boiler's, in the Lower-street, Dorchester, nearly opposite the gaol, which raged with great fury for several hours, taking very irregular directions, making great havock among the thatched houses, and passing those which were roofed with tiles or slates; water was so scarce for some time, that one of the engines, in a narrow lane, was obliged to be abandoned by the men who worked it, and by means of the falling thatch caught fire, and was totally destroyed; the whole town must have been burnt down, had it not been for a detachment of dragoons belonging to Sir John Cope's regiment, who happened to be quartered there. Both officers and common men were indefatigable in extinguishing the flames, which, after consuming 35 or 40 dwelling houses, chiefly the habitations of poor people, were at length got under.

12th. This day a cup, value twenty guineas, given by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, was sailed for from Westminster-bridge to Putney, and back again. The Aurora, belonging to Mr. Parkes, late of Ludgate-hill, having won the prize, his royal highness, who honoured the sport with his presence, filled the cup with wine, drank out of it, and delivered it to Mr. Parkes.

14th. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, waited on his majesty, with an humble address and petition; which, with his majesty's most gracious answer, we shall give in their proper place, in the following sheets.

Came

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18th. Came on before the court of session in Scotland, a cause between Mr. Dodsley, of London, bookseller, plaintiff, and Messrs. Ch. Elliot and Colin M'Farquhar, of Edinburgh, booksellers, defendants. The action was brought for reprinting Lord Chesterfield's Letters, the copy-right of which had cost the plaintiff 1575l. On the 26th, their Lordships were pleased to determine in favour of Mr. Dodsley, by continuing the interdict he had obtained against Messrs. Elliot and M'Farquhar, by a majority of nine against five.

20th. Marshal Romanzow arrived at Kolomiski, near Moscow, and was received by the Empress with every possible mark of satisfaction; he declined the honour of a triumphal entry, which was intended him, and for which magnificent preparations had been made. The next morning, the Empress, accompanied by the Great Duke and Duchess, and attended by the great officers and ladies of the court, the knights being in the habits of their respective orders, walked in grand procession from the old palace in the Kremlin to the cathedral, where solemn mass was performed by the Archbishop of Petersburgh, and Te Deum sung for the conclusion of the war; after which the five first classes of the nobility had the honour of kissing her Majesty's hand. The Keeper of the Privy-purse then read aloud a list of the gratifications and rewards, which the Empress was pleased to bestow upon this occasion. Amongst the principal ones were,

To Marshal Romanzow, an estate of 5000 peasants, 100,000 roubles in money, a service of plate, a hat with a wreath of laurel, enriched with precious stones, to the value of 30,000 roubles, a diamond star and shoulder-knot, a Marshal's staff, and a diploma adding to his surname that of Sadounaskoy, which may be translated the Ultra Danubian.

To Count Alexis Orlow 60,000 roubles, and a sword enriched with diamonds of very considerable value, and a diploma granting to him the surname of Chesme.

To General Potemkin, a diploma of Count of the Russian Empire, and her Imperial Majesty's picture set with diamonds to be worn by him.

To General Panin, and Prince Dolgorouki, 60,000 roubles each, with a sword and diamond star.

To Count Soltikow, the second order of St. George.

To Count Ivan Czernichew, the order of St. Andrew.

Several ribbons of St. Alexander Newsky were conferred, and military promotions made.

Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and appointed Commandant of Cronstadt.

Next day the Great Duke bestowed eleven ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, struck upon this occasion, were likewise distributed to the Field-marshals, Generals in chief, and foreign ministers; and some of a smaller size, to the rest of the nobility of the five first classes.

Her Imperial Majesty was likewise pleased to recal some noblemen from their banishment in Siberia, two of whom had resided there ever since the year 1746.

About

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About the same time, ten vessels laden with wine, having on board some Christian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to pass from the Archipelago to the Black Sea, in order to go to the Russian territories, on the borders of the sea of Azoff. The commandant of the Dardanelles sent an officer to search them, and, upon the Captain's refusing to let them, he obliged them to anchor under the castles, and submit to be visited. Colonel Paterson, Chargé des Affaires from Russia, being informed of this violence, demanded satisfaction immediately, as a violation of the 11th article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte dispatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let those vessels pass freely.—About the same time, great and unexpected changes happened in the ministry at Constantinople. The Grand Vizier, Issed Mehemet Pacha, was deposed, and replaced by Derwisch Mehemet Aga, his Kiaja Bey. The Chiaoux Baschi was dismissed, and his place given to the father-in-law of the new Grand Vizier; and the Superintendant of the Customs was replaced by Ismael Aga, Governor of Cyprus. Sahih-Guerey, formerly Khan of the Tartars of Crimea, was banished to Rodosto.

The news of the death of Mehemet Aboudahab was confirmed; but his army, so far from being beat, had on the contrary seized on all the possessions of the old Chiek Dahar. The Captain Pacha's arrival at Smyrna had put a stop to the disorders there. Aivas Aga, and fourscore more of the mutineers, had their heads struck off; and great numbers were condemned to the gallies.

Though the Emperor of Morocco had accepted the presents from the republic of the United Provinces, he nevertheless thought proper to continue the war against their High Mightinesses for three years, to be reckoned from the first of January last.

About the middle of this month, Col. Guy Johnson, his Majesty's Superintendant of Indian affairs, arrived at Montreal, accompanied by a considerable number of chiefs and warriors of the six nations: after which he held a general congress with the chiefs and warriors of the Canada confederacy, to the amount of 1700, who, in presence of his Excellency General Carleton, unanimously resolved to support their engagements with his majesty, and remove all intruders on the several communications,

Two executions in the 20th.
house of Daniel Perreau, one by virtue of an assignment to Sir Thomas Frankland, the other at the instance of the upholsterer who furnished the goods, were withdrawn, by virtue of the sheriffs claim, who on the conviction of capital offenders, are entitled to the goods and chattels, lands and tenements, of the convicts, under the city's charter. Mrs. Rudd claimed an exemption of her goods, &c. in the same house, she not being the wife of Daniel Perreau, nor yet a convict.

The quantity of wheat at this time in Bristol was so great, that, almost every warehouse, malt-house, and granary being filled with it, they were obliged to lodge large quantities of it in private houses.

At a court of Lord-Mayor, 21st.
Aldermen, and Common-Council,

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Council at Guildhall, a motion was made for an answer to be sent to New York, on the address received from thence, which had been laid before that court, when great debates arose; but the question being put, their appeared 56 for sending an answer, and 69 against it.

By letters from the inhabitants of New-York, the people of the island of Bermuda are under the most dismal apprehensions of starving, in consequence of the present disagreeable situation of public affairs; and, to prevent it as much as possible, had passed a law, that no provisions should be sent off the island, at any rate whatsoever; and were about dispatching a vessel to Philadelphia, to request the continental congress to take their case into their most serious consideration.

24th. About two in the morning, some villains broke into the parlour of Copped Hall, near Epping, Essex, the seat of John Conyers, Esq; member for that county. From the parlour they forced their way into the butler's pantry, where the butler lay in bed. The noise of their entry waking him, one of the ruffians threw the bed-clothes over his head, and with both his hands held a cutlass right across his throat, swearing that he would kill him if he offered to move or alarm the family. In this condition he continued for a considerable time, during which he heard the clock strike three, and likewise heard the thieves put the plate into sacks. As soon as they had finished, they all quitted his room, except the fellow placed as a guard over him, who staid a few seconds after his accomplices, and then left him, threatening, with horrid imprecations, that he would blow his brains out if he either rose or called out for an hour to come. After remaining quiet near fifteen minutes, the butler got up, and finding that his door was locked on the outside, he was under the necessity therefore of breaking through a window-frame placed high in the wainscot; a circumstance of no little difficulty, as he was hardly recovered from having lately fractured his collar-bone: at length however he achieved it, and alarmed the family. A number of servants were instantly dispatched different roads in pursuit of the robbers, but in vain. It was luckily discovered, that a four-wheeled carriage had stopped and turned round at the park gate, and from some hay and oats which remained on the ground, it was evident the horses had been fed while the carriage waited: two messengers were therefore sent to the public office in Bow-street; and that in the Curtain road, with all the particulars of the robbery; the butler himself coming to the former, and giving a circumstantial information of the whole affair. Upon this the scouts of both offices were dispatched, without delay, to Hounsditch, Duke's Place, and every street, lane, and corner, where persons suspected as melters of plate were supposed to reside; but though the search was diligent, it was without effect. About two in the afternoon, a letter was received by Sir John Fielding, from a magistrate at Stratford, informing him that a hackney-coach, No. 44, was seen to pass that road in the way from the forest to London, early in the morning; that the blinds were drawn

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drawn up, and that a second person sat on the box with the driver. Upon the receipt of this letter, Sir John Fielding sent to the coach-office, and learnt there, that the coach, No. 44, was one among others belonging to Mr. Mountaine, a man of property and reputation in Oxford-road. Mr. Bond applied to Mr. Mountaine, and was informed, that the number had been in his possession and his father's near fifty years; that his driver had not brought the coach home on Sunday evening, which gave him great uneasiness, and that he could by no means account for his absence. A peace-officer was stationed at the yard, who waited till ten at night, when the fellow drove in, and was immediately apprehended and taken to Bow-street, where he gave a most incredible account of the manner in which he had spent his time for the two preceding days. He was properly advised of his danger by the bench, but continued obstinate for some hours; at length he confessed the truth, acknowledging that he drove one Lambert Reading, and five others, to Copped Hall, in the night between Sunday and Monday; and that, on his return, he carried them to a house in Brick-lane, Old-street, where they deposited the plate. A proper force was instantly sent to Brick-lane, where they entered the house described by the witness, and found Lambert Reading in bed with his girl, ten loaded pistols lying by him, and the greatest part of Mr. Conyers's plate. Both persons and property were secured, and the former carried to Reading's old and familiar lodgings in New-Prison, Clerkenwell, in which gaol, within the last two years, he had been frequently an inmate. It seems this daring invader of the laws had taken the house he was apprehended in but a few days before, and had moved into it only on Monday. He had a brother in Newgate at the time of his committing this robbery, and lost one lately by the gaol distemper.

The aforesaid Lambert Reading was apprehended on Tuesday morning early; examined at Bow-street on Wednesday, and committed to New Prison, Clerkenwell, whence he was removed in a coach and four at five o'clock, on Thursday morning to Chelmsford, where he took his trial, and was convicted the same day. After the trial, the judge told him to prepare for his approaching fate, for that he was to be taken back to prison, and executed on Saturday before two o'clock; and he was executed accordingly.

30th. About noon the inhabitants of Castle-Carey were alarmed by a violent tornado, or hurricane, which in its noise resembled the falling of a large cascade, and in its course carried before it the thatched roofs of houses, the leaves and large branches of trees, &c. so that the atmosphere appeared, as far as the eye could reach, one general scene of confusion, and the people in the streets were forced to catch hold of anything they could, to prevent their being blown away. Sixteen houses suffered more or less, and some were so completely unroofed, that not a straw remained on the rafters: branches of trees, as thick as a man's leg, were blown 100 yards or more; hay-ricks blown away, &c. The hurricane proceeded in a straight line, extending about 40 yards

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yards in breadth, and did not continue above a minute in one place. It began at North-Cadbury, by bursting open the doors, and dashing to pieces the windows at the Sun inn, and thence continued to Galliamptom, Castle-Carey, Ansford, and across the river Bru towards Lamyat, doing more or less damage all the way that it went. When it was near the end of its course, it burst like an explosion more than once, and smoke and fire were perceived several times.

The assembly of the French clergy have voted their monarch a free gift of 20,000,000 livres; and a loan of the like sum is negociating for his Majesty.

About this time, there raged such a famine at St. Jago, and some others of the Cape de Verd islands, that, in St. Jago alone, it is said to have carried off 16,000 of the inhabitants.

31st. This morning an express arrived at the Admiralty-office, with an account of the Endeavour bark, Capt. Cook, being safe arrived off Portsmouth, from the South-Seas.

Among Capt. Cook's discoveries, there was said to be an island in the South-Seas, 160 miles long, and 146 broad; the climate delightful, and the soil of the most luxuriant fertility; sugar-canes, cocoa-trees, cinnamon, and nutmegs, being among the spontaneous growths of it; the natives not numerous, but of a mild and civilized disposition; so as to be thought the most eligible place for establishing a settlement, of any yet discovered, in the late circumnavigations.

All private letters coming with the government's dispatches from America were at this time opened before delivery.

Last week a gentleman of this place went to Dunbar, to dive for the wreck of the Fox man of war, that was lost near that place in the year 1745, with a great deal of money on board. He went down several times the depth of seven fathoms, and continued some minutes under water, but could find no vestige of the wreck.

DIED lately, Mrs. Toulmin, by pricking a whitlow on her finger, which brought on a mortification.

And on the 31st, at Woolwich, ——— Purfleet, Esq; who but two days before came of age, and to the possession of 8000l. a year.

AUGUST.

1st. A fire broke out in the house of Mr. Browning, auctioneer in the Old-Bailey, which burnt furiously, and consumed goods, &c. to the amount of 3000l. It was supposed to have been wilfully set on fire, as some people thought they saw a man coming out of it by a fire-ladder; but, though rewards were several times bid, even by the Lord Mayor of London, no discovery has yet been made of the atrocious offender.

According to annual custom, six young watermen started at the Old Swan to row from thence to the Swan at Chelsea, for Dogget's coat and badge; five of whom belonged to stairs below London bridge, and one above, viz. Lambeth. It was generally allowed to be as good a match as had been known for many years. A man belonging to Iron Gate came in first, and

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and was intitled to the coat and badge; the Lambeth man came in second, who was entitled to 5l. and the third man, who belonged to Horsleydown, was entitled to 3l.

2d. A commission passed the Great-Seal, appointing General Gage Commander in Chief over all North-America.

By letters from Batavia, from the 20th of November last to the 4th of January, they had felt several great earthquakes at that place; the last was the most violent, having thrown down the walls of many houses. The volcano near the Governor-General's country palace had likewise thrown out prodigious flames; and they were in no small fear that much damage had been done in the adjacent country.

The crops of sugar this year in the island of Barbadoes have been so remarkably bad, that thirty-one neighbouring estates made but 6400 pots of sugar, (a pot of sugar weighs about 70 pounds) one of which in a plentiful year is capable of producing a larger quantity.

Some time ago, on the arrival of the Two Sisters, Capt. O'Neale, of Bristol, at Dominica, a chest, containing upwards of 4000l. in Portugal gold, fell overboard as they were putting it into a boat to send it ashore, and was lost in ten fathom water. The money was the property of some merchants at Bristol, but insured. We insert this, as some of our ingenious readers might possibly hit upon some method of recovering it. See our own thoughts on a somewhat similar subject, in an article of intelligence from Rome, of the 29th instant.

3d. An extraordinary match at cricket was played at Moulsey Hurst, between 6 unmarried against the same number of married women; and was won by the former, though one of the latter ran seventeen notches. There were great betts depending.

4th. An address from the General Assembly of Antigua was presented to his Majesty, expressing their gratitude to his Majesty for having sent them a Governor (Sir Ralph Payne), the true representative of his Royal Master: and supplicating the King to render them again happy, by returning him to his government of the Leeward Islands.

Letters from Gibraltar mention a violent shock of an earthquake having lately happened at Tangier, on the coast of Africa, by which a number of houses had been thrown down, several of the inhabitants buried in the ruins, and the walls of the city greatly damaged.

7th. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle gave a magnificent regatta at Oatlands, at which were present his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Amelia.

9th. Capt. Cook, lately returned from the South-Seas, had the honour of presenting his Majesty with several maps and charts, constructed in the course of his voyage.

11th. Arrived at Cadiz from the Havanna, under the command of Rear-Admiral Don Adrian Caudron Cantin, the St. Michael and Astuto, of 70 guns each; and the Urcas Santa Rita, St. Carlos, and St. Joseph; with a treasure of 7,500,000 dollars, and about the value of a million and a half in cochineal and other effects.

About the same time arrived at Lisbon, from the Brazils, a fleet with

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with 1500 octaves of gold, 200,000 crusades of silver, and 80 serons of cochineal, besides other less valuable articles.

13th. The Prince of Anhault Dessau, and his Princess, niece to the King of Prussia, arrived at court, and soon after repaired to Bath, her Highness being advised by her physicians to drink the Bath waters for the recovery of her health.

14th. This morning early a very remarkable and shocking murder was committed, at the George inn at Wanstead, on Epping forest. Mrs. Campin, a widow, the mistress of the said house, had for some time past been courted by a cooper at Limehouse, and they were to have been married on Thursday last; but some objections being made on her part in regard to her settlement, the match was put off: however he went down on Saturday last to renew his addresses, but she told him, "she never would have him;" he notwithstanding continued in the house, and, after all the company were gone, (which was not till between twelve and one o'clock in the morning) they were left together; when, by every circumstance, he first murdered her, by stabbing her through the neck with a large knife; and some time after he laid himself down by her side, and cut his own throat: they being found on the floor together dead in the tap-room, he lying on her arm; she was quite cold, and he, to all appearance, had not put a period to his own existence but a very short time before they were discovered, which was not till between five and six o'clock. And although there were not less than six persons in the house (exclusive of the deceased) at the time this melancholy event happened, not the least noise was heard to alarm them. Two or three days after, the coroner's inquest sat on the bodies, and brought in their verdict, Wilful Murder, by some person or persons unknown.

Last summer, an enormous ball, the size of a common cabbage, was extracted from the large intestine of a stout draught-horse, about eight years old, belonging to one Mr. Truman. It is surrounded with net-work indentures, not much unlike the appearance of a pine-apple. The outside cuts like buff-leather, and appears like it, both to the naked eye and through a glass, excepting in its colour, which is like dirt. The protuberances concentrate, but quickly lose their buff-like contexture in a darker sort of dirt, full of small shining particles. It weighs four pounds and a half in its present dried state; the circular circumference is nearly twenty-one inches, the oblong half an inch more.

The beast was fond of licking dirt from walls, and even from the ground, but was not observed to have any illness till within a month of his death, when he was seized suddenly on the road, and after that time was unable to work, nor voided any excrement, but made urine as usual.

Three or four days before his death, he seemed in uncommon agonies, and beat and tore the ground in a dreadful manner.

It was impossible for the most skilful to know the cause of his illness, and equally impossible to give him relief, had it been known. The above account is given by a gentleman, who signs himself J. Lowe;

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J. Lowe; and who adds, "I should be obliged to any of your correspondents, if they could account for its buff-like texture on its outside, for it does not seem like hair."

15th. A considerable seizure of pieces of handkerchiefs, muslin, and other goods, was made at a coffee-house in the City, by three officers belonging to the customs. They had a constable with them to keep the peace; but, after they had packed up the goods to take them to the Custom-house, the constable insisted that they should go before the Lord Mayor, to shew by what authority they made the seizure. Accordingly they went with the goods, when his Lordship told them that he had no objection to their taking the goods with them to the Custom-house, nor did he doubt their having a deputation; but they must appear before him next day, to give an account by what authority they made the seizure, without a legal warrant from a magistrate in the City. On their appearing next day, his Lordship reprimanded them severely for making the seizure in the City without any legal warrant from a City magistrate; and then, on their promising not to do so for the future, dismissed them.

The Maids of Honour belonging to the Queen's houshold, having presented a petition to the Lord Steward, for a compensation in lieu of suppers, they being seldom at home, his Majesty, being made acquainted therewith, ordered an addition of 70l. per annum to their salaries, which is to take place the first of next month.

By letters from Madrid of this date, Don Domingo de Salcedo, Governor of the fortress of Ceuta, had sent advice to the court, that on the 2d of this month five of the Emperor of Morocco's galliots appeared in the road carrying colours of peace, the commander of which gave him three certificates, by which the consuls of England, Portugal, and Venice at Tangiers declare, 'That that commander had protested in their presence, and in that of a secretary, that the King his master had absolutely forbid him to offend or molest in any shape any Spanish ships he might meet with in his cruise, ordering him on the contrary to give them every assistance.' At the same time that said commander gave these certificates, he declared, 'that the King his master had not only charged him to confirm the contents, but to assure him, that his Majesty of Morocco was more than ever desirous of renewing peace with the king of Spain; and that in consequence he hoped for a favourable answer from his Majesty on that head.' On this advice the King of Spain ordered Don Domingo de Salcedo to give the following answer to the Moorish commander: 'That his Majesty persists in his resolution of not listening to any proposals of peace but what are preceded, on the part of the Emperor of Morocco, by a complete and proportionable satisfaction for the insult offered to the Spanish arms in besieging Melille, contrary to the tenor of a solemn treaty, and against the friendship proposed and agreed to;' and his Majesty orders Don de Salcedo particularly to repeat a former declaration, 'That the war which subsists between Spain and Morocco shall extend by sea as well as by land, so that the Morocco commanders may conduct themselves accordingly,

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accordingly, and not think it strange that they are treated in an hostile manner by the Spanish men of war wherever they meet with them, according to the positive orders which were given them immediately after the rupture between the two powers.'

16th. An information having been given at the Custom-house, of upwards of 3000l. in 36s. pieces, &c. being put on board a ship in the river, for Boston; in consequence thereof, some officers were sent in search of it on board the said ship, seized it, and brought it to the Custom-house.

By a letter from Glasgow, more than half a million of the debts due from America to the merchants of that town had, by the activity and prudence of the store-keepers, been recovered and sent home in the course of a few months past; so that there remained but a trifling sum due from America to Scotland.

17th. A large party of White Boys broke into the house of James Tobin, of Ballycomey, near Castlecomer, blinded him, dragged him out of his bed, and brought him near four miles from his house, naked, to the lands of Johnrothstown, within two miles of Kilkenny, where they slit his ears; and after giving him several strokes with a loaded whip on the head, were going to bury him, till one of the party, more humane than the rest, interfered and dismissed him almost dead, after swearing him not to prosecute any of the party if he knew them. The reason of this treatment was owing to Tobin's serving some processes in that country for tythe-money.

18th. Some sailors, who had been engaged on board a Guineaman, fitting out in one of the docks at Liverpool, having finished the rigging, demanded their wages, at the rate of 30s. per month, for which they had engaged; but were given to understand by the owners, that, as there were plenty of hands to be had, they would give but 20s. upon which they returned on board the vessel, and in a short time cut and demolished the whole of the rigging, and left it on the dock. A party of constables immediately seized nine of the principals, and brought them before the magistrates, who committed them to prison; upon which a great number of sailors, supposed to be upwards of 2000, armed with handspikes, clubs, &c. proceeded to the gaol, the windows of which they soon destroyed: upon this the riot-act was read to them; which having no effect, as they were determined to rescue their companions, or destroy the gaol, eight of them were accordingly dismissed, with whom they marched off in triumph; but, upon mustering, and finding one had been detained, they instantly returned to the prison, and brought him off, together with a woman who had been also committed for aiding and assisting in the riot; when, after parading and terrifying the inhabitants till near 12 o'clock at night they dispersed, and next morning all was quiet. Some days after, however, there was another rising of the sailors in the same port, in consequence, some will have it, of the slave-trade having been greatly affected by the late order of council for prohibiting the exportation of gunpowder, &c. the sailors out of employment on that account, assembled in a body, threatened

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threatened destruction to the whole town, and had actually got several pieces of cannon, which they fired; but, a party of light-horse being sent for from Manchester, they were soon dispersed, and about forty of them lodged in gaol.

Their High Mightinesses have farther prohibited the exportation of ammunition, &c. from any of the United Provinces to any of the English colonies in America, for the term of one year from this date.

The Pope has at last brought to light the affair of the poison, of which some have pretended that the late Clement XIV. died, and in which they seemed to involve several great ones of Rome, who had a right to have this point cleared up. The Holy Father, by tracing this false rumour back to its source, obtained information, that some minor conventual friars, and among the rest F. Martinelli, Consultor of the Holy Office, had been the authors of it, by giving out, that the late Clement XIV. a short time before his death, had declared to the General of the Minors, that he knew for certain he should die of the poison which had been administered to him, and that he knew the author of this wicked attempt, whom he did not chuse to discover, although it had been represented to him that it was a great sin not to tell his name, in order to prevent repetitions of the same crime. In consequence of this information, the Pope put the F. General of the Friar Minors under an interrogatory, wherein he should declare and depose, whether it were true, as had been rumoured by some of his religious, that he should say, that Clement XIV. some time before his death, had spoken to him of the poison, and named the author of it to him? To which this religious, respectable in every regard, first verbally deposed and declared, that Clement XIV. neither in his life-time nor at his death, had mentioned to him any thing either of the poison or of the author of it. His Holiness, having reserved the verbal deposition, ordered next this worthy General to commit the same to writing, and to sign it, requiring before-hand, that he should swear to tell the truth; which was punctually executed. This deposition, made upon oath, and which is the same with that verbally declared, has been in the hands of the Holy Father, ever since the 27th of July. This General, esteemed for his uprightness, has sworn that he never said to any one that the late Clement XIV. either in his life-time or at his death, had made to him any mention of poison, or of the author of it; and that he could not have said so, because Clement XIV. had never spoken to him on that subject, either in his life-time or at his death; and that it was an imposition to have involved and quoted him the General, in such an affair.

A faithful Copy of the Oath.

"I, underwritten, General of the Conventual Friars, of the order of St. Francis, do solemnly swear, and call God to witness, that Pope Clement XIV. of happy memory, never did say to me, at any period of time whatsoever, that he was ever poisoned, or ever had felt the effects of poison. I also swear, and call God to witness, that I never did say to any one, that he was

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oned, or ever hurt by poison, so me God. Br. Aloysius Maria zoni, General, &c. Signed sealed in the convent of the elve Apostles, this 27th day of 1775."

The reader will find Memoirs he late Pope in our article of racters for this year.]

1. The master of the Rose and Crown, the corner of wning-street, Westminster, in- ling to get cleaned an old mus- which had been a long time led for the security of his house, w out the slugs, as he thought, gave it to a man to fire off the der, which the man did; but, e being a slug left in the gun, ring it, it went into the dining- m of Sir Jeffery Amherst, which lmost opposite; took with it the ss of the window, passed over Sir fery's head as he sat writing, and, r striking against the opposite of the room, fell on the floor. ppily Sir Jeffery had left the dow about five minutes, or he uld have been shot. The land- l and man were sent for; but the umstances being clearly proved, Jeffery forgave them, as he had eived no hurt.

It. About seven o'clock in the evening, in the parish Stone, near Kidderminster, Wor- tershire, there arose a tornado, violent whirlwind, attended with eavy storm of rain and hail, the earance and effects of which re very surprizing and alarming It was first observed to act upon a ge piece of water, belonging to m Baker, Esq; in some parts of ich it raised waves to an amazing ght, and agitated the whole in wonderful manner. A house nding near the water was in- stantly unroofed, and the windows driven in by its force. It then took its course to the northward, and in its way detached the end of a barn, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Jervis, from its foundation; rent the roof of that, and another of Mr. Pratt, of Dunclent; tore off many branches and arms of large trees; and, in its further progress, being obstructed by another barn of the said Mr. Pratt, about half a mile distance from that before mention- ed, it there, to all appearance, vented its greatest force; for, tho' it was a strong building, with a quantity of grain in it, and a wag- gon loaded with barley, the whole was overturned, and removed to a considerable distance from the foun- dation of the building. The tornado then carried a considerable number of corn-sheaves out of one field into another adjoining, and by this time may be supposed to have spent it- self, as no further effect was ob- served. Its whole course seems to have been about a measured mile.

About eight the same evening, in consequence of the late rains, the land water overflowed the banks of the river at Bridge-End, in Glamorganshire, and continued ri- sing till near two in the morning, in such an alarming manner as to break in the windows of the ground- floors of almost all the houses in the place, and in several of them reach- ed up almost to the cieling. It likewise carried away the bridge. The loss was so great and general, throughout the place, as well as the country adjacent, as not to be readily ascertained.

Considerable damage was done to the corn, &c. between Neath and Swansea, by floods produced by the same cause.

A fire

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22d. A fire happened at Abo in Sweden, by which above two hundred houses, and fifteen mills, were consumed; and some lives lost.

23d. A proclamation issued for suppressing rebellion and sedition, which we shall give with the other state papers of this year. And on the 29th it was read in Palace-yard, Westminster, and at Temple-bar, by the Heralds, &c. and at the Royal Exchange, at noon, by one of the Lord Mayor's officers, accompanied only by the common crier. After it was ended, there was a general hiss. The Lord Mayor would not permit the officers to have horses, as usual on such occasions, nor suffer the mace to be carried there.

25th. By letters from Madrid of this date, the Portuguese made an attack upon Monte Video, in the Rio de la Plata, in the month of April last, with a squadron of five ships and some land forces; but our Governor repulsed them, and even sunk one of their ships; and, on occasion of this act of hostility, the Governor of Buenos Ayres raised 11,000 men, part of whom, after incorporating them with 1000 veterans, he intended to employ in defence of that colony, whilst the rest went to attack the Portuguese in theirs of St. Sacrament.

It is very remarkable, that though the squabbles between the Spaniards and Portuguese about these two settlements have been so frequent, so much spoken of, and often so likely to end in an open war between the two nations, we have no account of them worth speaking of, but in Charlevoix's history of Paraguay, written at the recommendation of the late Duke of Orleans, and some time since translated into English by the advice of a gentleman of great eminence in the republic of letters.

At a post assembly of the Sheriffs and Commons of 28th. the city of Dublin, their address to his Majesty having been rejected by the Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen, as inexpedient, it was resolved, That whoever refuses his consent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to undeceive his Majesty, and from which it could be hoped that the effusion of one drop of subjects blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the constitution.

A prosecution has been commenced by Government against the Reverend Mr. Horne, for an advertisement signed by him from the Constitutional Society, respecting the Americans; and all the printers in whose papers it appeared, have been served with notices that the Attorney-General has filed informations *ex officio* against them.

A most audacious robbery 29th. was committed by ten villains, armed with cutlasses, at the counting-house of Messrs. Marshal and Co. brewers, at Shoreditch. After binding the miller, and wounding a drayman, from whom they apprehended opposition, they broke open the counting-house desk, and took from thence a considerable sum of money, with which they got clear off; one of the villains has since been taken.

By letters from Rome of this day they had then ended their third trial of searching in the Tiber, for antiques, &c. and with the same bad success of not a halfpenny profit, though they had this year an

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English chain-pump, that did for its part wonders, in throwing out the water; but it seems all the pumps in the navy would not answer the purpose, as the water leaked in as fast as it was thrown out. Thus, if they made any more trials, it must be in the manner they should have begun by, that is, by scooping up the dirt, as is done in rivers and harbours to keep them clear; but it was presumed they would want a new subscription for it, and that few would contribute after so many unsuccessful trials. We cannot, however, forbear recommending the trial of Doctor Halley's diving bell on the occasion. The leakage, which has hitherto proved so fatal, is in all probability from the bottom. Now, Doctor Halley's diving bell may be cleared of water within a very small way of its lower rim, and this lower rim brought so close to the bottom, if any way even, as to afford the workmen the same opportunity of digging, &c. which they would have in a piece of ground overflowed with water to a small depth. Nay, the bell may be lowered with the same advantages, in pursuit of treasure, into the hole itself, let it be ever so deep, if made large enough for that purpose.

30th. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel arrived at her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia's from Germany.

About twelve at night a post-boy carried a naked lighted candle into one of the stables at the Angel-inn, in Doncaster, and very foolishly stuck it against the wall, till he dressed his horse; when, being wearied with his long day's work, he fell asleep with the halter in his hand, and so continued for upwards of three hours, during which time the candle fell amongst, and set fire to, the litter about him, and some hay in that part of the stable, by which means six good chaise-horses were suffocated

31st. By an order of the Lord Mayor of the 29th, to fall the price of bread half an assize, or one penny in the peck-loaf, the peck-loaf, weighing 17lb. 6 oz. was to be sold this day, for two shillings and four-pence three farthings.

Last week was reaped a field of Siberian wheat, belonging to a gentleman at West-hall, near Methley, in the west riding of Yorkshire. The seed was not sown till the beginning of April, and notwithstanding the extreme drought which followed, turned out an amazing fine crop. This species of wheat was first introduced by his Majesty; and a quantity of it made a present of to an ingenious farmer in Surry, who by slipping and transplanting, raised from one bushel an extraordinary increase, which he distributed among the curious in agriculture throughout the kingdom. This must be a great acquisition to the farmers when it becomes more general, as they will then always have an alternative, whenever the autumn season proves unfavourable for sowing the English wheat. The grain in shape and size is nearly the same with our own; but it is said to yield much finer flour.

The harvest in Flanders proves to be more plentiful this year than for many years past; and throughout the Venetian state, the crops are said to be abundant enough to suffice for the consumption of four years.

At

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At a vestry at Lambeth-church, came under consideration the propriety of charging the Archbishop of Canterbury to the poor's rate, &c. when there appeared 61 for it, and 65 against it.

The prizes of fifteen guineas each for the best compositions in Latin prose, annually given by Richard Croftes, Esq; and the Right Hon. the Marquis of Granby, members of parliament for the university of Cambridge, were this year adjudged to Mr. Sandiford, of Sidney-college, senior bachelor; and to Mr. Mathias, of Trinity-college, and Mr. Seal of Christ-college, middle bachelors.

Canine Madness.

As, when persons have been bit by a dog, that is apprehended to be mad, the dog is generally killed before any one has ascertained his condition; in consequence of which the persons bit continue in a cruel uncertainty; M. Petit, an eminent surgeon in France, has published the following expedient for putting an end to this uneasiness. He rubs the throat, the teeth, and the gums of the dead dog, with a piece of meat that had been dressed, taking care that there be no blood to stain it; and then offers it to a living dog. If the living dog refuses it with crying and howling, the dead dog was certainly mad; but, if the victuals are well received, and eaten, there is nothing to fear.

The mistress of the Crown alehouse, in St. Paul's church-yard, was delivered the 27th instant of two girls and a boy, all living.

Was lately married, viz. the 27th instant, Mr. John Scott, of Denthole, Northumberland, aged 60, four times married; to Mrs. Eleanor Hood, aged 50, thrice married, and mother to 14 children.

Died lately, viz. the 4th instant, in Hatton-street, Mr. —— Houston, the most eminent mezzotinto engraver in England.

The 12th, the rev. and learned M. de Missey, preacher at the French chapel, St. James's.

The 18th, at Evesham, Worcestershire, Mr. Joseph Barnes and Mr. Anthony Warrand, two of the greatest gardeners in Europe.

The 24th, in his 91st year, Mr. Green, of Mount-street, Southwark. He had been in 21 battles, and had received 11 wounds in the service of his country.

The 26th, at Islington, Mr. James Burgh, formerly master of an academy at Newington-green, and author of The Dignity of Human Nature, Political Disquisitions, and several other works.

The 28th, Alderman George Faulkener, of Dublin, remarkable for having been the favourite printer of Dean Swift, and the printer of the Dublin Journal; and for several oddities, all innocent, and some of them of the most beneficial nature.

The 31st, Mr. Fowlis, printer to the Glasgow University; and celebrated for his editions of the Greek and Latin classics; and his encouragement of learned and ingenious men.

Lately, Mrs. Buchy, in Dublin, aged 103.

Lately, Mr. Clayton, in Berkshire, formerly a wealthy farmer, in the 115th year of his age; before he left off farming, he rented one farm 90 years; he retained his

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senses to the last; and has left children and grand children 98, the eldest 82 years old.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Oxford, for the city, three; and for the county, two; were capitally convicted.

At Northampton, two were capitally convicted; one of them, for forgery, was executed; and the other reprieved.

At Winchester, three were capitally convicted.

At Worcester, six were capitally convicted; one for murdering his own child, an infant about a month old, the issue of an unlawful commerce with the girl, whom the parish-officers afterwards forced him to marry,—a custom which must sometimes be productive of much misery, by adding discontent to poverty. The murderer and two of the others suffered; the other three were reprieved.

At Chelmsford, seven were capitally convicted; one of them was Lambert Reading, of whom we have already spoken; and another was Chapman, the coachman to Mr. Conyers, who directed the attempt. He was taken the day Reading was tried, and next day carried to Chelmsford, where he likewise was tried, and, being convicted, received sentence of death.

At Hull, a game-keeper, for shooting at another man was capitally convicted; but reprieved.

At York, nine were capitally convicted; but all reprieved except two, one of whom was Geo. Bulmer, for the murder of his wife, and another for robbing the mail.

It was on the 16th of June Bulmer committed the horrid deed.—As his wife lay asleep in bed, he strangled her by means of a muslin handkerchief which he had twisted in the manner of a cord for that purpose. The handkerchief with which the unhappy woman had been strangled was untwisted, and left round her neck. The persons about her discovering a mark on her neck beneath the handkerchief, which appeared to have been done by some violence, examined the body more carefully, and discovered the whole to be uncommonly black. Alarmed at this and other suspicious circumstances, they sent for the Coroner. In the mean time the husband cut his throat, but missed the windpipe; and a surgeon, being procured, sewed it up. He afterwards attempted to break the stitches, but was prevented, and properly secured: the Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict Wilful Murder. Previous to this, Bulmer had confessed the fact, and the manner of perpetrating it, as before described. He was upwards of 60 years of age; his wife was not much above 30. The cause he assigned for committing this horrid crime was, that he had become connected with another woman.

The man, convicted for having robbed the mail, acknowledged that about ten years ago he had wilfully set a barn on fire; and, while the family was employed in extinguishing the flames, robbed the house of 50l.

The Hertford, Bedford, Carlisle, and county of Nottingham assizes, proved maiden.

At Gloucester, five were capitally convicted.

At

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At Oakham, two were capitally convicted.

At Huntingdon, two were capitally convicted.

At Monmouth, five were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Maidstone, two were convicted of murder and executed. Another was also capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At the above assizes, a bill of indictment was found against twelve ship-wrights, who lately belonged to his Majesty's yard at Woolwich, for unlawfully conspiring and combining together in order to get their wages increased.

At Nottingham town, two were capitally convicted but reprieved.

At Derby, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Leicester, one was capitally convicted.

At Coventry, two were capitally convicted.

At Bury, four were capitally convicted; one of whom, for the murder of his wife, and two for burglary, were left for execution—the other reprieved.

At Warwick, one was capitally convicted.

At Norwich, for the county, three; and for the city, one; were capitally convicted, but were all reprieved.

At Newcastle, two were capitally convicted, and both reprieved.

At Lewes, one was capitally convicted.

At Shrewsbury, two were capitally convicted.

At Durham, three were capitally convicted.

At Croydon, ten were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved. Among those acquitted, was Mrs. Jane Butterfield, accused of having poisoned William Scawen, Esq, and as the case was very curious and interesting, we shall give some account of the trial in our appendix.

At the same assizes, a trial came on between Mr. Cawsey, haberdasher, of Guildford, and Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. to recover the sum of 117l. 6s. for ribands, said to be delivered by Mr. Cawsey, during the late general election in 1774, to Sir Joseph Mawbey's voters: the counsel for the plaintiff were Mr. Lad, M. ——, and Mr. Martyr; for the defendant, Serjeant Glynn, Serjeant Kemp, and Mr. Lucas. Three young ladies were called on the side of the plaintiff, who swore they tied up the cockades, and believed that there were 1996 tied up the first day, and that a letter was accordingly sent the first evening of the election to Sir Joseph, acquainting him with the same. The plaintiff called several other people who had ribands of him, but, as they could not prove that any orders were given by Sir Joseph, their evidence was but of little effect. The plaintiff's witness likewise swore, that 350 cockades were delivered the second day, which made in the whole 2346, which, at 1s. each, amounted to the sum charged; they likewise swore, that, after all the ribands were used in Guildford the first night, they sent to Farnham, and purchased all in that town, for which Mr. Cawsey paid 5l. 12s. 6d. Mr. Serjeant Glynn remarked on their evidence with great judgment and severity, and observed, that, as Sir Joseph's voters did not amount in the whole to more than 1400, the greatest part of whom came

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came from the Borough, Rotherhithe, Lambeth, &c. and all those provided with ribands in town, it was improbable to think, that 2346 ribands could be distributed at Guildford, when Sir Joseph's voters in that town did not amount to more than thirty; he then shewed, that proposals had been made to Mr. Cawsey, either to leave it to three indifferent tradesmen in the town of Guildford, voters against Sir Joseph Mawbey; to pay him for as many ribands as he had in two years, to be proved by his books; or to take 30l. which, valuing the ribands at 9d. each, would be more than in reason could be imagined to be expended, and which sum he had paid into court; all which proposals were refused on the part of Mr. Cawsey. That, as to the idea of his having ribands sufficient in his shop to make up 1996, it was preposterous, as the whole town of Farnham had not more than amounted to 5l. 12s. 6d. The evidence on the side of the plaintiff could by no means be positive, either to the stock of ribands they had in the shop at the time they began, nor the number delivered, as they very frankly owned they were taken away so fast, that they took no account until the second day; (yet they knew the number on the first day to be 1996). The jury were out about half an hour, and brought in their verdict, 'that 29l. was fully sufficient.' Lord Mansfield therefore acquainted the court, that, as Sir Joseph had paid 30l. into court, and a verdict given for only 29l. the verdict of course was for the defendant; which saddled Mr. Cawsey with all the costs.

At Abingdom, three were capitally convicted.

At Hereford, a farmer of considerable property in the neighbourhood of Cardiff, was capitally convicted of plundering a wreck on the Glamorganshire coast, and received sentence of death.

At Cambridge, John Stickwood, for the wilful murder of Andrew Nunn, was convicted and executed. James Stickwood, the brother, was admitted evidence for the King, and his deposition circumstantially corresponded with his examination taken before the coroner. The criminal, after his condemnation, made an ample confession of the fact, and solemnly protested that his brother James, whom he said he sincerely forgave, was the first instigator of the robbery and murder; that he was equally culpable, and helped to strip the body of the deceased. James, however, was discharged by proclamation.

At Exeter, one was capitally convicted for murder, but recommended for mercy.

At Wells, Reginald Tucker was capitally convicted for the murder of his wife, one of the finest women in that country; and suffered accordingly.

At Lincoln, William Farmery was tried, condemned, and executed, for the murder of his own mother. All that he would confess was, that his spite against his mother was because she corrected him when he was a little boy. However it appears, that, having some words with his mother in the morning, on which he committed the fact, he went out, and whetted his knife very sharp; and then, coming into his own room, where his

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his mother was making his bed, he stuck her in the throat, as a butcher does a sheep, and then left her weltering in her blood. Upon his examination he owned the fact, and even that he had determined to murder her three years ago. He said further, that, while he slept in the round-house (where he was at first confined), he felt something move within him, and; when he awaked, his mother's shade passed before him. The above unhappy criminal was twenty-one years of age; and had been put apprentice to a shoe-maker at Leasingham.

At Wells, an action brought against the returning officer at the late general election for Taunton, came on in the morning, and lasted till four the next morning; when the jury, which was special, withdrew for about an hour, and then delivered a verdict at the judge's lodgings in favour of the defendant.

At Salisbury, three actions came against an agent to one of the candidates at the late Hindon election, who gave money to the electors through a hole in the wall; when, the charge being fully proved in every instance, the defendant was fined 1500l. conformable to the statute.

At Stafford, four were capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved.

At Dorchester, Mr. Mortimer prosecuted the following persons, for notoriously bribing, and endeavouring to bribe, at the last election for members for Shaftesbury, and recovered damages in every action, viz. Mr. P. Brown 500l. Mr. John Good 1000l. Mr. J. R. Everett 500l. Mr. R. Hunt, 500l. Mr. R. Gough 500l. Mr. R. Buckland 1500l.

In the course of the evidence, the whole story of punch and his associates was rehearsed, and afforded great entertainment.

Four actions were entered against Mr. Mortimer's friends, one of which was tried; when, a verdict being given for the defendant, Mr. Parker, the records of the other three were withdrawn.

Four persons who had been subpœnaed to give evidence did not appear when called upon, and were fined 100l. each.

Mr. Mortimer had many more actions of the like kind to bring, but said he would not trouble the county with them.

SEPTEMBER.

Five horses in a waggon, drawing home a load of barley, at Windrush, in Gloucestershire, about four miles from Burford, in Oxfordshire, were struck dead by lightning. The boy that drove the team, and a woman upon the mow in the barn, were struck down, but escaped further injury. The flashes of lightning were continued, and extremely tremendous, the thunder uncommonly loud, and the rain which accompanied the storm was so heavy as to be productive of many sudden inundations; there being immediately a flood both on the Cherwell and Isis. The river Cherwell overflowed all the pastures near Marston, Sucot, Wood-Eaton, Islip, and many other places. Magdalen College water-works, Merton fields, Christ's Church meadows, Hinksey, Isley, Kennington, Standford, &c. were one entire scene of water. In the parish of St. 5th.

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St. Thomas, west of Oxford, the inhabitants were obliged to remove to the second floor, the water being nearly up to the first story; where their food and necessaries were conveyed to them by boats, while part of their houshold furniture was floating in the street. The cattle, in some places, stood up to their bellies in water, and many of the roads leading to Oxford were rendered impassable.

7th. Several gentlemen from Dublin having lately waited on the Right Hon. John Wilkes, Esq. Lord Mayor of this city, at the Mansion House, with the resolution of the guild of merchants of Dublin, to present him the sincere thanks of that guild, "for the essential services, they say, which he has rendered to his king and country, by his strenuous efforts in the cause of freedom, and for his defence of the rights of the people to petition the throne &c." the Lord-Mayor expressed his thanks for the honour done him by so respectable a body; and desired the gentlemen to transmit the same, most humbly, to the masters, wardens, and brethren of the guild of merchants.

At the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy at Newcastle, the collection at church amounted to 23l. which, with 449l. subscription, was distributed to 55 indigent widows, sons, and daughters of clergymen, according to their several necessities.

Their High Mightinesses the States General have prohibited the exportation of ammunition from any of the United Provinces to any of the British colonies for one year.

The Prussians now stopt all vessels destined for Dantzick, whether coming in or going out, and insisted on their unloading before they enter the Fahr-Wasser, and paying the custom-house duties, piece by piece, of their cargoes; but none of the burghers of that unhappy place, nor any foreign masters, had, as yet, consented to this; chusing rather to go back with their lading, than submit to such an exaction. In consequence of this and other grievances, the city of Dantzick was now going to ruin apace. Those of the inhabitants who were worth any thing, were daily getting away with their effects; while those who had nothing to lose, exclaimed loudly against the oppression they laboured under. Application had been made to different powers to intercede in their favour, but they met with nothing but pity. In the mean time, the city was said to be blocked up by the Prussians, and that they had cut off all its communications.

His Swedish majesty, in order to reduce the exorbitant price of provisions, has ordered a bounty to be given to such farmers as shall bring the greatest quantities of provisions to market.

8th. Between ten and eleven at night, the shock of an earthquake was very sensibly felt at Bath, Worcester, Salisbury, Dorchester, Shrewsbury, Trow-bridge, Aynho in Northamptonshire, Swansea in Wales, Gloucester, Evesham, Coalbrook Dale, Wellington, Wolverhampton, Brewood, and many others, especially the intermediate places. In some places this shock was preceded by a violent storm of rain; in others, accompanied with a very close and hot atmosphere. In some places, again,

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again, it lasted but two or three seconds; in others it is represented as having been of some continuance. Though not attended with any desultory noise, many both in bed and out, and in the upper and lower rooms of their houses, were affected with a violent horizontal agitation or percussion, especially those in bed and above stairs. Several persons perceived their windows shake, and their seats move under them! and most of those who felt it ran out of their houses, for fear of their tumbling about their ears. It proved most violent at Swansea, in Glamorganshire, where several chimnies were thrown down, some houses cracked, and others tumbled in, through the violence of the shock.

11th. At St. John's, and other places, in Newfoundland, there arose a tempest of a most particular kind—the sea rose on a sudden 30 feet; above seven hundred boats, with all the people belonging thereto, were lost, as also eleven ships with most of their crews. Even on shore they severely felt its effects, by the destruction of numbers of people; and for some days after, in drawing the nets ashore, they often found twenty or thirty dead bodies in them; a most shocking spectacle? At Harbour Grace, no fewer than three hundred boats were lost.

14th. A baker was convicted before the Lord Mayor for having in his house 120 lb. weight of allum; and fined 10l.

The Charming Nancy, with General Gage's Lady, and one hundred and seventy sick and wounded soldiers and officers, arrived from Boston at Plymouth; all in great distress, though but twenty four days on their passage. They sailed from Boston the 20th of August, at which time nothing material had happened, except a notification being posted up; signifying, that such inhabitants as were desirous of quitting Boston might give in their names to the Town-Major, and receive a licence so to do. This, it was supposed, was owing to the scarcity of provisions, by which Gen. Gage was reduced to the necessity of supplying the people from the king's stores, or suffering them to perish.

A few of the men came on shore, when never hardly were seen such objects! some without legs, and others without arms; and their clothes hanging on them like a loose morning gown, so much were they fallen away by sickness and want of proper nourishment. There were moreover near sixty women and children on board; the widows and children of the men who were slain. Some of these too exhibited a most shocking spectacle; and even the vessel itself, though very large, was almost intolerable, from the stench arising from the sick and wounded, for many of them were hardly cured yet. Two more transports were daily expected with invalids, who sailed from Boston with the above. It was a great hardship on this occasion, though perhaps the nature of the service cannot immediately relieve it, for the men to remain on board till an order from the war-office arrived for their debarkation, especially as the vessel was obliged to go up into Hammoaze to get in a new mainmast, from thence to proceed for the river with the invalids, in order for their examin

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tion for Chelsea-Hospital. As to the widows and orphans, who came home in the above ship, a subscription was set on foot in four or five days after their arrival, by Mess. Jardines, merchants at Plymouth, which by the 22d amounted to an hundred and four pounds, and next day was distributed at the Guildhall, according to their several necessities.

15th. An ordinance of this date has been published at Vienna, extending to all the hereditary states, which greatly diminishes the right of asylum in churches, cloysters, and other holy places, and deprives the following malefactors of any such benefit, viz. All blasphemers; those who have committed murders in churches and sacred places; robbers of churches or holy utensils; those guilty of premeditated murders; highway robbers; those who spoil or steal the produce of the country; all assassins and their accomplices; those guilty of high treason or rebellion; all false coiners; all who counterfeit the seal or signature of the sovereign; those who poison the wells or public reservoirs; all who take unlawful advantages of a fire, inundation, or shipwreck; those who plunder the public money; and all persons guilty of rapes, &c. those guilty of any of the abovementioned crimes, who may have escaped out of prison; all bankrupts; deserters; and those who assassinate any one employed under the sovereign. Moreover, by the name of asylum no places are to be understood but those, in which the holy sacrament is kept.

The judge is authorised to reclaim any prisoner that may have taken refuge there improperly from the director of the place, without consulting any other superior ecclesiastic, and in case of refusal the judge may take up the criminal.

16th. A vessel coming up the river happened to run her head on shore; when the stern swinging round squeezed a boat, in which were three men and a woman, besides the waterman, between her and another vessel. The boat was staved to pieces; one man was killed; the woman was so much hurt that there is no hope of her recovery; the waterman had both his legs broke; and the other two men were drowned.

There was a rising of the people at Malta, headed by an ecclesiastic who, taking advantage of the absence of the gallies and the men of war, and being joined by some soldiers, seized on a bastion of the castle of St. Elmo, and another in the habitation of Castille. Their intention was to destroy the magazine of powder, and make a general pillage wherever they could. But, by the timely resolution of the Grand Master, assisted by several knights and burghers, it was put a stop to; and the three most culpable, one of them a priest, being executed, and a general pardon issued to the rest, tranquillity was immediately established.

18th. In the afternoon a recruiting party beating a drum in the Old Bailey, and the sound alarming the court, the recorder ordered the drummer to be taken into custody. Mr. Payne, the constable, went immediately, and took the drummer near Newgate, and brought him into court. Upon his being asked by the recorder, how he dared to attempt to beat his drum there? he replied, the serjeant

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serjeant ordered him; but on his begging pardon, and promising never to offend again, he was dismissed. Soon after Mr. Payne had brought in the drummer, the city marshals brought in the serjeant, who pleading ignorance, and making the same promise as the drummer, was discharged, after receiving a sharp reprimand.

Within these few days, the government contracted with Mr. Mellish to supply the troops at Boston with a very considerable number of oxen, and 14,000 sheep, the largest and fattest that can be procured.—Several of the oxen, and 4000 of the sheep, were to be sent over immediately alive, and the remainder as soon as they could be purchased. They likewise contracted with Felix Calvert and Henry Thrale, Esqrs. for 5000 butts of strong beer each; Mr. Slade, for 5000 chaldron of coals; Mr. Duffey, of Tooley-street, for a very large quantity of potatoes; all for the same purpose; nay, a quantity of faggots have been shipped on board several transports at Deptford. Happily there was a very large fleet of colliers in the river, or the above extensive contract might have greatly enhanced the price of coals, as they were all taken at the market price.

19th. The sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when two convicts, for returning from transportation; one, for traiterously making a mould to coin shillings; ten, two of them women, for highway robberies; two women, for stealing fifty-one guineas and seven half-guineas, from Alex Hanna, a foreigner, at a house on Salt-petre Bank; and one, for horse-stealing, received sentence of death; thirty-eight, to be transported for seven years; and one, for fourteen years; one, to be branded in the hand; seven privately whipped; and 45 were discharged by proclamation.

And on the 26th of October the two criminals, for returning from transportation; the man, convicted of having made the mould to coin shillings; and one of the highwaymen; were executed at Tyburn.

20th. In the afternoon, a most violent storm of rain and hail, accompanied with more dreadful thunder and vivid lightning than had ever been remembered by the oldest person living, fell in Oxford and Salisbury, and other places in their neighbourhood. Several streets were overflowed; the lightning was almost one continued flash for two hours: the south-western firmament, in particular, frequently appeared one vast expanse of fire. At Oxford, among other effects less remarkable, the lightning, entering the garret of Mr. Stevens's house, in Holiwell-street, stript the plaister both within and without above a yard square, and likewise tore off the plaister from the ceilings of the other rooms, leaving the timbers and laths uninjured; and in Dr. Boucher's garden, the corner of the same street, perforated the ground about three feet deep, and eighteen inches wide.

And the next morning, about ten, there arose such another storm of thunder and lightning at Leeds in Yorkshire; in which four or five persons, and some cattle, were killed by the lightning.

22d. Being the anniversary of their Majesties coronation, the same was observed with uncommon demonstrations of joy.

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The illuminations at the French ambassador's were the grandest ever known on the occasion.

23d. The ship Jupiter, from Dunstaffnage Bay, with 200 emigrants on board, chiefly from Argyleshire, set sail for North Carolina, declaring that the oppressions of their landlords were such as they could no longer submit to. On the other hand, we are assured, that a nobleman, who has large possessions in a part of Lancashire bordering upon Westmoreland, having been some time ago offered 1000l. per annum (clear of all expences) above what he now receives annuallo for his estates there, he mildly rejected the proposal by a reply, weich deserves to be recorded: "My rents (said he) are honestly "paid: I wish to see all my te-"nants prosper; and I desire no "more."

On opening the theatre in Drury-lane this evening, for the first time this season, it appeared more like a new than an old theatre, in consequence of the great alterations made in it during the last summer. The new front is simple and elegant, and considerably improved by the addition of eight grand lamps. The most useful alterations within doors consist in the heightening of the ceiling twelve feet; the removal of all the old side boxes, top and bottom, and substituting others on a larger scale, supported by light elegant pillars; the addition of different passages to the upper and lower boxes, and spacious entrances from Bridges-street to every part of the house; with directions, in large letters, to each. The chief ornamental improvements within doors consist of numberless decorations, which cannot fail to strike the beholder. The roof is covered with a circular painting, finely executed, and remarkable for its well-studied simplicity. The light airy pillars that support the upper boxes, galleries, &c. are inlaid with plate-glass on green and crimson ground, which being finely contrasted, afford a happy and elegant effect. Around each of these are some pretty fancied open paintings, with various borders, which, together with the crimson spotted lining of the boxes, and the light festoon curtain painted underneath the whole, relieve them finely. The stage doors, for united elegance and delicacy, are superior to any thing of the kind we have seen or heard of in this country. The old chandeliers are taken down; those on the sides are replaced by neat gilt branches on the pillars, holding two candles each; in the front are four new chandeliers, of a more light and fashionable construction; and there is no slit to be in the new curtain.—The alterations, as well within as without, are such, in short, as do great honour to the taste of Mr. Adam, the artist who designed them, and the spirit of the managers, who have now converted an old barn into the most splendid and complete theatre in Europe.

At a meeting of Middlesex justices, at Hicks's Hall, 24th. it was unanimously agreed to address his Majesty, to express their readiness to support such measures as should be thought expedient to reduce the colonies to a proper sense of their duty.

At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of 25th. Middlesex, in order to consider what measures were proper to be adopted in the present crisis, much clamour,

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clamour arose; a set of instructions, however, was produced and read, to be presented to the county members; but a protest was made against them, and very little unanimity was observed throughout the whole. The sheriffs differed in opinion, and one of them only, Alderman Plomer, signed all the resolutions.

Prince Czartoryski has not only granted leave for two churches to be built on his estates in Poland for the dissidents, but has given 80,000 Polish florins towards the expence of erecting them. At the same time, several of the cities in Poland, particularly Warsaw, Cracow, and Rawa, are taking very severe measures to expel the Jews; but the latter, by building houses for themselves near the bounds of these cities, give the merchants settled in them just reason to fear, that they will, by their activity and diligence, be of as much detriment to them there, as before within their walls.

26th. A detachment of 400 foot, and a troop of horse, under Col. Luttrell, attended by Justice Sweeney, were sent to Rush, near Dublin, to seize the ringleaders in some late disturbances there; but, though they secured every avenue to the place, not a man was to be found: the women and children only remained, who, on the appearance of the army, uttered dismal shrieks and cries, though the Colonel and Justice used every means to pacify them. At last, however, seeing four men enter into a house, the soldiers surrounded it, and followed them; but, notwithstanding the most diligent search, no person was to be found. It was then suspected they had escaped through some subterraneous passage, the entrance of which was in vain sought for. Just after this they were again confirmed in their opinion of some subterraneous hiding place being near them, by the following circumstance: a trooper's horse happening to neigh, a moment after they heard a horse under ground neigh several times. Upon this they renewed their search, but could not find the aperture which led to the place where this beast was concealed. They found, however, a cavern so capacious, that 100 soldiers entered it. In this, and buried in the sand, were found eighteen bags, and three casks of tea; two barrels of gunpowder; one box of musquet-cartridges, and one of bullets. The wherries and cutters were then searched, and a number of carriage and swivel guns taken out of them; as also a great quantity of muskets, carbines and cutlasses.

There was a hearing of 27th. two hours before the Lord-Mayor, relative to a paragraph lately inserted in a morning paper, which it was thought reflected on his Lordship as a magistrate. Two gentlemen who were supposed to be the authors of it appeared, and brought with them Counsellor Lucas, who attempted to justify his clients. It appeared on the hearing, that the two gentlemen a few days ago hired a pair of oars to go to Woolwich, and agreed to give them seven shillings; they were not to stay a long time there: however, the gentlemen dined, and afterwards ordered the watermen to take them further down the river, and put them on board a ship, where they waited; they then directed them to take in some goods, and kept them late: when they returned home, the watermen demanded 14s. which the gentlemen

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paid, but summoned them to Waterman's hall, for taking more than they agreed for; but, as the gentlemen exceeded the bounds of their agreement, they could not obtain any redress there. Upon this they took the watermen before the Lord Mayor, who was of opinion that the affair did not lie before a magistrate; but that, if they were injured, they should seek their remedy at common law, and thereupon dismissed the watermen. Nothing material was said in support of the insinuation against the Lord Mayor; and his Lordship told the gentlemen, that, if they had not reflected on his character as a magistrate, he should have taken no notice of it; but, if they thought he had not done them justice, he was willing to answer them in any court of law they thought proper.

One Thomas Bell was charged before the magistrates, in Bow-street, with an intended forgery on the bank of Scotland. He first applied to a paper maker to make him a quantity of paper with the words *Bank of Scotland* wrought in it, and afterwards to an engaver to get a plate exactly imitating that of a Scots bank note, which he produced. This done, he produced the paper to have 700 copies wrought off; but Mr. Mackey, the engraver, having previously acquainted Mr. Kinloch, agent for the bank of Scotland, with every step taken, Bell was apprehended and committed to prison in order to take his trial. Though but a young man, he was some time ago imprisoned for a similar offence, but released for want of sufficient evidence.

Was held a special court of the East-India Company, when Mr. Roberts, who filled the chair, acquainted the court, that advices of consequence had been received from Bengal; that an unfortunate disagreement had taken place between the members of the supreme council; but that it would be necessary to arrange the papers relative thereto, before a clear state of the case could be laid before the proprietors. He said further, that great disturbances prevailed among the Moratto powers; that Hyder Ally had taken advantage of those troubles, and acquired considerable increase of power and territory. He also read letters from Bombay, in which an account was given of the taking of the islands of Salset and Ceringa; and that, in storming the fort of Tanna, which defended the former, Commodore Watson was mortally wounded.

In consequence of an information given of a considerable quantity of contraband goods being lodged at a house in Buckridge-street, St. Giles's, Mr. Phillips, a Custom-house officer, attended by a number of peace-officers, and a file of musqueteers from the Savoy, went in search of the goods; and, in one room where they got entrance, they found a bag and eight pounds of tea, which were lodged in the Custom-house. Immediately after the officers and guards had left the house and got into the street, they were fired at several times from the mob, and pelted with brick-bats, &c. but no person received the least hurt from this outrage but Mr. Phillips, who had his nose cut by a piece of glass bottle. Not content with this, the mob followed them; and, after pelting, fired at them; on which the guard returned, and discharged their musquets among the mob; when some, it was said, were

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were killed and wounded. One of the ringleaders of the gang was taken before the magistrates of Litchfield-street, who committed him to Newgate.

Notwithstanding a great drought, occasioned by the summer heats in Sweden, it has been observed, that on the top of the highest mountain in Scania, called Kina Kulle, they have had a continued successive abundance of flowers, of the greatest lustre, whilst those at the bottom of the same mountain, and in the surrounding meadows, were totally burnt up. These heats were likewise attended with very great storms in almost every province of the same kingdom; and, what was much worse, occasioned fevers which prevailed for some weeks, and have carried off vast numbers in the capital, and many other parts.

28th. About eleven o'clock at night, a fire broke out at a turner's in Russel-street, Covent-Garden, which burnt with great fury, and consumed seven houses and damaged several others, before it was extinguished. Two persons were supposed to have perished in the flames.

His majesty has been pleased to recommend to the care of the regency of Hanover the succession of the late Queen Matilda of Denmark, for the advantage of her children. In consequence of which, the regency have charged the Baron de Seckendorff with the administration of that succession.

29th. At a meeting of the livery of London in common hall, the Lord Mayor informed them that he had received a letter from the congress at Philadelphia. Mr. Stavely moved, that the letter should be entered on the records of the city, and the motion was received with only about a dozen dissenting hands. Mr. Stavely next moved, and his motion was carried unanimously, that it should be signed by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Town Clerk, and printed in the public papers. [We shall give the letter in our Appendix.]

Some weeks ago, a mason and his labourer, having been employed in pulling down Fenwick tower, near Stamfordham, in Northumberland, found, between the floor and the arch, a considerable number of gold pieces, of the coin of Edward II. and III. But quarrelling over their cups about dividing the booty, it came to the ears of Sir Walter Blackit, who, as lawful owner, demanded the same, and received from one 80, and from the other 35 pieces. They are about the size of a thirty-six shilling piece, and as fresh as if just come out of the mint.

Christopher Nicholson, of Balrath, in Ireland, who died some time since, has bequeathed 850l. to Sir Edward Newnham for his public conduct; 350l. to John Wilkes, Esq; and 100l. and his hounds to Meath hospital.

DIED, the 17th instant, Captain Thomas Forbes, of the royal navy, aged 102, at Harwich.

OCTOBER.

1st. Their Royal Highnesses the Princes Ernest and Augustus, with the Princess Elizabeth, were inoculated for the small-pox.

3d. At Haddington in Scotland, a heavy rain came on, which swelled the river Tyne so much, that it overflowed the east end of the town, and threatened the destruction of the whole. It rose eight feet perpendicular. The

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people were in the utmost consternation, some wading up to the armpits to escape, and others climbing up the roofs of the houses. The cries of women and children were dreadful; houses, bridges, mills, and furniture of all sorts, were seen floating together, and much cattle were carried off by it.

Notice was given from the Excise office, that there were now in circulation counterfeit guineas, dated 1775, which nearly resemble those issued from the mint, and bear their full weight, distinguishable only by a fainter impression of the die on the arms side, a pale reddish colour, and by a more acute tinkling sound in sounding them.

4th. The following edict was signed by the King of Denmark:

WE, Christian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, &c. Whereas his Majesty the King of Great-Britain has desired us to forbid our subjects giving any manner of assistance to the inhabitants of North-America, who are engaged in open war against England, and we being disposed to comply with this friendly requisition; therefore we will and enjoin, by these presents, all our subjects, whether traders or others, not to presume, till our pleasure be farther made known, to send, for the purpose of traffic, either for their own accounts, or that of others, unto our islands and colonies in America, on board ships carrying our flag, or provided with our sea-passports, any ammunition, or other commodities whatever serving for warlike armaments, and considered as articles of trade; or to take part in any such contraband trade, which is disagreeable to us, and liable to many misfortunes to themselves: the whole on pain of arbitrary and severe punishment for those who shall presume to infringe this our gracious ordinance.

To which all and singular our custom-house officers, in our kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and in our principalities, as also our governor-general, regency, and council, in our West-India islands, are respectfully to conform themselves, and by so doing will be indemnified for all damages.

Given under our royal hand and seal, in our royal castle of Fredensburgh, the 4th of October, 1775.

CHRISTIAN R.

(Countersigned)

Molke *Proctorius.*
Erichsen *Trant.*

6th. This morning, about one o'clock, a fire broke out at a block-maker's near Rotherhithe church, which consumed that, a sail-maker's adjoining, and seventeen other houses, besides workshops, warehouses, large quantities of timber belonging to boat-builders, &c. The flames spread so fast, by large quantities of combustibles being in the warehouses, that most of the inhabitants lost all their goods, &c. and with difficulty saved their lives. It burnt down to the water-side, and several vessels were unmoored to save them from the flames. At the first breaking out no water could be got for near an hour. Two engines were continually kept playing on the church, as it was in danger of taking fire, and several of the stones in the steeple cracked by the excessive heat.

10th. The parliament of Ireland met.—[We shall give the speeches, addresses and answers, on this

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this occasion, in our article of State-Papers.]

12th. Joannes Baptista Pele, a native of Genoa, was executed at Lisbon, for having plotted against the life of the Marquis of Pombal. He was drawn in quarters by four horses, after having his hands chopt off; and afterwards burnt to ashes. The villain had been there some time under pretence of learning to paint, and had taken the upper part of a house, where he was every night visited by three men with long cloaks, slouched hats, and armed. Their design was to put a box full of gunpowder under the seat of the marquis's state-coach, in which he was to appear in public at the putting up of the statue of his Majesty. They had contrived it so as to contain a match which would burn some time before it set fire to the powder. All the preparations for this villainous plot, together with several letters and papers, and the models of the keys of the coach-house, belonging to the Marquis, were found in the rooms of the miscreant, who was first detected by a physician, who lived in the under part of the house, and had found a note on the stairs, which first raised his suspicion. Pele was thereupon immediately taken up; but, though the above-mentioned proofs were brought against him, he persisted to the last in his innocence. It is even reported, that, though he suffered the ordinary and extraordinary torture, from the beginning of his tortures to his dying moment, not so much as a sigh escaped from him.

The King of Prussia has given proofs to the Poles that they have lost nothing by changing masters. His Majesty's first act of benevolence to his new subjects was a gift of 1,500,000 crowns, to build 200 villages in that part of Poland which fell to his share.

The deplorable situation of the city of Dantzick, seems to interest the republic of Poland very seriously; in consequence of which complaints have been made to the ministers residing at Warsaw from Vienna, Petersburg, London, and Copenhagen, of the behaviour of the court of Berlin to that place, with a request to them to engage their respective courts to employ their good offices with his Prussian Majesty, on the present melancholy occasion.

By a memoir lately published at Brussels, concerning the commerce established some time since, between Trieste and Ostend, it appears that the funds destined to carry it on amount to 3,400,000 florins issuing from the effects of the former society, and 500,000 florins in different manufactures. The remaining million and half is to be divided into actions, of which the Baron Fries is said to have already taken 500,000 florins.

19th. In the evening, one of the most dreadful storms arose that has ever been remembered, accompanied with a great fall of rain, which raised the rivers in many places to an unusual height. This storm continued at Leeds, in Yorkshire, for thirty-six hours, without the least intermission, and became in the highest degree alarming to the inhabitants, hundreds of whom durst not lie down in their beds the first night, and many deserted their houses, expecting nothing less than to find them in ruins the next morning. The succeeding night proved equally alarming:

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the prodigious quantity of rain which fell, being driven down the river, exhibited the most shocking scene that can be imagined, the whole neighbourhood being under water: large quantities of grain deposited in warehouses were washed away; cloth was in some places torn from off the tenters; in others, the cloth and tenters were carried away together; several dwelling-houses and dye houses suffered greatly, the dyeing-vats being torn out of their places; the pavement in the street broken up; walls, thrown down; cows, horses, sheep, &c. forced into the river and drowned: but, shocking as the foregoing accounts are, those from the neighbouring parts were a great deal more so; Swillington, Calverley, and Otley bridges, thrown down; large stacks of grain, a large quantity of coals at Wakefield, and 1000 cart-loads of Flockton coals, swept away from near Ferrybridge; the driver and seven horses belonging to Cave's London waggon, lost near Wakefield bridge, &c. Immense damage was done upon the sea-coasts where the gale lasted about forty-eight hours. At Liverpool, houses were unroofed, chimnies thrown down, small craft sunk in the river, and no less than fifteen ships driven on shore, or bulged against the rocks, and most of their crews perished. Two packets from Parkgate to Dublin, one the Nonpareil, Davis; the other the Trevor, Tottie, foundered; and every soul on board perished. Among the passengers were Major Caulfield, (brother to the Earl of Charlemont) his lady, (the only child of the Right Hon. the Lord Eyre) and family, and several other respectable persons. What rendered the fate of most of those who perished on board one of these packets still more lamentable was, the Captain's being obliged, in a manner, to put to sea against his own opinion, by one of the passengers who happened to be in a greater hurry to get to Dublin than the rest.—At Holyhead, the destruction was equal; no less than five ships were wrecked within a few miles of the harbour; and a packet-boat bound to it from Dublin, foundered at sea, with 36 passengers on board, several of them young gentlemen, the hopes of their families, who were coming to England to study the law.—Another packet-boat, the Clement, Capt. Taylor, bound from Dublin to Holyhead, was at sea all the time the storm continued; but though Capt. Taylor had many passengers, carriages, and horses on board; and perceived many vessels foundering, others driving with the wind and tide without a creature on board, yet, with God's assistance, the goodness of his vessel, the knowledge of himself and crew, he landed all his passengers at Holyhead the morning the storm ceased, after having been tossed to and fro for eight-and-forty hours.—The accounts from the North of Scotland were equally deplorable; pieces of wreck, and dead bodies, being hourly seen floating on the waves.

20th. The fort of Chamblee, in Canada, surrendered, by capitulation, to a party of Americans, commanded by Major Browne.

A melancholy accident happened in the family of Mr. Gardner, St. Bennet's Hill, Doctor's Commons; a cat that was shut up in a room where three of his children slept, went mad, flew into the bed, and bit them all. Mr. Gordon, on hearing

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hearing their cries, went up to the room, on entering which, the cat flew at him likewise, and bit him in the leg. A man going by, and hearing the cries of the children, rapped at the door, and enquired the cause; and being informed, and admitted into the house, he attempted to kill the cat, when she flew at him likewise, and fastened on his throat. They all went to the salt water to be dipped.

21st. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when eleven prisoners, together with a woman (convicted in September sessions) received sentence of death; twenty one, to be transported for seven years; nine branded in the hand, six of whom are also to be imprisoned one year in Newgate; three privately whipped; and sixteen, discharged by proclamation.

Among the capital convicts was one for the wilful murder of his brother-in-law, who was executed on the 23d. While in the Press-yard, he confessed the murder; said, it was a family quarrel, and his being very passionate, that was the occasion of his committing the rash action. He was about 30 years of age, and behaved at the place of execution with that decency which became his unhappy situation. After execution, he was carried to Surgeon's Hall for dissection. And, on the 20th of December following, seven out of the remaining ten, among them a woman for burglary, were executed at Tyburn.

23d. Stephen Sayre, Esq; having been accused, by an information upon oath, of high treason, was this day taken into custody, and after having been examined by the Earl of Rochford, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, was committed prisoner to the Tower. *London Gazette.* [We shall give an account of the further proceedings in this affair in the Appendix.]

The poems for Seaton's prize, at Cambridge, for the years 1774 and 1775, both of which had for their subject Duelling, were adjudged to Charles Peter Laynard, M. A. of St. John's college, and Samuel Hayes, M. A. of Trinity college.

26th. His Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, attended by the Duke of Ancaster and Lord Bruce, and opened the session of Parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne; which, along with the addresses of both Houses on occasion of this speech, and the answers to these addresses, we shall give with the other state-papers.

27th. The Sheriffs of London put a petition from the Common Council to the House of Lords into the hands of a noble Peer, who presented the same to that House; and then presented, themselves, the same petition, with only the variation of address, at the bar of the House of Commons.

Was launched, at Woolwich, his Majesty's ship the Bedford, of 74 guns, supposed to be the highest seasoned ship in the navy. She is the third ship whose materials have been hardened and seasoned under the inspection of Humphrey Jackson, Esq; F. R. S. by order of the Lords of the Admiralty. The durability of ships of war depends principally upon the high dried state of the timber; by Mr. Jackson's invention it becomes perfectly seasoned in half the usual time. This is effected by introducing certain matters into the pores of the wood, which speedily dry up the internal sap-juices, and which can-

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not be redissolved by any water: consequently the ship remains perfectly dry in moist, foggy weather, which is the reverse when salts are used to preserve wood, which always re-dissolve, corrode the iron, render the timber damp, and prejudicial to the health of seamen. Ships of war in general last only 12 or 14 years: it is supposed the durability will be increased to 20 years by this discovery; but this remains to be confirmed by experience. It is undeniable, however, that thro' the superior dry state of this prepared timber, the Intrepid of 64 guns, launched five years ago, and lately returned from the East-Indies, where she was sent purposely on trial, has been examined and reported to the Navy-board as perfectly sound, although she proved leaky by running a-ground on her homeward passage. And it is no less certain, that the Intrepid and Acteon frigates at launching proved more buoyant than two other ships exactly under similar circumstances, the former drawing one inch and half, and the latter one inch less water, by which acquisition they were enabled to stow thirty-five tons more provisions, &c. than any other ships of similar scantling; a circumstance of no small importance, where a long voyage produces a scanty allowance to the mariner. A great number of large vats, and other brewing utensils, which have been prepared after the same manner many years ago, by still continuing in a perfectly sound state, afford the strongest presumptive proofs of the future utility of the above invention in naval architecture.

In consequence of a resolution passed the council, orders were lately given, that no person whatever shall be admitted into any of the dock-yards, public magazines, or fortresses of this kingdom, without previous leave obtained from the governors.

The vintage this year about Bonn, and in other parts of Germany, has been so exceedingly favourable, both in quantity and quality, that on the Moselle they were obliged to order that no cyder should be made, there not being a sufficient quantity of casks for the wine alone.

The fields of Martinico have been of late infested with ants to such a degree, that the deputies from the different parishes in that island have unanimously resolved to assure 50,000l. of their currency to the person of any nation, who shall discover a method effectually to destroy them.

Some years ago, the shipwrights in the king's yards were looked upon as a very happy set of mechanics. They had two shillings and one penny a day besides their chips, which might be worth fourpence a-day more. Winter and summer, they were in constant pay and employment; and in the summer months they might work extra, which at one tide, was seven pence half-penny a-day; they might besides remain in the yards as long as they lived; and accordingly, many were known to remain there after they had been past their labour. At length, however, most of them grew discontented with their condition, or at least affected to be so; and, having petitioned their superiors for redress, it was thought proper to pay them, for the future, according to their earnings, as practised in the merchants yards, just withholding the chips, the allowance of which was thought to be attend-

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ed with a much greater loss to the publick, than with advantage to those who enjoyed it. But this regulation putting it, so at least their advocates asserted, in the power of any petty officer to deprive them of the hard-earned reward of their labour, instead of remonstrating, as there might be occasion, against any such oppression, they again petitioned for what they called redress; and, on their not obtaining it, numbers of them quitted the yards in May, June, and July last; at a time the government stood most in need of their labour. Nay some at Woolwich, adding violence to complaints, made it necessary to call the military power, as the readiest part of the posse comitatus, to the assistance of the civil, to prevent mischief; whilst others elsewhere contented themselves with abetting the petty outrages by women and boys belonging to them; as too mean objects to have any thing to fear from the severer discipline of the law; and, in the mean time all the five yards petitioned his majesty himself by their deputies for redress, setting forth, it has been affirmed, that they were sorry to acquaint him, that "their earnest solicitations to the boards having proved ineffectual, they were under the necessity of quitting for ever his majesty's yards, unless redressed in all their grievances;" though it has been affirmed, and not contradicted that we can recollect, that, under the present regulation, they had earned from 3s. 8d. to 4s. 5d. a day; a circumstance his majesty cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of. Be that as it will, the petitioners not only had no answer from his majesty, but the lords of the admiralty published an advertisement setting forth their defection as tending at least, if not actually intended, to distress government in a critical conjuncture, and offering great encouragement to other shipwrights to come in and supply their places; their lordships even ordered the commissioners at the several yards to employ a certain number of house carpenters; and it was not long before this spirited behaviour had the desired effect. The absentees, finding their places likely to be soon filled on the one hand, and their credit for necessaries, whilst unemployed, so much the more likely to fail on the other, even independent of the odium which the charge of an unmanly and ungenerous desertion had cast upon their cause, began to think better of the matter; accordingly they applied by degrees for the favour of being re-admitted into the king's service, and restored to their former privileges in it; and were by degrees re-admitted and restored, after some little menaces and delays, which were probably thought requisite to make them, for their own good and the public's, more sensible of their mistake. By the beginning of this month, they were all entered again, even the old ones, in whom a longer experience of the government's goodness seemed to render the abuse of it more criminal; and we have great reason to believe, that both young and old have ever since behaved with the greatest diligence and alacrity.

NOVEMBER.

The town of St. George, 1st. the capital of the island of Grenada, was almost entirely destroyed by fire.

St John's

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2d. St. John's Fort, in Canada, surrendered, by capitulation, to the Americans.

A great powder magazine, half a league from Carthagena, in Old Spain; containing between three and four thousand quintals, was blown up by lightning, together with the guard of seven soldiers. Several houses in the country were shaken by the explosion; and almost all the windows broken in Carthagena.

3d. A cause was tried before Judge Gould and a special jury of merchants: the action was brought for the value of a bale of muslins sold to the defendants, which they, on examination of the goods, and finding that they had been exported to obtain the drawbacks, and afterwards smuggled back, to the great injury of the fair trader, and the defrauding of the revenue, immediately carried to his majesty's warehouse; where, on informing the commissioners of the customs of the circumstances, the muslin was seized and condemned. A verdict was given for the defendants without going out of court. The judge, and the counsel on both sides, agreed that it was established by many precedents, 'that no person, selling smuggled goods, can ever bring an action legally to recover of the purchasers, the property of such goods being, at all times, his majesty's.'

A petition of the merchants of London, trading to the West-Indies; was presented to the house of commons, setting forth, that the inhabitants of those islands have hitherto been supplied with very large quantities of flour, bread, rice, and Indian corn, from the continent of America, from which supply they are now cut off by reason of the present interruption of commerce with America; and that the quantity of wheat and meal flour, bread and biscuit, now allowed by law to be exported to the said colonies from the port of London, will be greatly insufficient for the sustenance and use of the inhabitants of the sugar colonies during the continuation of such interruption; and therefore praying the house will take the premises into consideration; and grant such relief as to them shall seem meet.

Some days ago those miscreants the white-boys, in a visit they paid to Johnstown, in the county of Kildare, Ireland, besides breaking the windows of the inhabitants, and other similar outrages, buried a priest to the neck, first inclosing him naked in brambles and thorns; and threatened the like usage to every priest they could lay hands on, on account of their endeavouring to dissuade them from their wicked practices.

8th. The sessions of gaol delivery, for the high Court of Admiralty, was held at the Old-Bailey, when two prisoners were tried viz. Thomas Sawyer, on two indictments, for feloniously aiding, assisting, and comforting Samuel Brown in the wilful murder of William Barbut, master of the ship or vessel Hannah, and of Samuel Henley, mate of the said vessel, on the high seas, within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England, viz. in the latitude of 30 deg. north, on the 23d of June, 1774, and who were thrown overboard by Brown, Sawyer being present. On these indictments Sawyer was acquitted. He was also indicted for

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for feloniously making a revolt on board the said ship, turning pirate, and running away with the same, the cargo of which he and Brown sold to two merchants, who came on board near Trinidada, and delivered at Curassow; after which, returning to the Granades to receive the money, he was, on the information of one of the mariners, apprehended and brought to England. On this indictment he was capitally convicted, and received sentence of death; and was soon after executed at Execution Dock. Brown escaped out of the Marshalsea. A mate of the York Indiaman was tried for the wilful murder of Robert Patterson, on the high seas, about three leagues from Bencoolen, and acquitted.

9th. His Grace the Duke of Grafton resigned the seals.

Mr. Wilkes, on going out of office this day at Guildhall, made a long speech to the livery, full of the severest reflections on two great assemblies and the ministry. He charged the first with endeavouring to establish despotism, in New-England; and popery, in Canada: the second, with an attack upon every commoner of England, and the essential privileges of London, in the person of a citizen of London, Mr. Randal, whom they ordered, unheard, into custody, without any appeal to a jury, only for disrespectful words against a member of their house; and the ministry, with advising the King not to receive their petitions and remonstrances on the throne. Then, after expatiating on his opposition to all these measures, and his diligence in the discharge of all his other duties, as Lord Mayor of the city of London, he renounced the usual exemption from public business during the ensuing twelvemonth.

12th. Being Sunday, about seven in the afternoon, three villains got into the house of a baker in Winchester-street, by means of a pick-lock key; but the house having been attempted for several Sundays past, nearly about the same hour, a proper guard was kept; and the robbers hardly entered, when the foremost of them received a shot in the head, which killed him on the spot; upon which the other two immediately made off, though it is thought one of them was wounded by the same shot which killed his accomplice. A pair of pistols, four guineas, and three half-guineas, were found in the pockets of him that was killed; who proved to be one Armstrong, formerly employed in the East-India warehouses, but who had been transported some time ago for a theft. The fellows had got a mourning-coach in waiting to carry off the effects.

The town of Montreal, in Canada, surrendered, by capitulation, to the Americans under General Montgomery.

13th. General Gage arrived in town from Boston.

The lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

14th. A most dreadful storm arose on the eastern coasts of Great-Britain, and the opposite coasts of the continent. The following being the fullest, as well as most authentic account, of the melancholy effects of this storm on the Dutch coast, where it did most mischief, as opposing the discharge of their great rivers into the sea, is taken from the London Gazette of the 28th instant.

Hague,

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Hague, Nov. 21. The effects of the late storm of the 14th instant appear, by accounts from all parts of this province, to have been much more dreadful than was at first apprehended. Commerce has suffered greatly by the many vessels lost on our coasts, near the Texel; in the Zuyder sea; at the mouth of the Maëse; and more particularly on the sea-coast of Holland, which is in many places covered with wrecks and merchandise. The violence of the north-west wind (which blew on the 14th the whole day) had raised the tide in the morning to a very uncommon height; and the waters on the ebb being prevented, by the continuance of the storm, from returning, in the evening were increased to such a degree, as to occasion inundations in many parts of North and South Holland, and even in the province of Utrecht. Among the towns partly or entirely overflowed, are those of Amsterdam, Munikendam, Edam, Horn, Dort, Rotterdam, Beverwyk, Delfshaven, and Maassluys. All the districts in the neighbourhood of Heusden were under water, as also the country bordering on the river Y, between Haarlem and Amsterdam, and on the opposite shore of that river in North Holland, and the country lying at the mouth of the Maëse near Rotterdam, particularly the islands of Blackenbourg and Roosenbourg. The force of the wind and waves was so great, that a ship at Amsterdam, bound to Petersburg, was carried over two dykes between Muiden and Amersfort, and carried to the distance of 200 yards on the land. The dykes are damaged in many places by this tempest; but, wherever there appeared any breaches, the inhabitants, by their great diligence and activity, immediately repaired them, and by that means prevented the ruin of the country. But, notwithstanding their vigilance, the waters rose above the level of the dykes, and overflowed the country, carrying away, with the torrent, houses, cattle, furniture &c. and some persons have perished. The fishing-towns have also suffered greatly by the loss of their boats. By the most exact inquiries it has been found, that the rise of the waters was, at this time, eight inches higher than in the year 1682, and two inches higher than they were in the year 1717. Workmen are employed in repairing the damages; and the communication between Haarlem and Amsterdam, which had been interrupted, is now opened. [So far the London Gazette.]

During this storm, the Cranbrook, of London, burthen 500 tons, Charles Suttie, master, laden with cloth, bales, and sundry other merchandize, bound for Jamaica, having been wrecked about eight o'clock in the forenoon of the 14th, on the Goodwin Sands off Deal, Mr. Suttie with four others betook themselves to the pinnace, whilst the rest of the crew and the passengers got into the long boat; which last was, between three and four in the afternoon of the same day, driven ashore on the coast of Sangatte, off Fort Lapin, near to Calais, having on board thirty persons, mariners and passengers. As soon as the people on shore discovered the long boat in the road, driving at the mercy of the winds and waves, they flocked to the coast, in order to be ready to give immediate assistance

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ance to the unfortunate people, and by their diligence and activity most of them were saved, after having been exposed for six hours to all the violence of the storm.

Monsieur Porquet, the Commissary of the marine at Calais, attended by a surgeon, with the greatest humanity, afforded all possible assistance to the unhappy sufferers; and by the use of proper methods, a sailor and a negroe, who were taken up with little signs of life, were with great difficulty perfectly recovered. The physicians, surgeons, and the inhabitants of Calais, behaved likewise, on this occasion, with the utmost tenderness to these unfortunate people.

There is great reason to think, that above 2500 souls perished on ship-board during this and the late storm in October.

But perhaps one of the most remarkable events which attended them, is the stilling of the waves during the last by means of oil, as described in the following letter:

Leyden, Jan. 20, 1776. In consequence of a premium of thirty ducats offered by a citizen of this place, to whoever shall most effectually try the experiment of appeasing the waves which surround a ship in a storm, by pouring oil into the sea, the following letter has been received:

"We left the Texel the 3d of November, 1775, on board a merchant ship, Capt. Jurrien Jurrenson, commander, and arrived the 14th in the evening, on the coast of Jutland in Denmark. Our intention was to enter a determined port, but the Captain thinking it scarce possible to make it, on account of the great quantity of ice, we put out to sea to make another: the night following a great tempest arose, which continued till the next morning, and drove us towards the coast, where we found a road, and were near a port. This situation seemed to flatter our hopes, but the waves ran so high and strong, that we had no command of the ship. The Captain alarmed at our situation, and seeing no other way to prevent a ship-wreck, gave orders for six barrels of oil, which he had on board, to be brought on the deck, and ordered them to be poured out slowly on each side of the ship, by which means the waves were by degrees abated, the ship began to answer her rudder, and soon afterwards entered the port in safety." See p. 70.

15th. Their Majesties and the Royal Family came to the Queen's palace for the winter.

The House of Commons went into a committee of the whole House, to consider of a petition from the province of Nova Scotia, when they came to the following resolution, which was moved by Lord North: "That the propositions contained in the address, petition, and memorial, of the Council and House of Assembly of the province of Nova Scotia, of granting to his Majesty, in perpetuity, a duty of poundage, *ad valorem*, upon all commodities imported into the said province, not being the produce of the British dominions in Europe and America (bay salt excepted), the said duty to be under the disposition of Parliament, is fit to be accepted; and that the amount of the said duty shall be eight pounds per cent. upon all such commodities."

Nine old women were burnt at Kalisk in Poland, charged with having bewitched and rendered unfruitful

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fruitful the lands belonging to a gentleman in that Palatinate.

17th. At a court of common council held at Guildhall; it was resolved, at the instance of Mr. Wilkes, that the proceedings at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery of Newgate, for London and Middlesex, be published by the Recorder, and authenticated with his name; and that 130l. be paid out of the chamber of London to the Lord Mayor, in lieu of the profit arising from the Sessions Paper; that the short-hand writer should be allowed 150l. per annum; that the Sessions Paper should be printed on fine paper, in two numbers only; and that a copy of the said proceedings be sent to every member of the court, and the judges, and to those officers of the city who have usually received the same.

Letters from Nantz, by a ship just arrived from St. Domingo, advise, that they have had a most terrible storm there, which had damaged all the buildings on the island, destroyed many ships, and totally washed away the sugar in the warehouses.

In the afternoon, a fire broke out at the Blue Bell alehouse in Swaffham, Norfolk; the wind blowing very hard at North West, the flames were soon communicated to several contiguous dwellings, which burnt with such rapidity, that in a short time between twenty and thirty houses were laid in ashes, and the families reduced to the greatest distress. One man fell from the top of a house and was killed.

In order to suppress the pernicious practice of insuring tickets during the drawing of the Lottery, orders were given that there should be no seats built for clerks to take down the numbers at Guildhall; but it does not appear that this order has taken place; for what reasons, we are not able to determine. See page 188.

The Unity, late Neale, belonging to Sunderland, with troops from Stade for Gibraltar, sprung a leak at sea about four days ago in the Bay of Biscay, in company with several other vessels bound from Hamburgh to Gibraltar, with Hanoverian troops on board. Captain Neale, being apprehensive she would sink, took to his boat with his mate, and all the officers of the troops, except the quarter master; but they had hardly left the ship's side before the boat overset, and every soul on board her perished; as there remained but six sailors on board with the soldiers, and all ignorant of navigation, they ran her on shore on the Isle of Rhe, where Count Taube was soon after sent by his Majesty to take care of the poor men, who thus so providentially saved their lives, perhaps by being deserted by their officers; and conduct them to the place of their destination.

19th. One Smart, charged with coining, and likely to suffer for it, the evidence against him being remarkably strong, contrived to make his escape out of Clerkenwell Bridewell, by the following odd stratagem. His wife went into the prison clothed in two gowns, two pair of stockings, four petticoats, and in short an assortment of clothes for two women; soon after which the husband passed out, dressed in what the wife had worn as the under suit of clothes, and with his face painted. Soon after he was gone, the woman came down stairs;

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stairs; and meeting two men at the door, who asked how her husband did, she said very ill in his room, and then went off with them. The woman, however, was soon after apprehended, and lodged in New Prison.

20th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to

The bill for continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry;

The indemnity bill;

And to three private bills.

21st. At the first court of Lord Mayor, &c. held this day, the court returned thanks, with but one dissentient voice, viz. that of the Right Hon. Mr. Alderman Harley, to John Wilkes, Esq. late Lord Mayor of this city, for his indefatigable attention to the several duties of that important office; for the particular regard and politeness which he has been pleased at all times to shew the members of this court; for his wise, upright, and impartial administration of justice; for his diligence, on all occasions, to promote the welfare and true interest of this city; and for his unblemished conduct, and exemplary behaviour, during the whole course of his mayoralty. The court likewise voted Mr. Wilkes 1001. to be sent him, for the care he took of the plate, furniture, &c. at the Mansion House.

25th. Was determined, at Guildhall, Westminster, a trial between Amie Garnault, Esq. of Bull's-cross, Enfield, plaintiff, and Eliab Breton, Esq. of Fourtree-hill, in the said parish, and lord of the manor, defendant. The cause of action was, that Mr. Breton, some months before, riding by the plaintiff's door, followed by some dogs, the house dog ran after them, to the great terror of the defendant's horse. Upon Mr. B's return home, his youngest son, attended by his coachman, went to the plaintiff's house; and, the gate being opened to them, fired repeatedly at the dog, without further notice, till he had dispatched him. The jury, after examining several very respectable witnessess, who concurred in giving the deceased dog a most excellent character, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 50l. damages.

27th. Two propositions having been made to the Irish House of Commons; 1. That 4000 troops, out of the 12,000 voted for the defence of that kingdom, be spared for his Majesty's service abroad, the same to be no charge to Ireland after quitting the kingdom. 2. That 4000 foreign protestant troops be received to replace the like number sent abroad; these likewise to be no charge to Ireland. The first proposition was agreed to; but the latter rejected by a majority of 106 against 68.

Came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield, at Guildhall, London, a cause, the decision of which materially concerns unfortunate tradesmen liable to become dupes to the designing arts of the wretches distinguished by the name of Swindlers. In the present action, a person in a public office under the Sheriffs of London was plaintiff, and a tradesman in the Strand defendant; the suit was commenced to recover the sum of 100l. upon a note of hand drawn by the defendant, and indorsed over to the plaintiff, by a notorious Jew Swindler,

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ler, who obtained the same from the defendant in the following curious and artful manner. He went to the tradesman, and told him that he respected him much; that he had a long time observed his industry and care in business, and that he would willingly serve him to the utmost of his power. The tradesman caught the bait, and told his pretended friend that he only wanted a little cash to set all his affairs right; 'Oh then (said the Swindler) I'll procure you that, tho' I have not at present much about me; here's my friend (meaning a genteel well dressed young man who was with him); he is a man of known responsibility, give him your note for 100 l. he shall give you his for the like sum, which any person will give you cash for; and, as for your's, no use whatever shall be made of it, but by way of acknowledgment of the debt, when your affairs will permit you to pay it. The credulous defendant accordingly gave his note for 100 l. which was the subject of this action. When he came to know how he had been tricked, he brought an action against the person who gave him the counter-note, to which the latter pleaded non-age; and, as the plea was grounded upon fact, the tradesman had no remedy. The plaintiff proved giving a consideration for the defendant's note. Lord Mansfield in his charge to the jury said, that, if they were satisfied the plaintiff was any way privy to the fraud by which the note had been obtained, they ought to find for the defendant; that, though it had been proved the defendant had, when the note was sent for that purpose by the plaintiff, acknowledged having received a valuable consideration for his note, yet, as he was then ignorant of the fraud which had been practised upon him, it ought not to operate against him; that the sending to the defendant signified a suspicion of the goodness of the note, and the manner whereby the same was obtained; that the character of the person from whom the plaintiff received it, was so notoriously infamous, and as it was proved, so well known to him, that he could not be supposed to have paid a consideration for it, with any other view, than to become a nominal plaintiff in the action, and thereby to give it that appearance of credit, which had it been commenced by the swindler, it would have wanted. The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the defendant, with full costs of suit.

28th. Mr. Ambrose Power, of Clonmell, in Ireland, was most inhumanly murdered by a gang of the wretches called white boys, after putting himself in their power in consequence of their promising and swearing not to do him any injury; but the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland having issued a proclamation, in order to suppress such barbarous and inhuman proceedings, and offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the first person who should be discovered as an accomplice in the same, and three hundred pounds for each of the next twelve, with a pardon to the informer; except he be one of those who actually perpetrated the murder; and the gentlemen of the neighbourhood having exerted themselves with uncommon spirit to detect and apprehend the murderers; some of them were soon after apprehended,

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ed, particularly one —— Downey, alias Capt. Slasher, and William Hayes, who being tried by a Special Commission at Clonwell, and convicted on the clearest evidence, were immediately hanged and quartered, by the light of torches, at the Court house door.

29th. In the court of King's-Bench, before Lord Mansfield, an action was tried, brought against a noble Peer for necessaries sold and delivered to his Lady; it was in proof, that her Ladyship, having some time since got diamonds from a jeweller, kept them for several months; that the jeweller, on calling for the money, was informed that her Ladyship had sent them to a person skilled in their value, and desired he would go for them; that the jeweller complied, went as directed, got the diamonds, and a letter to her Ladyship, mentioning their value; that the jeweller returned in hopes of receiving his money, but was informed her Ladyship would not see him, or accept of the diamonds; that the jeweller, being in distressed circumstances, pawned the diamonds for money to convey him out of the kingdom; and they since came to the hands of his assignee, who brought this action for the recovery of the value of the diamonds, they not being saleable, having already been used. The jury, contrary to the opinion of Lord Mansfield, found for the assignee.

30th. Being St. Andrew's day, several Scotch Baronets appeared at court, in the ensigns of an order which has lain dormant upwards of one hundred and fifty years: it was originally called, The Nova Scotia Order, and has but lately been revived.

The Royal Society held their anniversary meeting at their house in Crane court, Fleet-street; when the President, Sir John Pringle, Bart. in the name of the society, presented the gold medal (called Sir Godfrey Copley's) to the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, astronomer royal, for his curious experiments in Scotland, on the attraction of mountains, and delivered an elegant oration on the subjects contained in Mr. Maskelyne's paper. Afterwards the Society proceeded to the choice of the council and officers for the ensuing year; when on examining the ballots, it appeared that the following gentlemen were chosen officers: Sir John Pringle, Bart. President; Samuel Wegg, Esq. Treasurer; Matthew Maty, M. D. and the Rev. S. Horsley, LL. D secretaries.

Letters from Lisbon gave a melancholy account of the loss of a French Indiaman, outward bound, by fire. Of 300 souls on board only one officer and seven seamen escaped. The fire broke out so suddenly, that the people on board, had no time to hoist out the boats. The few that survived saved themselves in a small skiff, and were nine days at sea with only a small cask of brandy to subsist on. The ship was valued at five millions of livres.

The Pope has lately given a striking example of toleration, with regard to religion. As he was going alone, according to his usual custom, to St. Peter's church to pray, he perceived a young man copying with great attention an altar piece. The Holy Father stopt, fixed his eyes on him without interrupting him, and took delight in viewing the young man's work, of which he conceived an advantageous idea in proportion as the work advanced; but his approach-

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ing still nearer, diverted the attention of the painter. The latter had not yet seen much of Rome; he thought that an heretic, found in a church at Rome, ran the risk of being punished, as Christians are, when caught in Mahometan Mosques. Struck with dread at the idea, he fainted away at the Pope's feet, who immediately called for assistance; but some persons coming in all haste, brought the young stranger to himself. "My friend, (said the Holy Father to him) I am charmed to see you possess such dispositions for drawing; you do well to copy good pieces; your drawing is very bold and correct; I will get you received among the young pupils that are taught here at my expence." "Ah! Holy Father (replied the young man in a faultering tone) I am a Protestant." "A Protestant (answered his Holiness) I would rather you were a Catholic; but there are great painters among the Protestants; religion has nothing to do with painting; I shall take care to procure you all the necessary helps to render you perfect in your art." The Pope kept his word, without requiring the young artist to change his religion; and even ordered that no steps should be taken to incline him to change it.

The reader may remember our having mentioned some great disturbances, during the first month of this year, in Bohemia and Moravia, occasioned by the hereditary oppression of the poor peasants of these countries by their lords; and some others in France, owing to the scarcity and dearness of corn; and that both had been so far appeased, as not to leave much room to apprehend their breaking out again. But this security has since proved, from whatever cause, a great deal too premature. Some time about the middle of May, Bohemia and Moravia were again in a flame, and the violences attending it more shocking than ever, the authors of them expressing the greatest indifference concerning the consequences, saying, it was equal to them whether they perished by the sword, by fire, by the hands of the hangman, or by the distress which pursued them, and which drove them to these acts of despair. Accordingly, when fired upon some time after by the troops sent against them, they kept their ground, and returned the fire; so that from a spirit of policy as well as humanity, the troops were early enjoined to act more on the defensive than on the offensive, against these too justly it seems enraged peasants; especially as, in one of several memorials published by them, they were said to require nothing but one day in the week to themselves to take care of their bodies; and another, to bestow on their souls; leaving the remaining five to the disposal of their lords. At length, therefore, the court of Vienna, some time in September last, sent a patent, regulating the affairs of Bohemia, to General Wallis, commander in chief of the troops in that kingdom. He was to cause it to be published in the most remarkable places, and the persons, entrusted with the execution of his orders, were to be accompained by a strong military escort. By the new regulations contained in this patent, the peasants are still obliged to work at the corvees three days in a week; before, they were obliged to work the whole week; those who pay

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no more than nine florins per ann. contribution to the prince, are only to furnish their persons and the strength of their heads; but those, who by reason of their possessions pay more, are obliged to do the same corvees, and to furnish horses or oxen in proportion to their charge. And it is probable, that these concessions were well received, as we have not since heard of any fresh violences committed by the wretched mortals in whose favour they were made.

As to the disturbances in France, t was not in any distant province, ut in the very heart of the kingdom, they broke out again, and hat with uncommon indications of lesign as well as fury; since bread ad been often dearer without occaioning such murmurs; and many f those who joined in the outrages ommitted on the bakers and dealrs in corn, appeared not to want oney to pay for what they took way by force. The capital itself as, for two or three days, a scene of e utmost terror and confusion; ie people crowded in from the ountry, and required four pounds f bread for eight sols, (about 4d ½ nglish) instead of fourteen sols, bout 7d ½ English) which was ien the statute price of that necesry; and, on being refused, pilged the bread markets and bakers ops, and obliged the bakers to ake more bread for them at their vn price. At length the King, ot content with employing the ilitary to restore and maintain e public tranquillity with as litle effusion of blood as possible, on e 5th of May, ordered the parliaent of Paris to attend him in a dy at Versailles where, in a bed of justice, he informed them, 'that, in the present circumstances, he was obliged to deviate from the usual course of business; that he both ought and would put an end to the present murmurs, which might cause a rebellion; that he would take care to provide for Paris and the kingdom; that it was on this account he called the parliament, and that the keeper of the seals would more amply explain his intentions.'

The King closed the bed of justice with telling the parliament, that he forbad them to make any representations on the subject of that sitting; but, on the other hand, he treated them with uncommon marks of respect. They were kept to dine at court, and entertained at three tables; a compliment which had never before been paid them.

The King, though he had thus provided against any clashing between the civil and military powers, thought proper however to steer a somewhat middle course between both; his majesty commissioned the provost of the Marchausée, or half civil and half military guards of the high roads, with the care of dispersing the enraged multitude, and doing justice in a summary way on some of the most guilty; with an offer of pardon, at the same time, to all those, except the ringleaders, who should make restitution for the corn they had taken away at the current price. This numbers of them had already done at the remonstrances of a priest in the neighbourhood of Paris, to whose parish they belonged; and their example was now followed by many more. Several of the rest

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fell under the hands of justice. A lady, who had complained of her country seat having been plundered by a body of seventy peasants, had the sad satisfaction, or rather mortification, to see seventeen out of eighteen of the unhappy wretches, who happened to be taken soon after, executed, without much ceremony, in her court yard. In the mean time the King issued an edict, allowing all vessels, as well French as Foreigners, that should arrive with foreign corn in any French ports, from the 15th of May to the 1st of August ensuing, a premium of 18 sols for every quintal of wheat, and 12 sols for every quintal of rye; and exempting all such ships from any duty of freight, or of any other sort, in any French ports, during the above period: the above bounty to be immediately paid by the King's officers in the several ports where the ships arrived.

But, tho' these measures quickly allayed the dangerous ferment, it was feared they had not entirely extinguished it; and therefore the troops still remained at the places where they had been originally posted, and escorted all the boats and carriages laden with corn, while the reputable inhabitants of all the country towns attended the markets under arms, little thinking of the dark designs of wicked men abroad in the country, and in other parts of the kingdom. A man, they tell us, was arrested at Nantes, who had twenty-five circular letters found upon him, which were summonses for a night rendezvous, to go among the corn in the fields, and spoil it in the ear; but the patroles of troops which were sent thither, and a permission granted to all reputable persons in town and country to fire at any persons whose conduct might justly raise any suspicions, frustrated the infernal design, if any such had ever been formed. In the mean time, a few persons were taken up; but it was thought, merely for the engrossing of corn: and even of this it is to be presumed they were not guilty, as we do not hear of any executions having followed.

There were likewise some disturbances, of the same kind, in the Bressan, before the harvest; and in Viterbo, after it. In Bavaria, the poor peasants in similar circumstances declared, that, if they did not receive immediate relief, they would deliver themselves from the burthen of life, under the very eyes of the Elector himself; but his Highness took such methods as left them no temptation to carry into execution their desperate purpose.

Died lately, at Siara, the capital of a province of that name in Brazil (by a letter from the governor of Fernambuco, in that country, to his Majesty of Portugal), Andrew Vidal, of Negreiros, at the great age of 124 years. He enjoyed the use of his memory and senses till the day of his death. In the year 1772 he was chief magistrate of the city, and notwithstanding his great age, performed the office of judge to the entire satisfaction of every one. He was father of thirty sons, and five daughters.

The 8th instant, in Hatton Garton, Mr. Warne, engraver, aged 103.

The 12th, in Suffolk-street, Dr. Christopher Nugent, the ingenious and learned author of a new and successful theory of the Hydrophobia.

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The 21st, at Pinner, in Middlesex, Mr. William Skillingsby, aged 119 years, two months, and a few days.

The 22d, at London, Sir John Hill, knight of the Swedish order of Gustavus Vasa, botanist to the royal garden at Kew, &c. &c. For a further account of this gentleman, please to turn to our article of Characters. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that he was not, as some think, the author of the Adventures of Pompey the Little. There is not a doubt of this pleasing romance being a *jeu d'esprit* of the Rev. Mr. Coventry, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, to whom the public would probably have been much more indebted, had he not been cut off by the small-pox soon after he had been presented by his relation, Lord Coventry, to the living of Edgware, in Middlesex. To him we also owe a fine poem on Ponshurst, (where he frequently visited the late Mr. Perry, inserted in Dodsley's Miscellanies, J. D.

The 24th, at Askham, in Westmoreland, the Rev. Mr. Milner, aged 80, 53 of which he had spent as vicar in that parish.

The 27th, at Lilly, in Hertfordshire, Sir George Hawkinson, knight, and physician to George I. aged 105.

DECEMBER.

1st. *St. James's.* The King has been pleased to grant unto the present master, governors, and assistants of the Scottish hospital of the foundation of King Charles II. his licence to erect an hospital in some convenient place within London or Westminster, or the liberties thereof, which shall in future be called, The Scottish Hospital of the Foundation of King Charles II. and to ordain, that the said corporation shall hereafter have one President, six vice-presidents, and one treasurer, (to be annually elected) and such a number of governors as shall pay, and continue to pay, such annual sum or sums as, under a bye-law, of the said corporation, shall be declared duly qualified, and be appointed to that office.

A new regulation has been lately made in Sweden, with respect to the manufacturing of salt-petre, by which the directors of the works, in the several districts, are confined to the sums advanced to them by the crown; and obliged to deliver in a certain yearly quantity of that article, in proportion to those advances. It is very remarkable that salt-petre should be made in so many different climates and soils, from the line almost to the frigid zones, and not in England.

The season, which last month set in very cold, in France, changed all on a sudden to very hot, which so affected the constitutions of the Parisians, that there was scarce a family unaffected in all that great capital. A great mortality ensued, which was stopt only by the change of weather. London, indeed, and Dublin, and other contiguous places, were equally affected; but the mortality was not remarkable in them. To ascertain the cause of this epidemy, Mr. W. Stevens, of Bayens's Row, Spa Fields, Clerkenwell, tried an experiment, of which the following is an account given by himself. He made a paper

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kite, about four feet high; spread it over thinly with treacle; and flew it in the air about half an hour. When he took it down, it was covered very thick with insects, so small that the eye could not discover their form, without the help of a glass. They were made much like a hedge-hog, covered with thick hair, standing perpendicular. What is still more remarkable, when he got within five yards of the kite, he found the smell very strong and offensive. But this multitude of insects in the air might be rather a concomitant effect with the disorder, than the cause of it; and the strong and offensive smell might be quite natural to them, as peculiar smells are to other animals.

4th. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax.

The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion.

The bill to enable his Majesty to call out and assemble the militia in all cases of rebellion in any part of the British dominions for a limited time.

The bill to enable the present Vice Treasurers of Ireland to take the oaths of qualification in Great Britain. And also to such other bills as were ready for that purpose.

At the fullest vestry ever known at Lambeth church, the propriety of charging the archbishop to the poor's rates, and other assessments of that parish, was taken into consideration; when, after several hours debate, during which it was proved that former archbishops for several successive years had been rated, the vestry determined, by a majority of twenty-six, that the archbishop should, in future, be charged to all parish taxes.

St. James's. The King th. has been pleased to incorporate the govenor, deputy governor, and many other persons mentioned in the charter, into one body politic and corporate, by the name of "The Commissioners and Governors of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, in the county of Kent," who shall be governors of the goods, revenues, rents, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, already given, granted, appropriated, or belonging, or which shall hereafter be given, granted, appropriated, or belonging unto the said hospital; and by the same name, they and their successors shall have perpetual succession.

The Norwich stage was this morning attacked, on Epping forest, by seven highwaymen, three of whom were shot dead by the guard, but his ammunition failing, he was shot dead himself, and the coach robbed by the survivers.

By virtue of a warrant from Sir Charles Asgill, was brought before that magistrate, at Guildhall, the clerk of an eminent hop-factor in Goodman's-fields, upon suspicion of being concerned with a person, not yet apprehended, in defrauding a lottery-office keeper, near the 'Change, of a large sum of money. This matter being undertaken by the commissioners of the lottery, the solicitor of the treasury appeared against the prisoner, and for him attended, as counsel, Mr. Cox. The first witness examined was the lottery-office keeper; he said, that about a fortnight ago the prisoner insured No. 21,481 six times

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times over for the subsequent day of drawing; that the conversation he had with the prisoner at that time, and the seeming positiveness there appeared in the latter, that the ticket would come up, caused him to enquire at other lottery offices, when he found the same number insured in the prisoner's name, at all the principal offices about the 'Change; that the ticket was drawn the first hour of drawing the subsequent day. This, with his former suspicion, alarmed him, and he immediately went to Christ's hospital, and saw the boy who drew the ticket; that he interrogated him, whether he had clandestinely taken that number out of the wheel, or whether he had been solicited so to do, which the boy positively denied; that observing he answered rather faintly, he importuned him to divulge the truth, which, after some hesitation, produced an acknowledgment of the fact. The next witness was the blue-coat boy. He said, that about three weeks ago, the person who is not in custody, and whom he had known before he went into the hospital, took him to a coffee house, where they breakfasted together; that he wanted to know of the witness, wether it was possible to get a ticket out of the wheel; to which the latter answered, No; that being afterwards solicited for the same purpose by him to secrete a ticket, he at length promised to do it; that accordingly he took two at one time out of the wheel, gave one to the person who called it over, and put the other in his pocket: that the person who induced him to do it was then in the gallery, and nodded his head to the witness to signify when was a proper time; that after the witness came out of the hall, he gave the ticket to the person who sat in the gallery, and who was then waiting for the witness in Guildhall-yard; that the next time the witness drew the lottery, the person before mentioned returned him the ticket, which the witness put in the wheel, and drew it out the same day; that he did this three several times, and received from the person for whom he did it, several half guineas; that he has heard the prisoner's name mentioned by him, but never heard the latter acknowledge any connection between them in insurance; and never before saw the prisoner. The prisoner acknowledged he insured the ticket 79 times for one day. The mother of the person who was not apprehended was next examined; she proved an acquaintance between her son and the prisoner; but denied any remembrance of ever hearing the latter mention any thing relating to insurance. The prisoner was discharged.

It is said, that the person who absconded got about 400l. by the above fraud; and would have got 3000l. had he been paid in all the offices where he insured.

6th. Prince Justiniani, from Venice, was introduced to his Majesty, and graciously received. He left Venice on a family difference, and came to England as a sailor before the mast; but was no sooner arrived, than waited on by the Venitian ambassador, who furnished him with every thing necessary to resume his real character, having received dispatches for that purpose from his father, who is a principal member of the Venetian state.

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At a general court of proprietors of East-India stock, called together to deliberate on the disputes that have lately happened in the supreme council at Bengal, the chairman acquainted the court, that the directors had come to some resolutions on that subject, which they were desirous to lay before the proprietors; but that nothing final could be determined till the arrival of the Anson Indiaman, which was daily expected. The resolutions already formed implied a censure on the late government of Bengal; but, while the court were debating on these resolutions, the company's secretary received a letter, with intelligence, said to be communicated by the purser of a Dutch East-Indiaman off Dover, That the Marattoes had blockaded Bengal, in such a manner, that no ships could pass or repass; that they had taken one of the King's ships of 20 guns, and had likewise taken the Seahorse Indiaman with 30 lacks of rupees. This for a while threw the court into great confusion; but reference being had to the company's books, as to the time of sailing, and other particulars, it manifestly appeared that the whole was a Dutch manœuvre to sink the price of stock; and as such it was reprobated by the general court, who again resumed the consideration of the business relative to the dispute, which, it appeared, had originated between the new judges and the old council; the last, in the general opinion, being most to blame. Proofs, however, were wanting to support the facts; so that nothing final could be concluded on, and the court broke up.

8th. Orders were lately sent to the keepers of the several gaols, throughout the kingdom, to transmit to the secretary of state's office, a compleat list of the convicts under sentence of transportation in each; mentioning their respective crimes.

9th. By letters from New-York of this date, the assembly of Rhode Island had passed an act, by which they had forfeited the real estates of Thomas Hutchinson, late governor of Massachusets; Gilbert de Blois; Dr. Moffet; Samuel Sewel; George Rome; Jahaleel, and Benjamin Brenton; to be sold for the use of the public: the amount to be applied to the defence of the liberty of America. The preamble sets forth, that the above persons were traitors to the liberty of America.

11th. Being the anniversary of the institution of the royal academy of painting, &c. a general assembly of the academicians was held at Somerset house, for the purpose of electing officers for the year ensuing, when Sir Joshua Reynolds was elected president; and the premiums of three silver medals given this year were adjudged as follows; one, for the best drawing of an academy figure to Mr. F. Stepanoff; one, for the best model of an academy figure, to Mr. William Huggins; and the third, for the best drawing of architecture, being the front of Somerset-house, to Mr. William Moss.

12th. There was an interesting dispute at Guildhall, between the meal-weighers and the bakers concerning the prices of wheat, which the former delivered in to the lord-mayor and aldermen to fix the price of bread by. The bakers asserted, that the meal-weighers do

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do not deliver in the best price; the others admitted that they did not, because the best wheat was sold to the distillers to draw spirits from, and not for making of bread; but they affirmed that they always delivered in the highest price the bakers gave for what they used, and did not think themselves bound to deliver in the price given by the distillers. The lord-mayor and alderman Wilkes were of the same opinion, and therefore bread was ordered to continue at its former price. What a pity it is the best grain of the best kind should be thus wasted, or rather, prostituted to the purpose of making a slow but sure poison, for the souls as well as bodies of that so useful part of the community, the working poor!

A dreadful fire broke out so suddenly, in a house on Ex-bridge, Exeter, that a number of travelling poor, who lodged in the upper part of it, perished in the flames; ten of their bodies were found, and the remains of some others; but several were burnt to ashes. In a few hours the fire was extinguished, after burning two houses only, and damaging some others.

13th. A seizure of money, to the amount of 8000l. (being shipped for America on board a man of war, at Spithead, contrary to law) was made by Mr. Miles, comptroller of Portsmouth; and, after some smart opposition, brought on shore, and secured in his majesty's warehouse in that port.

The Abby, Herbert, from Virginia to Liverpool, laden with tobacco and staves, having lately gone to pieces, on the Stags near Kenrule, in Ireland, the captain, mate, and two common men, who alone escaped of all the crew and passengers, were cast upon the lower stags, which are washed over every tide when the sea runs high. The captain, therefore, sensible that they must soon perish in that situation, determined to endeavour to reach some of the adjacent rocks. He accordingly plunged into the sea, and very providentially got safe to a high one, where he could stand dry, and be seen at a great distance, which proved the means of saving his own life, and the life of his companions:—an instance of courage and presence of mind worthy of being recorded, were it only to suggest the same conduct in similar critical circumstances of distress.

At the public-office in Bow-street, before Sir John Fielding, and the rest of the magistrates, an apothecary from Dublin was put to the bar, charged with attempting to defraud the county of Middlesex of 378 guineas. Sir John then ordered the prisoner's information to be read, which was to the following purpose, viz. That last Saturday, as he was coming to town from Highgate, he was stopped near Kentish-Town, by three footpads, and robbed of 373 guineas. In the description of the features, dress, and behaviour of the robbers, he was very accurate. During the reading of the above information, however, he seemed greatly affected, and immediately acknowledged the whole of what he had said in his information to be false; owned who he was; said, that being obliged to leave Dublin for debt, his friends advised him, when he got to England, to concert some scheme like the above, in order to raise a sum of money. He begged for mercy, and said he would not have been guilty of such an iniquitous proceeding.

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proceeding, but "that he was ignorant of the English laws." On the whole, he seemed a mixture of low craft and ignorance. However, as his fraudulent intentions were timely discovered, and there appeared a thorough contrition in him, he was discharged.

Mons. Kerguelin has been appointed, by the French King, to the command of a fine new man of war, of seventy four guns, in order to make discoveries in the South Seas; and is to be accompanied by two frigates of 32 guns each. They are to put to sea the beginning of next month.

14th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when twelve capital convicts received sentence of death, viz. one, for murdering her bastard child; two for treason; in counterfeiting the current coin; five, for house-breaking; three, for robbing on the highway; and one, for robbing his master. The unhappy wretch, who murdered her child, was executed, as the law directs, immediately. And, on the 17th of January, 1776, the two coiners; two of the house breakers; one of the highwaymen; with the unfortunate brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau, were likewise executed, all at Tyburn. At this sessions, Captain David Roche, and Mrs. Margaret Caroline Rudd, were likewise tried and acquitted. [We already promised to give some account of the latter in the Appendix to this article; and we shall likewise say something of the Captain's case, under the same head.]

16th. *War-office.* It is his Majesty's pleasure, that from the date hereof, and during the continuance of the rebellion now subsisting in North America, every person, who shall enlist as a soldier in any of his Majesty's marching regiments of foot, shall be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, or at the end of the said rebellion, at the option of his Majesty.

17th. Maximilian, Baron de Rodt, brother to the late prince and cardinal of that name, has been unanimously elected Prince Bishop of Constance.

19th. By letters from Naples of this date, Mount Vesuvius had for some days thrown out fire, and seemed to indicate an approaching eruption, which had drawn thither a great number of foreigners. The Margrave of Bareith, with his whole retinue, was already arrived there. And by letters from Vienna of the 21st, they had in Croatia a continual succession of earthquakes for two months, particularly in the town of Bedekavesima, and in the mountainous parts near the city of Waradin.

By the last advices from Philadelphia, the committee of that province, appointed to draw instructions for the delegates in congress assembled, did not seem willing to carry things to such lengths as many other provinces have done; for, among other things, they say, "Though the oppressive measures of the British parliament and administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms, yet we strictly enjoin you, that you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from, and utterly reject, any propositions, should such be made, that may cause, or lead to, a separation from the mother country, or a change of the form of this government."

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20th. The dividend on East-India stock was declared to be 3 per cent. for the half year ending at Christmas.

22d. The attorney-general was attended at his chambers at Lincoln's Inn, by counsel on behalf of the Dutchess of Kingston, to support an application made to him for granting a *noli prosequi*, to stop all proceedings against her in the affair expected to be heard before the Lords. The ground of the application was the sentence obtained in the spiritual court; but, it is said, the attorney-general was of opinion that he had not authority to grant the writ on this occasion, as the offence for which her Grace is indicted, was created by a penal statute; and the Bill of Rights in express words says, penal laws must not be suspended; and that the king's sign manual would not justify him if he issued the writ, and any future ministry were to call him to an account; as no command should induce a servant of the crown to act in his official capacity illegally.

23d. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the North-American colonies, now in actual rebellion, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusett's Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, during the continuance thereof.

The bill for the better regulation of his Majesty's marine forces, while on shore.

The bill to encourage adventurers to make a discovery of the northern passage from Europe, by British subjects only, to the western or southern ocean of America, and for penetrating to the North Pole.

The bill to explain and amend an act for widening certain passages, and for better paving the parish of Shoreditch.

And also to such other private bills as were ready.

At night, the Rockingham transport was lost, by mistaking (as is supposed) Robert's Cove, about ten miles from Corke, for the Cove of Corke, it blowing a gale of wind, and being thick weather. There were on board three companies of the 32d regiment. Lieut. Marsh and his wife, Ensign Sandiman, Lieut. Barker's wife, and upwards of 90 soldiers, besides the Captain and crew, were drowned. Five officers and twenty soldiers saved themselves in the flat-bottomed boat. By a similar mistake, during the last war, the Ramilies, of 90 guns, and 850 men, (taking the Bolt-head for the Ram, near Plymouth) perished with all on board, except twenty seamen, and one midshipman. These, among innumerable other instances, shew the great necessity of sea-lights, particularly distinctive ones.

About forty Americans, among them Col. Nathan Allen, taken prisoners in Canada, arrived, as such, in England, on board the Adamant. They were lodged in Pendennis castle, and, by the best accounts, well treated. But, whilst their friends in London were preparing to bring them up by *habeas corpus*, to have the legality of their confinement discussed, they were sent back to North-America to be exchanged. A few days after, the Liberty, Thompson, arrived at Bristol from Quebec, brought over one of the American riflemen, who

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was taken prisoner there; but, being carried before the mayor to be examined, he was discharged, as no crime was alleged against him, of which his worship thought he could take cognizance.

This night his Majesty's proclamation, for the distribution of such prizes as shall be taken from the Americans, during the present rebellion in America, appeared in the London Gazette; and on the 28th it was, by order of the Lord-mayor, read at the Royal Exchange and at Holborn Bars, by the Common Cryer. The division is to be made in the same proportion with that of the prizes taken from the French and Spaniards during our late wars with them.

The French King having thought proper, among many other reformations in the military department of his dominions, suggested by his new minister of war, the Count de St. Germain, to suppress the Mousquetaires, that well-known body, as being entirely composed of young gentlemen, of the best families in France, one of the commissaries of the war-office went this day to signify to them, assembled for that purpose, his Majesty's pleasure. Monsieur de la Chaise, Commander of the Grey, fainted away upon the occasion, and all of them appeared overwhelmed with grief, at the thoughts of being thus torn asunder. From this moment they were dispensed from going as usual every day to Versailles, to take the King's orders. A few days after, they put up their fine horses to sale; and the hotels they occupied are, it is said, destined as follows: that of the grey, to be converted into a market; and that of the black to be a prison for debtors.

25th. Gen. Burgoyne arrived in town from Boston, which he left the 5th instant: the troops at that time were well supplied.

26th. A young man of good family was carried before Sir Charles Asgill, (who sat for the Lord Mayor) for attempting to put off to a Quaker some counterfeited bills, drawn on Alderman Plomer for 700l. But on the Quaker's refusing to make oath of the affair, he was only ordered to go into the East-India company's service, and bailed out till a proper station in it could be procured for him.

27th. The money-bill lately framed by the House of Commons in Ireland, having been altered in England, was, on its return, unanimously rejected; by which there was at this time no law in Ireland to collect what is called the additional duties on rum, tobacco, and other goods imported into that kingdom; in consequence whereof several gentlemen came from Dublin, &c. to Whitehaven, purchased large quantities of tobacco, shipped them this day, and the vessels sailed with the evening tide, in hopes of reaching Ireland, to save the said duties, before the new bill, formed immediately on rejecting the one before sent over could arrive, to receive the assent in Ireland. Something similar happened in December, 1771.

30th. At forty-two minutes after ten in the morning, the Sieur Massier, astronomer at Corbeil, near Paris, felt a shock of an earthquake. It lasted but one moment. Its direction was from north-west to south-east. And on the same day, at the same time, a small shock was felt in Paris. The same morning an earthquake was felt at Caën, at thirty-

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thirty-two minutes after ten in the morning; and therefore was probably the same, allowing for some mistake in point of time. At this last place, the shocks were preceded by a noise which resembled the hasty driving of carriages; this noise lasted about two or three seconds, and was followed by three violent shocks, which all together lasted five or six seconds: their direction was from the south-west to the north-east; and while they lasted, a noise was heard in every house, as if they were going to fall, and every body was very much alarmed.

The greatest danger was to the south west; several public edifices, and other buildings, were much damaged; a cross of stone, which was on the portal of the church of the Visitation, fell down, and above 200 chimnies were thrown down, and almost every house has received some damage. One person was wounded by the fall of a piece of stone. The steeple of Cormelles, a parish at about half a league to the south of this city, was thrown down. At Oussieres, a parish in the same direction, the shocks split some rocks in the neighbourhood. This earthquake was likewise sharply felt at the abbey of Fontenay, and at Trouaru, where it was said that some houses were damaged.

The same day, about eleven in the morning, a fourth shock was felt; but it was a very slight one, and did no damage.

31st. The Americans before Quebec miscarried, with great loss, in a coup de main on that place; owing partly, it is said, to the defection of a great number of Canadians, who had at first joined them, in consequence of the impolitic rudeness of the latter to the priests of the former, &c. and partly by the latter's having suffered themselves to be deceived by false intelligence and false promises from within the place. By the best accounts that had arrived at the going of this sheet to the press, (all from and through the hands of the Americans themselves, the communications between Quebec and every navigable part of the American seas being quite stopt up) the loss of the Americans on this occasion consisted in about 60 killed and wounded, and three hundred taken prisoners. Among the slain were General Montgomery, his Aid-de-camp, Captain John Mac Pherson, two other Captains, and two or three Lieutenants. Amongst the prisoners were, Colonel Arnold, wounded; one Lieutenant-colonel, two Majors, and several Captains and subaltern officers. The prisoners were treated with great humanity, and every possible mark of distinction was shewn to the corpse of Gen. Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec the second day after the action. And it was said, that the continental congress had ordered a magnificent cenotaph to be erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

Montgomery falls! Let no fond breast repine
That Hampden's glorious death, brave chief! was thine.
With *his* shall Freedom consecrate *thy* name,
Shall date her rising glories from thy fame,
Shall build her throne of empire on thy grave;
——What nobler fate can patriot virtues crave!

During the course of the present month, the court of sessions in Scotland decided an interesting question;

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tion; by which it appears, that persons, whose residence is in England, cannot be arrested in Scotland on summary warrants for debts contracted in England, and due to persons in that kingdom; so that by this decision it should seem, that Scotland is now an asylum for English debtors.

The following are some of the particulars of the dreadful fire, which almost entirely destroyed the town of St. George, the capital of the island of Grenada, the 1st ult. About three o'clock in the morning a fire was discovered in the shop of a negro carpenter in the windward part of the town; and every possible means were used to extinguish it, but without effect. In the space of three hours from its being perceived, the whole town was in one continued blaze. The houses being in general built of wood, the flames raged with such amazing rapidity, that it was with difficulty any escaped with their lives. It is supposed, that the loss cannot be much less than five hundred thousand pounds. It is particularly unfortunate, that those, who were the principal sufferers in the fire of 1771, were the persons who suffered most by the present great calamity; which, it was feared, would occasion many failures, as few or no goods were saved, and few of the sufferers had the precaution to cover themselves by insurance.

Some pages back, we mentioned the government's having contracted for a great number of oxen and sheep, and a great quantity of porter and potatoes; the sheep to be sent abroad alive, along with the porter and potatoes, for the use of the troops shut up in Boston. To the sheep, we should have added hogs; and to the potatoes, cabbages, made into sour-crout, a kind of pickle, but used, in lieu of common food, in some parts of Germany, &c. where the earth is so bound up by the frost during several months of the year as not to afford any fresh vegetables; and what animal food the poorer inhabitants can get at, is almost entirely of the salt kind; notwithstanding which, such is the virtue of the cabbages, and the vinegar and spices combined with them, the scurvy makes much less havock in these countries than in some others where fresh flesh and fish are in almost all seasons to be had by the lowest ranks.

Much about the same time, two subscriptions were opened; one, for the relief of the common men of the same troops, and particularly the widows and orphans of such among them as had perished by sickness or the sword; another, for that of several clergymen of the church of England, in North-America, who had suffered severely in consequence of their attachment to government; and both subscriptions were attended with the greatest success. But some of the ships carrying the live sheep and hogs, &c. to Boston, were taken by the Americans; very few of those animals on board the ships which escaped outlived the passage; and what did, especially the sheep, were so wasted by the time they arrived, as, in the language of the sailors, to be fit only to make lanthorns of. A great deal of the oxen contracted for on this occasion was at about 34s. per hundred. At 35s. it would be just three-pence and one half farthing per pound; from which, and the statute price of bread

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bread in London, at the conclusion of harvest [as given p. 150], the condition of the working poor, by taking the rate of wages and frequency of employment into the account, may be pretty well ascertained, especially for the capital.

There were some other ships taken by the Americans during the same period, loaded by the government with military stores for Boston, &c. particularly one, whose cargo was said to be worth 30,000l. and withal as well assorted, as if it had been done by the special direction of the continental congress.

In the course of this month, a new museum, under the title of Spectacle Mechanique, was opened in King-street, Covent-Garden, of so wonderful a nature, that we thought it due to the singular merit of the artist, and the natural curiosity of our readers, to lay a short account of it before them. It consists of three capital mechanical figures, and a pastoral scene, with figures of an inferior size.—The figure on the left-hand side (a beautiful boy as large as life) writes any thing that is dictated to him in a very fine hand.—The second on the right hand (of the same size) draws various landscapes, &c. &c. which he finishes in a most accurate and masterly stile.——The third figure is a beautiful young lady, who plays several elegant airs on the harpsichord, with all the bass accompanyments; her head gracefully moving to the tune, and her bosom discovering a delicate respiration: during her performance, the pastoral scene in the centre discovers a variety of mechanical figures, admirably grouped, all of which seem endued with life.—The last curiosity is a canary-bird in a cage, that hops to and fro upon its perch, and then whistles two or three airs in the most natural manner imaginable.—Upon the whole, no exertion of art ever perhaps trod so close on the heels of nature. The ingenious artist is a young man, a native of Switzerland.

It may be gathered from authentic papers,

That our stage-coaches generally drive with eight inside, and often ten outside passengers each.

That there are now of these vehicles, flies, machines, and diligences, upwards of 400; and of other four-wheeled carriages, 17,000.

That 12,300,000 newspapers are now annually printed.

That the number of packs of cards, stampt last year, amounted to 428,000; and of dice to 3000.

That there has been coined, at the Tower of London, since the year 1772, about 13,000,000l. in gold.

That the public pays the Bank of England 50,000l. a year for management; and that the proprietors do not divide more than 240,000l. a year.

An Account of the Value of Corn *imported into* England *and* Scotland, *since the Commencement of the* Corn Register-Act, *in* 1770, *the Value of* Corn *exported in each Year being first deducted.*

Balance paid		£.
for Corn in 1771	—	105,200
in 1772	-	84,400
in 1773	-	569,820
in 1774	- -	1,022,230

The year 1775 is likely to exceed 1774, from the very large quantities imported since Christmas last.

The

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The imports into Great-Britain from Virginia and Maryland, before the war, were 96,000 hogsheads of tobacco, of which 13,500 were consumed at home; and the duty on them, at 26l. 1s. each, amounted to 331,675l.; the remaining 82,500l. were exported by our merchants to different parts of Europe, and brought a great deal of money into the kingdom. This single trade constantly employed 330 ships, and 3960 sailors.

DIED, the 7th instant, Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Knight of the Bath, Member for Heydon in Yorkshire, Admiral of the Blue Squadron, Lieutenant-General of the Marines, and Elder Brother of the Trinity-House, in Spring-Gardens. [For a more particular account of this great seaman, see our article of Characters.]

The 19th, at Haltwhistle, in Northumberland, Dr. Alexander Maxwell, aged 103.

The 20th, in Queen-square, Ormond street, Dr. Campbell, author of many valuable works.

A General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials, from December 13, 1774, to December 12, 1775.

Christened.		Buried.	
Males	8,876	Males	10,134
Females	8,753	Females	10,380
In all	17,629	In all	20,514

Increased in the Christenings this year	631
Decreased in the Burials this year	370
Last year's Christenings	16,998
Last year's Burials	20,884

Of those who died this Year, there were,

Under 2 years	—	7,496
Between 2 and 5	—	2,087
5 and 10	—	715
10 and 20	—	675
20 and 30	—	1,535
30 and 40	—	1,782
40 and 50	—	1,824
50 and 60	—	1,589
60 and 70	—	1,291
70 and 80	—	1,025
80 and 90	—	415
90 and 100	—	73
100	—	1
106	—	1

The Kind and Manner of Casualties *among the foregoing Deaths were as follows:*

Bit by mad dog	2
Broken limbs	0
Bruised	1
Burnt	8
Choaked	0
Drowned	104
Excessive drinking	2
Executed	21
Fractured	0
Found dead	2
Killed by falls and several other accidents	64
Killed themselves	29
Murdered	3
Overlaid	4
Poisoned	0
Scalded	1
Smothered	0
Stabbed	0
Starved	2
Suffocated	4
Total	250

We should likewise give the kind and number of diseases, but that the

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the accounts of these particulars, published in the London Bills of Mortality, have been long given up as altogether erroneous by the best judges.

The births at Paris for 1775, were 19,650, of which there were 10,247 boys, and 9403 girls; the deaths, 18,490; and the marriages, 5016; 6505 children were brought into the Foundling Hospital. The deaths of 1775 exceeded those of 1774 by 2601; the births of 1775 those of 1774, by 299; the marriages of 1775 were fewer than those of 1774, by 98; and 178 foundlings were received more this year than the last.

By the Amsterdam annual bill it appears, that this year proved very unhealthy, 1246 more deaths having happened in that city than in the preceding year.

The depopulation caused within these few years in Poland, by fire and sword, and their constant attendants, famine and sickness, may be better conceived than expressed. The accounts of this calamity, and of the distress of great numbers of the surviving inhabitants, are truly shocking; to remedy these evils, especially by engaging persons in good circumstances to settle in her provinces, that unhappy republic has made a law, in the course of the present year, to allow her native subjects of the middle rank, except Jews, peasants, and those subject to particular lords, to purchase estates for ready money. The same inducement has been held out to foreigners; but, though they are promised every kind of security, they are not to expect the right of noblesse.

BIRTHS for the Year 1775.

Jan. 4. The Queen of the Two Sicilies, of a prince, at Caserta, in Italy.

Lady Charlemont, of a son and heir, at Castle-Caulfield, in Ireland.

9. The Hon. Mrs. Fielding, Lady of Captain Fielding, of a daughter.

28. The Duchess of Argyle and Hamilton, of a daughter, in Argyle-buildings.

Feb. 1. The Lady of Sir Richard Wolsely, Bart. of a son, in Dublin.

Lady Townshend, of a daughter, in Portman-square.

March 1. The Lady of Thomas Pitt, Esq; Member for Old Sarum, of a son and heir, at Mr. Pitt's seat in Cornwall.

28. The Lady of Major-General Scott, of a daughter, at Bellvew, near Edinburgh.

April 16. The Countess of Cavan, of a daughter, in Sackville-street.

The Countess of Galloway, of a son, in Duke-street, St. James's.

20. The Countess of Donegall, of a son, in St. James's square.

25. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Asturias, of a princess, at Aranjuez. The infanta was immediately christened by twenty-four names, the first of which was Charlotte.

29. The Countess of Essex, of a son, in Stanhope-street, May-fair.

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May 1. The Princess of Nassau Wielburg, of a prince, at Kircheim, Poland.

13. The Archduchess of Austria, Consort to the Archduke Ferdinand, Governor-general of Austrian Lombardy, of a prince, at Vienna.

22. The Lady of Sir Sampson Gideon, Bart. of a son.

24. Lady Stanley, of a son and heir.

June 3. The Lady of Sir Rowland Wynn, Bart. of a son and heir, in St. James's square.

5. Mrs. Montgomery, Lady of the Lord Chief Baron of Scotland, of a son.

July 1. The Lady of the Hon. Henry Erskine, Esq; of a daughter, at Edinburgh.

3. The Duchess of Chartres, of a prince, at Paris.

6. The Countess Dowager of Rothes, Lady of the Hon. Patrick Maitland, of a daughter, at Hatton, in Scotland.

9. The Duchess of Beaufort, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-square.

16. The Lady of Sir William Wake, Bart. of a son, in Chesterfield-street.

19. The Marchioness of Lothian, of a son, in Park-lane.

Lady Mountstewart, of a son, in Hill-street, Berkley-square.

21. The Marchioness of Caermarthen, of a son in Grosvenor-square.

26. The Lady of Sir Beaumont Hotham, of a daughter, in Norfolk-street, Strand.

Aug. 6. Her Royal Highness the Comtesse d'Artois, of a prince, the Duc d'Angouleme.

11. The Lady of his Excellency the Portuguese Ambassador, of a daughter, in South-Audley-street.

23. Lady Mary Hogg, of a son, at Hatton, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale.

Sept. 12. The Hon. Lady Betty Delme, of a son, in Grosvenor-square.

13. The Lady of Sir John Whiteford, Bart. of a son, at Edinburgh.

26. Viscountess Grimston, of a son and heir, in Grosvenor-square.

27. The Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, of a prince.

Oct. 3. The Duchess of Portland, of a daughter in Piccadilly.

9. The Lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. of a son, at Winstay, in Denbighshire.

13. The Lady of Sir Alexander M'Donnald, of a son, at Edinburgh.

19. The Duchess of Grafton, of a daughter, in Albemarle-street.

20. The Lady of the Honourable Archibald Douglas, of Douglas, of a son, at London.

26. The Lady of Sir Stanier Porter, of a son, St. James's Place.

Nov. 3. Viscountess Beauchamp, of a son, in Upper Brook-street.

5. The Duchess of Athol, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-Mews.

15. Her

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15. Her Sicilian Majesty, of a princess, at Caserta. The private baptism was immediately performed, and the names of Marianna-Guiseppa - Guiovanna - Antonia - Teresa - Amelia - Gaetana - Clementina, were given to the infant.

23. Lady Hinchinbroke, of a daughter, in Mansell-st.

Dec. 14. Lady Cochrane, of a son, at Annsfield, near Hamilton.

MARRIAGES, 1775.

Jan. 5. The Hon. and Rev. Charles Digby, brother to Lord Digby, to Miss Mellier, daughter of the late William Mellier, Esq; at Castle-Cary, in Somersetshire.

William Hope, Esq; muster-general-general for Scotland, to Miss Sophia Corrie, daughter of Mr. Joseph Corrie, of Dumfries.

7. Col. Fleming of the guards, to Miss Mills, daughter of William Mills, Esq; of Richmond, in Surry.

9. Francis Wadman Esq; gentleman usher to her royal highness the Princess Amelia, to Miss Comyns, of Northfleet in Kent.

12. The Right Reverend Dr. Thomas, Lord Bishop of Rochester, to Lady Elizabeth Yeates, relict of Sir Joseph Yeates, Knt. late one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench; at Westminster Abbey, by a special licence.

The Right Hon. Sir John Shelley, Bart. treasurer of his majesty's houshold to Miss Woodcock, only daughter of Edw. Woodcock, Esq; of Lincoln's Inn; at Stoke Newington.

15. Nash, Esq. son to the late Nash, Esq; lord mayor of the city of London, to Miss Darker, daughter of John Darker, Esq; treasurer of St. Bartholomew's hospital.

18. Stephen Sayer, Esq; banker in Oxford-street, to Miss Noel, daughter of the hon. William Noel, Esq.

20. The hon. Clotworthy Rowley, Esq. of the fifth regiment of dragoons, to Miss Major Crosbie, of Kildare-street.

27. Sir Philip Hales, Bart. member of parliament for Downton, in Wilts, to Miss Smith, of Shrewsbury; at St. George's Hanover-square.

28. Joseph Vander Meulen, Esq. St Alban's, in the county of Hertford, to Miss Susanna Hitch, daughter of John Hitch, Esq. sheriff of the county of Cambridge; at Melborne.

John Grey, Esq. brother to Sir Henry Grey, Bart. of Howick, in Northumberland, to Miss Wiket, of Dorset-court, Westminster.

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The Rev. John Cayley, rector of Terrington, in Yorkshire, to Miss Fanney Cayley, youngest daughter of Sir George Cayley, of Brompton, in the same county, Bart. —Esdaile, Esq. son to Sir James Esdaile, alderman, to Miss Hadfield, of Manchester.

March 1. Alexander Leith, Esq. member for Tregony, in Cornwall, to Miss Cope, of Grafton-street, only daughter of the late lieutenant-general Sir John Cope, Knt. of the Bath; at St. George's, Hanover-square.

2. Mr. Mervin Dillon, to Miss Goddard, the only daughter of Parke Goddard, Esq. and niece to Sir Henry Parker, Bart. of Talton, in Worcestershire; at Marybone.

5. Sampson Carter, Esq. to Miss Sophia Copplestone, daughter of the late Sir William Copplestone, of Basingstoke, in Hampshire; in North-Audley-street.

7. Thomas Frankland, Esq. member for Thirsk, to Miss Smelt, niece to Leonard Smelt, Esq. sub-governor to his royal highness the Prince of Wales.

24. Colin Wallace, Esq. to Miss Briggs, daughter of Sir Joseph Briggs, of Wooborn in Bedfordshire; in Portman-square.

April 11. Sir Stair Agnew, of Lochnaw, Bart. to Miss Peggy Nasmith, daughter to Thomas Nasmith, of Drumblair, Esq. of Glasgow.

12. Henry Lascelles, Ord, Esq. to Miss Duff a near relation of Lord Fife; at Berwick.

14. Isaac Guedes, Esq. son of Baron Guedes, to Miss Moore, of Bethnal-green, daughter of the Reverend Doctor Moore.

16. The Hon. George Grenville, Esq. nephew to Earl Temple, to the Hon. Miss Nugent, daughter to Lord Clare.

18. Sir John Gordon, of Earlstown, in Scotland, Bart. to Miss Anne Mylne, youngest daughter to the deceased Mr. Thomas Mylne, of Powder-hall.

26. Sir John Eykin, of Eckleton, Shropshire, to Miss Browning, of Smithfield-bars.

30. Hon. Geo. Sempill, brother to Ld. Sempill, to Mrs. Jodrell, of Yeardesley, Cheshire.

May 1. Charles Baldwyn, Esq. knight of the shire for the county of Salop, to Mrs. Palmer, relict of the late Benjamin Palmer Esq. of Alton, in the county of Warwick.

6. Governor Bouchier, to Miss Foley, daughter to Tho. Foley, Esq. member for Herefordshire.

7. William Gooch, Esq. second son of Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. of Benacre Park in Suffolk, to Miss Villa Real, only daughter

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ter and heiress of the late William Villa Real, Esq. of Edwinstow, in Nottinghamshire, and niece to Lady Viscountess Galway.

9. At Redbraes, Major General Henry Campbell of Boquhan, to Miss Mary Crawfurd, eldest daughter of Sir John Crawfurd, of Jordanhill, Bart.

10. Brackley Kennet, Esq. alderman of Cornhill Ward, to Mrs. Smith, near Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

Angus, Esq. to Miss Treadway, niece to Sir Andrew Lindsay, Bart. at Theobalds, Hertfordshire.

15. The Hon. Frederick Irby, eldest son to the right hon. Lord Boston, to Miss Methuen, the only daughter of Paul Methuen, Esq. of Corshem house, Wilts.

The Rev. John Arden, of Longcrofts, in Staffordshire, to Miss Hamar, only child of the late Admiral Hamar, of Hampstead.

25. The Earl of Lincoln, eldest son of the Duke of Newcastle, by a special licence, to the honourable Miss Conway, daughter of the Earl of Hertford; in Grosvenor-st.

Nathaniel Gundry, Esq. of Dorsetshire, to Miss Palmer, a relation of the Duke of Northumberland.

June. 2. Earl Cowper, to Miss Gore, of Southampton.

3. Robert Stewart, Esq. of the county of Downe, in Ireland, to the hon. Miss Pratt, daughter to Lord Camden; at Lambeth chapel.

8. Lord Algernon Percy, second son of his grace the Duke of Northumberland, to Miss Burrell, daughter of Peter Burrell, Esq. of Beckenham, in Kent; at Sion-house.

10. Sir Robert Tilson Deane, of Dromore, Bart. to Miss Fitzmaurice, sole heiress, to the late John Fitzmaurice, of Springfield, in the county of Limerick, in Ireland, Esq.

15. Robert Mayne, Esq. member for Gatton, to Miss Otway, one of the coheiresses of the late Francis Otway, Esq.

17. The Earl of Rosebery, to Miss Vincent, only daughter of the late Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.

21. Sir Alexander Purvis, Bart. to Miss Mary Home, daughter to Sir James Home, Bart. of Coldingham, in Scotland.

25. Mons. de Fitte, at Languedoc, lieutenant of the marshals of France, to Miss Nancy Edgecumbe, second daughter to lady Fenhoulet, and niece to Lord Edgecumbe.

July 1. Charles Brown Mostyn, Esq. brother of Sir Pyers Mostyn, of Talacre, in Flintshire, Bart. to Miss E. Witham,

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E. Witham, sister of William Witham, of Cliffe, Esq.

10. Sir James Tylney Long, of Draycot, in Wiltshire, Bart. to the hon. Miss Harriot Bouverie, youngest daughter of the late lord Viscount Folkstone, and sister to the Earl of Radnor.

13. Alexander Grant, Esq. eldest son of Sir Ludovick Grant of Dalvey, Bart. to Miss Sarah Gray, eldest daughter of John Gray. Esq. of Ibbley.

14. Capt. M'Bride, of the navy, to Miss Folkes, sister to Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington-hall, Norfolk.

16. Sir Thomas Lang, to Miss Hannah Turner, niece to William Turner, Esq. and commissioner Hanmore.

17. The Hon. Capt. Herbert, of the royal navy, to Lady Carolina Montague, sister to his grace the Duke of Manchester.

18. Rev. Mr. Hallam, Canon of Windsor, to Miss Roberts, daughter of the late Richard Roberts, Esq. of Abergavenny.

27. The hon. Edward Percival, brother to the Earl of Egmont, to Miss Haworth, daughter of John Haworth, Esq. of Manchester.

31. Rev. Mr. Wodehouse, son of Sir Armine Wodehouse, to Miss Nourse, of Wood-Eaton, Norfolk.

Aug. 4. Charles Pigot, Esq. to Miss Cope, sister to Sir Charles Cope, Bart.

15. Charles Hotchkin, Esq. Mayor of Bristol; to Mrs. Fisher: at Bristol.

Sept. 2. Capt. John Barlow, of the 10th regiment of dragoons, to Miss Knott, daughter of the late Fettiplace Knott, Esq. high steward of Litchfield, in Staffordshire.

4. Sir Brownlow Cust, Bart. to Miss Bankes, the only daughter of the late Sir Henry Bankes.

6. George Rogers, Esq. an East-India gentleman, to Miss Esther Coombes, niece to Lady Cornwallis.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Piedmont, eldest son to the King of Sardinia, to her Royal Highness, the Princess Clotilda, of France, sister to his most Christian Majesty: at Paris, by proxy.

7. The right hon. the earl of Belvedere, to Miss Bloomfield, second daughter of the late John Bloomfield, of Redwood, Esq. at Dublin.

9. John Hart, Esq. sheriff of London and Middlesex, to Miss Spencer, daughter of John Spencer, Esq. of Upper Holloway; at Aldenham, in Hertfordshire.

12. The Rev. Mr. Moss, archdeacon of St. David's, to Miss Roberts, of Great Plumstead.

Captain

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Captain M'Donogh, in his most Christian majesty's service, to Miss Rose Plunket, youngest daughter to Lord Dunsany.

16. Captain Parke, of Cork, to Miss Browne, granddaughter to the Lord Archbishop of Tuam.

The hon. Alexander Duff, brother to Lord Fife, to Miss Mary Skene, eldest daughter of Geo. Skene, Esq.

18. The Earl of Ely, of the kingdom of Ireland, to Miss Bonfoy, daughter of the late Hugh Bonfoy, Esq. a captain in his majesty's navy.

19. John Hancock, Esq. president of the continental congress in America, to Miss Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy, Esq. of Boston.

20. Hugh Owen, Esq. of Orielton, in Pembrokeshire, knight of the shire for that county, to Miss Colby, of Bletheston.

Sir Richard Worsley, of Pilewell, in Hampshire, Bart. member for Newport, in the isle of Wight, to Miss Seymour Fleming, daughter of the late Sir William Fleming, of Rydal, in Westmoreland, Bart.

Sir Alexander Douglas, Bart. physician in Dundee, to Miss Barbara Carnagy, daughter to the deceased James Carnagy, Esq. of Kinhaven.

Charles Augustus Louis Frederick Baron de Bode, an officer in the French service; to Miss Mary Kynnersley, sister to Clement Kynnersley, Esq. of Loxley, Staffordshire.

Oct. 1. The marquis of Spinola, a noble Genoese, and the richest subject in Europe, to the youngest daughter of Count Joseph de Stahrenberg.

2. The right hon. Sir Arthur Brook, Bart. of Clogher, in Ireland, to Miss Foord, sister to Bernard Foord, Esq. of West Hesterton, in Yorkshire.

7. William Baker, Esq. of Bagfordbury, in Hertfordshire, to Miss Sophia Conyers, third daughter to the late John Conyers, Esq. knight of the shire for the county of Essex.

10. Abraham Bracebridge, jun. Esq. to Miss Holte, daughter of Sir Charles Holte, Bart. at Litchfield.

14. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Halifax, Regius professor of Law, in the University of Cambridge, and one of his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary, to Miss Cooke, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Cooke, provost of king's college in that University.

16. The reigning Prince of Saxe-weimar, to the youngest of the Princesses of Hesse-Darmstadt.

26. William Surtees, Esq. to Miss Lewis, eldest daughter

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ter of the Dean of Ossory; in the county of Northumberland.

30. The reigning Prince of Salm Salm, at Liege, in Flanders, to Maria-Anna, Countess of Horion.

Nov. 1. The Duke of Leinster, to the hon. Miss St. George, daughter to the late right hon. Lord St. George.

Edward Gould, Esq. of Woodham Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, of the 4th regiment of foot, to Lady Barbara Yelverton, only child of the Earl of Sussex.

7. Astley Palmer of Bury St. Edmunds, Esq. to Miss Cullum, sister to Sir John Cullum, of Hardwick, Bart.

14. Patrick Heron, of Heron, Esq. to Lady Betty Cochran, daughter of the Earl of Dundonald; at Edinburgh.

24. John Milbank, Esq. to Miss Cornelia Chambers, eldest daughter of Sir William Chambers.

30. John White, Esq. to Miss Mary Heathcote, sister of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart.

Dec. 2. John Belsches, Esq. advocate in Fifeshire, Scotland, to Lady Jane Leslie, eldest daughter to the Earl of Leven and Melvil.

4. William Roe, Esq. to Miss Thomas, daughter of Sir William Thomas, Bart. of Yapton, in the county of Sussex.

12. Sir William Seton, of Pitmeden, Bart. to Miss Margaret Ligertwood, eldest daughter of James Ligertwood, Esq. of Tillery; at Aberdeen.

15. Thomas Lloyd, Esq. of Gray's Inn, to Miss Mary Whitworth, third daughter of Sir Charles Whitworth.

18. Peter Auriol Drummond, Esq. second son to his grace the Archbishop of York, to Miss Milnes, only daughter of Pembroke Milnes, Esq. of Wakefield.

22. John Bettersworth, Esq. of East-Hade, in Bedfordshire, to Miss Reynolds, sister to Lord Ducie.

23. The Rev. Dr. Musgrave, Vicar of Barking, Essex, brother to Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart. to Mrs. Parfect, of Hatton Garden.

26. Marquis of Granby, to Lady Mary Isabella Somerset, youngest sister to the Duke of Beaufort.

28. Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington Hall, Norfolk, to Miss Turner, youngest daughter of Sir John Turner, of Warham, in the same county, Bart.

Francis Dugdale Astley, Esq. high sheriff of Wiltshire, to Miss Mary Buckler, youngest daughter of William Buckler, Esq. of Borcham.

31. Lately, the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, Knt. of the Bath, to Miss Elinor Dobson, heiress of Robert Dobson, Esq. of Ann-Grove,

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Grove, in Yorkshire; at Dublin.

Lieutenant Ball, of the marines, to Miss Ann Hamilton, niece to Sir Henry Hamilton, Bart.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1775, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

January. The Reverend Dr. Hurd, to the see of Litchfield and Coventry.—The Rev. Dr. Moore, to the see of Bangor.—His Grace the Duke of Gordon, created a Knight of the most ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle.—John Cookson, John Soley, Tho. Nuthal, Richard Capper, and William Moreton Pleydell, Esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners, for licensing hackney-coaches and chairs within the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof.—George Rose, Esq; to the office of surveyor of his majesty's revenue arising by all and all manner of fines, forfeitures, and sums of money commonly called green wax monies.

February 3. William Gordon, Esq; his majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Brussels, created a Knight of the Bath.

—13. Captain John Gunning, of the 43d regiment, to be Deputy Adjutant General in North-Britain, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Lord Napier, deceased.

—28. Lately, the Rev. Mr. George Watson Hand, Prebendary of Warminster, Salisbury.

William Blair, John Kenrick, James Bindley, William Baillie, and William Waller, Esqrs. to be his majesty's Commissioners for managing the duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, &c.—John Brettle, Esq; to be Secretary, or Chief Clerk to the said Commissioners.—Paul Henry Ourry, Esq; to be one of the Commissioners, in quality of a principal officer of his majesty's navy, for the affairs of his majesty's yard at Plymouth.—Edward Toms, Esq; to the office of Serjeant of all Trumpets, Drums, and Fifes.

March 27. Charles Sheriff, to be Fort Adjutant and Barrack Master of Fort St. Augustine, in North-America.—Surgeon Jonathan Mallet, to be Purveyor to the Hospital at Boston, in North-America.—Doctor Michael Morris, to be Physician; Alexander Grant, Surgeon; Robert Roberts, Apothecary; John Jones, Chaplain; John Charlton, Surgeon; to the hospitals in North-America.—Colonel Robert Watson, to be Lieutenant Governor of Portsmouth.—Lieutenant Colonel Edward Matthews, to be Aid de Camp to the King.

—31. Admiralty office. This day, in pursuance of the King's pleasure, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted viz.——Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White.—Francis Geary, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Red, to be Admiral of the Blue.—James Young, Esq; Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Sir John Moore, Bart. and Knt. of the Bath, Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-admirals of the Red.—Samuel Graves, Esq; William Parry, Esq; Hon. Augustus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice

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Vice-Admirals of the White.—Sir Peter Denis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Esq; Robert Man, Esq; Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—Clark Gayton, Esq; John Barker, Esq; Sir Richard Spry, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.—John Montagu, Esq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. James Sayer, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.—The Right Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, to be Rear-Admiral of the White.——And the following captains were also appointed flag officers of his majesty's fleet, viz.—The Right Hon. Washington, Earl Ferrers; Hugh Pigot, Esq; Molineux Shuldam, Esq; Sir Joseph Knight, Knt. John Vaughan, Esq; to be Rear-Admirals of the White.—John Lloyd, Esq; Robert Duff, Esq; John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Hon. John Byron; Right Hon. Augustus John Earl of Bristol, to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue

Lately, the Right Reverend Dr. Brown, Bishop of Eldin, to the Archbishoprick of Tuam, with the united Bishoprick of Enoghdoen, and the Bishoprick of Ardagh, Ireland.—The Right Reverend Dr. Dodgson, Bishop of Ossory, to the Bishoprick of Elphin.—The Right Reverend Dr. Newcome, Bishop of Dromore, to the Bishoprick of Ossory.——The Rev. Dr. Hawkins, Dean of Elmy, to the Bishoprick of Dromore.—The Rev. Mr. John Hallam, to the place and dignity of a Prebendary of his Majesty's free Chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor.—The Rev. Dr. Warren, to the Archdeaconry of Worcester.—The Right Hon. George, Earl of Dalhousie, to be one of the Commissioners of Police, in that part of Great-Britain, called Scotland.—Alexander Lockhart, Esq; to be one of the ordinary Lords of his Majesty's Session in Scotland.———Samuel Tooker, Esq; to be Recorder of Doncaster.—Dr. Noah Thomas, to the honour of Knighthood, and to be one of his Majesty's Physicians in ordinary.—Jacob Reynardson, Esq; to be a commissioner for licensing hackney coaches and chairs.

April 1. Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. to be one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in the room of the present Earl of Bristol, who resigned.—Captain Suckling, of the royal navy, to succeed Sir Hugh, as comptroller of the navy.

—4. Thomas Graves and Robert Digby, Esqrs. to be Colonels of his Majesty's Marine Forces, in the room of Hugh Pigot, Esq; and the Right Hon. the Earl of Bristol, appointed Flag-officers of his Majesty's Fleet.

—7. The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Weymouth, to be Groom of the Stole, in the room of the late Earl of Bristol; and the Hon. Col. Gordon, to be Groom of the Bedchamber, in the room of the Hon. Augustus John Harvey.

—8. The Right Hon. the Earl of Hertford, to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Montgomery.—The Right Hon. Lord Clive, to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop.

—24. Robert Duff, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, to be Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the island of Newfoundland and its dependencies.

—30. The Rev. James Cornwallis, LL. D. to be Dean of Canterbury.

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terbury.—The Rev. Dr. Wetherel, to be a Canon of St. Peter, Westminster.

May 2. Adjutant James Webb, of the 8th regiment of foot, to be Deputy-Commissary of the Musters in North-America.

— 12. His Grace the Duke of Chandos, sworn of his Majesty's Privy Counsel.—The Right Hon. Stephen Earl of Ilchester, to be Comptroller of the Army Accounts.—Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq; to be Constable of the Castle of Flint, and the office of Keeper of the Gaol of the Castle of Flint, and the office of Comptroller of the Records within the counties of Chester and Flint, and the office of Comptroller of the Pleas, Fines, and Amerciaments of North Wales, in the county of Caernarvon; in the room of Other Lewis Windsor, Earl of Plymouth, deceased.

—16. Lieut. Col. William Egerton, to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Islands of Sicily, Vice George Boscawen, deceased.

—31. The Rev. Dr. Fothergill, to be a Canon of Durham.—The Rev. Mr. Henry Bathurst, to be a Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford. —The Rev. Mr. Smallwell, to be a Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford. —Lieutenant-General John Irwine, to be Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Land-Forces in Ireland; and also to be Governor of Londonderry and Culmore Fort, in the said kingdom, and a Privy-Counsellor.—Beaumont Hotham, Esq; to the honour of Knighthood, and to be one of the Barons of the Exchequer.—John Borlace Warren, Esq; and John Boyd, Esq; to the dignity of Baronets of Great-Britain.—William Lee, Esq; late one of the Sheriffs of this city, to be Alderman of Aldergate Ward.

June 10. Hugh Owen, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the county of Pembroke, to be Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the said county, in the room of Sir William Owen, Bart. who resigned.

—16. Cavin Delane, Esq; to be Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary, to attend his Majesty's Royal Person, with all fees, &c. belonging to the said office.

—30. Lately, the Rev. Mr. Francis Le Breton, to the Deanry of the island of Jersey.—The Rev. Mr. Richard Lucas, to be a Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury.—Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. to be Lieutenant of the county of Merioneth, and to be Custos Rotulorum of the said county.—James Montgomery, Esq; to be Chief Baron of his Majesty's court of Exchequer, in Scotland.—Henry Dundas, Esq; to be his Majesty's Advocate, in Scotland.—Alexander Murray, Esq; to be his Majesty's sole Solicitor, in Scotland.—Stamp Brooksbank, Esq; to be one of the Commissioners for the Receipt of his Majesty's Revenue of Excise.

July 11. Col. Hugh Earl Percy, to be Major-General in America only.

— 13. William Beard, Esq; of the Middle-Temple, to be a Welch Judge.

— 31. Lately, The Rev. Dr. Montagu North, to be a Prebendary of Windsor. —— The Rev. Dr. Matthew Lamb, to be a Prebendary of Worcester. Robert Byres, Esq; to be Consul at Memel.—John Wallace, Esq; to be Consul at Bergen.

August

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August 5. The Right Hon. Ch. Jenkinson, Esq; to be Clerk of the Pells in Ireland.

All Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, reduced with their corps, at the last peace, and still remaining on half-pay on the English establishment, who desired to be again employed in their present rank, were directed, from the War-office, to signify the same to the Secretary at War.

—15. Walter Fletcher Gason, of the second troop of Horse-guards, to be Sub-Brigadier and Cornet.

— 31. Lately, the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, to be Aulnager, and Collector of the Subsidies of Aulnager, Ireland. —— Mariot Arbuthnot, Esq; to be one of the Commissioners for the Naval Affairs in North-America.

September 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Burton Phillipson, of the first regiment of Dragoons, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.—Lieutenant-Colonel James Murray, of the third regiment of Foot-Guards, to be Governor of Upnor Castle.

—20. Robert Ainslie, Esq; to be his Majesty's Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, in the room of John Murray, Esq; deceased.

— 30. Lately, the Rev. Mr. Carrington, to be a Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral.—Daniel Bomeester, to be his Majesty's Consul in Sicily, Malta, and the adjacent islands.—John Sharrat, Esq; to be Consul at Carthagena, in Spain.——Joseph Curtoys, Esq; to be Consul at Barcelona.

Octob. The Right Hon. Robert Lord Viscount Clare, the Right Hon. Wellbore Ellis, and the Right Hon. Henry Flood, the office or offices of his Majesty's Vice Treasurer and Receiver-General and Pay-Master General of all his Majesty's Revenues, Profits, and Casualties whatsoever, in the Kingdom of Ireland.—The Right Hon. Edward Lord Clive, to be Recorder of Shrewsbury.——The Rev. Mr. Clarke, to the Deanry of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Tuam, Ireland.—The Rev. Mr. Thurlowe, to the Deanry of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Rochester.

Nov. 7. Lieutenant-Colonel John Douglas, of the second Regiment of Dragoons, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.—Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Leslie, of the 64th regiment of Foot, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.

— 10. The Right Hon. William Earl of Dartmouth, to be Keeper of the Privy Seal.—The Right Hon. Thomas Viscount Weymouth, to be one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.—The Right Hon. Lord George Sackville Germaine, to be one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

—11. Alexander Leith, of Burgh St. Peter, in Norfolk, Esq; a Baronet of Great-Britain. —— Henry Etherington, of Kingston upon Hull, Esq; a Baronet of Great-Britain.

— 17. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Lyttelton, to be of his Majesty's Privy Counsel; and Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's Forests, &c. beyond Trent.

— 18. The Right Hon. the Earl of Ashburnham, to be Groom of the Stole, and First Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty.—The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, to be Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.—George Colman, Esq; to

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to be Serjeant at Arms in Ordinary to his Majesty, and to attend the Speaker of the House of Commons in time of Parliament.

— 28. Charles Blagden, Esq; to be Physician; John Mervin Nooth, Esq; Purveyor and Physician Extraordinary;—Field, and Thompson Forster, Surgeons; James Jameson, and ——— Paine, Apothecaries; to the Hospital in North-America.—Col. Charles Rainsford, to be Governor of Chester, vice James Cholmondeley, deceased.

—30. Lately, the Right Hon. the Earl of Galloway, created a Knight of the Thistle.—Sir John Stepney, Bart. to be Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Dresden.—The Rev. Dr. Farmer, Master of Emanuel College, to be Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.—The Rev. Dr. Buckworth, to be a Canon or Prebendary of Canterbury.——George Payne, Esq; to be Keeper of the Lions, in the Tower of London.

Dec. 1. George Hall, Esq; to be Comptroller of his Majesty's Salt Duties, in the room of Francis Burton, Esq;—Francis Bartlam, Esq; to be Clerk of the Wardrobe.—Matthew Lewis, Esq; to be the Deputy of Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, in room of Anthony Chamier Esq;——The Hon. Mr. Sackville, to be private Secretary to Lord George Sackville Germaine, Secretary of State for the American Department.

— 15. The Right Hon. Lieutenant-General Sir John Irvin, created Knight of the Bath.

— 31. Lately, John St. John, Esq; to be Surveyor-General of all his Majesty's Honours, Castles, Lordships, Manors, &c. in England and Wales.—The Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, Knt. of the Bath, to be Captain-General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's islands of Grenada, the Granadines, and Tobago, in America.

DEATHS. 1775.

Jan. 1. The Marquis de Botta d'Adorno, Field Marshal of their Royal and Apostolic Majesties Armies, Imperial Vicar of Italy, &c. at Pavia.

2. Lord St. George, Baron of Hatley St. George, in the kingdom of Ireland, at Nice, in Italy. His Lordship was created Baron of Hatly St. George, on the 19th of April 1763, and married Elizabeth daughter of Christopher Dominick, Esq; by whom he had issue one son and a daughter, the former of whom died in December 1765.

10. Major-General Laurence, in Bruton-street. He was the first officer who introduced military discipline into India, where for 20 years he commanded the Company's troops.

Edward Codrington, Esq; brother to Sir William Codrington, Bart. in the South of France.

11 Mons. le Duc d'Ursell, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Lord of the Bed-chamber, Lieutenant-general, and Governor of Brussels, at Brussels.

The Rev. Richard Webb, A. M. Vicar of Downton, Wilts, and Prebendary of Salisbury and Lincoln cathedrals.

19. The Rev. Dr. Powell, Master of St. John's College, in Cambridge, Archdeacon of Colchester, and

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and Rector of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight.

20. The Hon. Thomas Hervey, second son to the late, and uncle to the present Earl of Bristol, in Old Bond-street, aged 77.

21. Sir John Brown, Bart. at Sunning, near Reading.

26. Dame Mary Jane Buckworth, relict of Sir John Buckworth, Bart.

30. The Hon. Mrs. Bellenden, at Southampton.

Feb. 1. The Hon. Nicholas Herbert, brother to the late, and uncle to the present Earl of Pembroke, member for Wilton in this and several other parliaments, and secretary of the island of Jamaica, at Great Glenham, Suffolk.

———Myer, Esq; Governor of Senegal.

2. Cardinal Ferdinand Maria de Rossi, at Rome.

Don Angelo Gabrielle, Prince of Presiedi, at Rome. He has left a sum towards portioning the daughters of the poorest of his vassals.

3. The Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Primrose, at her house in Clarges-street.

4. The Rev. Dr. John Ryder, Archbishop of Tuam, in Ireland, in the 78th year of his age, at Nice, in Italy. He was created Bishop of Killaloe, in 1741; was translated from thence to the see of Down and Connor, in 1743; and from thence to the Archbishopric of Tuam, in 1752.

Sir George Francis Hampson, Bart. of the island of Jamaica.

Lately, the Hon. Archibald Campbell, Esq; eldest son of Lord Stonefield, in France, where he went for the recovery of his health.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles William Pearce, the oldest officer in his Majesty's service, in Ireland.

6. The Right Hon. William Dowdeswell, Esq; one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Shire for the county of Worcester, at Nice, in Italy, where he went for the recovery of his health.

9. Miss Elizabeth Johnson, eldest daughter to Sir William Johnson, Bart. in the 18th year of her age, at Aberdeen.

10. Capt. Edward Cauldwell, of the royal-navy.

14. Lady Cust, widow and relict of Sir John Cust, Bart. late Speaker of the House of Commons, in Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square.

Alexander Colden Esq; eldest son to the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor Colden, Post-master and Surveyor-General of New-York, at New-York.

18. The Right Hon. William Lord Napier, at Bath.

20. Sir George Oxenden, Bart. at Dean near Wingham, in Kent. Sir George succeeded his brother, Sir Henry, in the title, in 1720; and the title and family estate now descend to his son Sir Henry Oxenden, of Broom, Bart.

21. Edward Denny, Esq; member for Tralee, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland.

22. Capt. John Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of the Garrison at Portsmouth.

Alexander Fraser, Esq; of Strichen, in Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and General of the Mint in Scotland, at Strichen House.

23. Lady Christian Bruce, daughter

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ter of the late Earl of Kincardine at Balgonie, in Scotland.

Jean Francois Ogier, Honorary President of the Parliament of Paris, at Paris.

24. The Hon. Charles Nugent, brother to the Earl of Westmeath, in France.

26. The Right Hon. the Countess of Leicester, at her seat at Holkham, in Norfolk.

28. Lately, John Sydenham, Esq; only surviving grandchild of the celebrated Dr. Sydenham.

March 1. Arthur Connell, Esq; late Provost of Glasgow.

4. Dame Elizabeth Twisden, relict to the late and mother to the present Sir Roger Twisden.

5. Richard Barwell, Esq; late High Sheriff of the county of Surry.

6. Wm. Lowndes, Esq; one of the Auditors of his Majesty's Exchequer, in Duke-street, Westminster.

Dunbar Maxwell, Esq; youngest son of the late Sir William Maxwell, of Monreith, Bart. and brother of the Duchess of Gordon, at Edinburgh.

Mrs. Blair, Lady of William Blair, Esq; First Clerk of the Privy-Council, at St. James's.

7. The Right Hon. John Earl of Glasgow, at his seat of Kelbourn, in Scotland. His Lordship succeeded his father in 1740. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ross, by whom he has left issue one son and three daughters.

12. The Rev. Dr. Richardson, late Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

The Most Hon. William-Henry Kerr, Marquis of Lothian, Knight of the Thistle, Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Dragoons, and General of his Majesty's Forces, at Bath. His Lordship is succeeded, in titles and estate, by his eldest son, the Earl of Ancram, Lieutenant Colonel of the second troop of Grenadier-Guards.

13. The Right Hon. Sir John Rushout, Bart. a Member of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, and many years Representative in Parliament for the borough of Evesham, in Bloomsbury-square, aged upwards of 90. He is succeeded in title and estate, by his only son, now Sir John Rushout, Member in the last and present Parliaments for the same borough.

Mrs.————Erskine, relict of Admiral Erskine.

Thomas Lehunte, Esq; Representative in Parliament for the borough of Newnton, and one of the oldest Members in the Irish House of Commons, at Dublin.

16. Richard Price Thelwell, Esq; a near relation of the Lord Viscount Bulkeley, at Rulace, in Merionethshire.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Carolina-Augusta-Maria, youngest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, aged eight months, at London.

20. George William Hervey Earl of Bristol, of an apoplectic fit, in the 53d. year of his age, at Bath. His Lordship was born August 21, 1721; succeeded to the title in 1750, was one of the supporters of the pall the next year at the funeral of his Majesty's father; was nominated Ambassador to Spain in 1751; and soon after his return was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; afterwards, Lord Privy-Seal;

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Seal; and then, Groom of the Stole to his present Majesty. Having never been married, he is succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Augustus Hervey, Commander in the Navy, to whom he has left an estate of 20,000 l. a year.

21. ——— Penn, Esq; one of the proprietors of pennsylvania, of New-street, Spring-gardens.

Mr. Samuel Boyce, originally an engraver, author of several pretty poetical peices.

George Wilmot, Esq; father to Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart. and First Clerk in the Lord Chamberlain's office, at Bristol, where he went for the benefit of the waters.

24. The Right Hon. Lady Milton, daughter to the late Duke of Dorset, and sister to Lord George Germaine, in Tilney-street, May-fair.

25. The Marquis Hubert Pallavicini, at Parma, in Italy, Grand Chamberlain to the infant Prince of Parma.

31. The Right Hon. William Lord Boston, Baron of Boston, in the county of Lincoln, at London. His Lordship was born in 1707, created a Peer by his present Majesty in 1761, and also appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Princess Dowager of Wales, having been her Royal Highness's Chamberlain from the time of her marriage. His Lordship married Albinia, daughter of Henry Selwyn, Esq; by whom he had issue Frederick, now Lord Boston, William Henry, and Augusta Georgina Elizabeth, married to Thomas de Grey, Esq; son of the Right Hon. Lord Chief Justice de Grey.

April 1. The Lady of Joseph Dacre, Esq; daughter of the late Sir George Fleming, Bart. Bishop of Carlisle.

5. The Lady of Mr. Baron Grant, of the court of Exchequer of Scotland, and daughter of Lord Milton, in Dean-street, Soho.

The Right Hon. Lady Margaret Ogilvie, spouse to Sir John Wedderburne, of Ballendean, in Scotland, at Ballendean aforesaid.

——Cocks, Esq; Clerk of the Patents, a near relation to the Earl of Hardwicke. The reversion of his office goes to Robert Wilmot, Esq; son of Robert Wilmot, Esq; Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Mrs. Catharine Herbert, relict of the late Arthur Herbert, Esq; and sister to Sir Rowland Watts, aged 96.

11. Charles James Downall, Esq; a member of the Irish House of Commons, in Bolton-row.

The Rev. Dr. Roger Mostyn, rector of Christleton, Cheshire; prebendary of Windsor and Chester, uncle to Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart. at Christleton aforesaid.

14. Lady Fowler, relict of Sir Hans Fowler, Bart. of Richmond-Buildings, Soho.

16. Sir Anthony Thomas Abdy, Bart. of Albyne in Essex, and Cobham in Surry, Member of Parliament for Knaresborough in Yorkshire. He is succeeded in title and estate by his brother, now Sir William Abdy, Bart. a Captain in his Majesty's navy.

Miss Sophia Mawbey, daughter of Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart. at Vauxhall.

Cary Creed, Esq; of Castle-Cary, aged 88; leaving the bulk of his fortune to charitable uses.

17. Lady Gertrude Hotham, sister to the late Earl of Chesterfield, in New Norfolk-street.

20. Mrs. ——— Stukely, aunt to

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to Sir George Pocock, Knt. a widow lady of fortune, in Bennet-street, St. James's.

23. The Rev. Dr. Daniel Burton, Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford, and Rector of St. Peter le Poor, London.

25. Mrs. Geary, relict of Admiral Geary, in Chapel-street, Grosvenor-square.

26. The Hon. Henry Grimstone, of a paralytic disorder.

The Rev. Peter Boehler, a Bishop of the Bretheren's Church in Fetter-lane.

28. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Curteis, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral at Canterbury, Rector of Sevenoaks, in Kent, Rector of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, and one of the Proctors in Convocation for the Diocese of Rochester.

29. The Hon. Arthur Dawson, late one of the Barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, at Dublin.

May 2. Her Grace the Duchess of Montague, in Privy-Gardens.

3. The Hon. George Boscawen, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Land-forces, Colonel of the 24th Regiment of foot, and brother to Lord Viscount Falmouth, in York-street, St. James's.

The Hon. George Hamilton, in King's-mead-street, Bath.

4. The Rev. Samuel Holcombe, M. A. Prebendary of Worcester, and Rector of Severn, in that county.

Mrs. Staintloe, relict of John Staintloe, Esq. a Rear-admiral of his Majesty's Navy.

5. Col. John Blenerhasset, of Balliserdy, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, which county he represented in Parliament.

7. The Right Hon. Lady Sophia Lambert, eldest daughter of the Earl of Cavan, in Sackville-street.

Lady Williams, of Gwernwell Lodge, in Brecknockshire.

9. Miss Elizabeth Mill, sister of Sir Thomas Mill, Bart. at Edinburgh.

10. Her Majesty Carolina Matilda, Queen of Denmark and Norway, sister to his Majesty, of a malignant fever, at Zell, aged 23 years, and 10 months. [See our article of Characters.]

George Quarme, Esq; one of his Majesty's Commissioners of Excise.

12. Her most Serene Highness, Frederica, Duchess Dowager of Saxe Weissenfels, aged 60.

13. The Rev. Mr. Nott, one of the Minor Canons of Worcester Cathedral, Rector of St. Martin in that city, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

14. The Hon. W. Leybourne Leybourne, Esq; Governor of the island of Grenada.

17. The Right Hon. Lady Blaney, in Ireland.

19. John Shakespeare, Esq; Alderman of Aldgate-ward, and Sheriff in 1769, at Mile-End.

20. The Hon. Mr. Montagu, uncle to the Earl of Sandwich, in Hill-street, Berkeley-square.

The Hon. Miss Johnson, one of the Maids of Honour to her Majesty.

22. Sir Francis Vincent, of Stoke D'Aberton, near Cobham in Surry, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the said county, in Lower Grosvenor-street. He is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son, now Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.

23. The Rev. Dr. Crusius, Prebendary of Worcester and of Brecknock,

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neck, Rector of Shopdon in Herefordshire, and of St. John's near Worcester, in Charter-house-square.

Count Lasberg, an officer in the Hanoverian service, in the Stable-yard, St James's.

27. Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Conti.

Sir Archibald Seton, of Pitmedden, Bart. at Aberdeen.

28. Lady Lititia, Trelawney, in Portman-street.

June 2. The Rev. Francis Payne, LL. D. and F R. S. in the island of Jersey, Dean of the said island, and Rector of the Parish of St. Martin there.

Barlow Trecothick, Esq; who some time ago resigned his gown as Alderman of the ward of Vintry, at his country-house, near Croydon, in Surry.

5. Sir Charles Burton, Bart. senior Alderman, and Father of the city of Dublin.

6. Fettiplace Nott, Esq; High Steward of the city of Litchfield.

7. The Right Hon. the Countess of Kelly, at Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh.

8. The Hon. Miss Vernon, daughter of Lord Vernon, in Park-place, St. James's.

10. Sir John Thorold, of Cranwell, in the county of Lincoln, Bart. on his return from Bath.

12. The Lady of Sir Edmund Head, Bart. at Charles-Town, South Carolina.

20. The Right Hon. Ann, Countess Winterton, at Shillinglee Park, in Sussex.

22. His most Serene Highness the reigning Prince of Nassau Usingen, near Mentz.

The Hon. Edward Seymour, Esq; of University College, Oxford, eldest son of Lord Seymour, Dean of Wells, and nephew to his Grace the Duke of Somerset.

25. Hugh Mackay, Esq; Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of a Scotch regiment, in the service of the States-General, at Breda.

26. Finnes Eddowes, Esq; Surveyor-General of the Customs for Hants and Dorsetshire, at Portsmouth.

27. The Right Hon. Francis James Lesly, Lord Lindores, near the Tay, in Fifeshire, Scotland.

28. Eleanora Oglethorpe, widow of Eugene Marie de Bethisy, Marquis de Mezieres, Lieutenant-General of the French King's armies, Governor of the town and citadel of Amiens, &c. &c. at the seat of the Marquis de Mezieres, her son in France.

The Lady of the Right Rev. Dr. Cumberland, late Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and mother of Dr. Cumberland, author of the West-Indian, Brothers, and several other dramatic pieces.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Maynard, upwards of ninety years old, at Much-Easton, in Essex. He is succeeded in title by Sir Charles Maynard. His Lordship is said to have expended 3000 l. a year in acts of charity.

July 4. The Right Hon. Henry Lord Willoughby of Parham, aged seventy-nine, in Frith-street, Soho. His Lordship took his seat in the House of Peers, in consequence of their Lordships order on the hearing of his claim to the title, in March, 1767. His honours and fortune devolve to his only nephew, George Willoughby, Esq; late of Queen's College, Cambridge.

7. Col.

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7. Col. Thomas Gardner, of Cambridge, in America, of the wounds he received in the battle at Bunker's Hill, near Boston.

John Holwell, Esq; Commander of his Majesty's ship Resolution, a guardship at Portsmouth.

Rev. John Ratcliffe, D. D. upwards of thirty-seven years Master of Pembroke College, in the university of Oxford.

15. The Right Hon. Lady Erne, at Dublin.

Thomas Bayles, Esq; Mayor of Colchester.

18. The Hon. and Rev. Ambrose St. Joen, Rector of Bletstow, in the county of Bedford.

20. John Delaval, Esq; in the 20th year of his age, son to Sir John Hussey Delaval, Bart. at Bristol.

21. The Hon. Miss Maria Constantia Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, in the ninth year of her age, at Sunbury.

Col. Demetrius James, late of the 43d. regiment of foot, at Hythe, in Kent.

Robert Pratt, of Cosscomb, in Gloucestershire, Esq; one of the Masters in Chancery, and nephew to Lord Camden.

Simon Boerum, Esq; of Long island, New-York, one of the representatives in the General Assembly for King's County, and one of the delegates to the Continental Congress.

22. The Lady of the Bishop of Kildare, at Holyhead, on her way to Dublin.

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Newcombe, Dean of Rochester, and Rector of St. Mildred, in the Poultry, at Rochester.

24. John Pollen, Esq; late one of the Welch Judges, at Andover.

Ralph Warburton, Esq; only son of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, in his nineteenth year, at the Hot Wells, Bristol.

30. Mrs. Barnett, relict of the late Curtis Barnett, Esq; Commander of his Majesty's squadron, in India.

31. The Hon. Mrs. Helen Gray, spouse of William Stirling, Esq; at Calder.

August 8. Major-General Deane, in Thrift-street, Soho.

Robert Lennox, Esq; many years Chief of Bencoolen in the East-Indies, in Southampton-street.

9. His Excellency John Murray, Esq; his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, at Venice.

10. Col. Boisrond, of the Marines, at Portsmouth.

12. The youngest son of the Right Hon. Lord Mounteashell, in Ireland.

Sir Gregory Page, Bart. aged near 90. He has left the bulk of his immense fortune to Sir Gregory Turner, Bart.

15. Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, Bart. who represented the county of Denbigh in the three last parliaments, in an advanced age, at his seat at Combermere, in Cheshire. The title and family estate of about 9000l. per annum, descend to his eldest son, now Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton. Bart.

16. His Highness Prince Michael Czartoriski, Great Chancellor of Lithuania, &c. &c. at Warsaw.

Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq; one of the representatives in parliament for Harristown, in Ireland.

The Rev. Dr. Latablere, Dean of Tuam, &c. in Ireland.

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Lady Dyer, wife of Thomas Dyer, Esq; at Kensington.

20. Michael Obrien Dilkes, Esq; General, and Colonel of the 50th regiment now at Jamaica, at Dublin.

Col.——Macdonal, at Harrogate, in Yorkshire.

Miss Helen Ogilvie, eldest daughter of Sir John Ogilvie, of Inverquharity, Bart. at Kinnardy.

22. Lady Gordon, at Inver-Gordon Castle, in Rossshire, Scotland.

The new-born daughter of Lord Viscount Weymouth.

24. The Hon. Mrs. Bridget Hamilton, relict of the late Hon. George Hamilton, in King's-mead-street, Bath.

27. Mrs. Francis Newman, daughter of the late Sir Richard Newman, of Preston Deanery, Northamptonshire, Bart.

30. The Hon. Col. Beauclerk, late of the 3d regiment of Guards, and Governor of Pendennis Castle.

Lately, George Dyndon, LL. D. Register of the diocese of Dublin.

The Rev. Dr. Francis Corbett, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, aged 92. He succeeded the celebrated Dr. Swift.

Sept. 2. The Right Hon. Lady Mary Herbert, only surviving daughter of the late Duke of Powis, in her ninetieth year, at Paris.

Walter Biddulph, Esq; uncle to the present Sir Theophilus Biddulph, Bart. at Barton under Needwood in Staffordshire.

4. The Rev. Dr Cholwich, Vicar of Ermington and Holbeton, in Devonshire, and Prebendary of the cathedral of Exeter.

8. Sir Joseph Knight, Rear-Admiral of the White, at Harwich.

9. The Right Hon. Wm. Earl of Glencairne, Major-General in his Majesty's service; at Finlaystown, Renfrewshire. He is succeeded by his eldest son, James Lord Kilmaurs.

12. The Hon. Charles Colvil, Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of his majesty's 69th regiment of foot, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, at Fountain-Bridge, near Edinburgh.

The Hon. Lady Younge, relict of Sir William Younge, Bart. Knight of the Bath, and mother of the present Sir George Younge, Bart. at Waltham-House, in Essex.

16. The Right Hon. Allen, Earl Bathurst, member of the privy-council, and father of the present Lord Chancellor, aged 91; at Cirencester, Gloucestershire. [See our article of Characters.]

Mons. Strube, vice chancellor of the electorate of Hanover, in his eightieth year.

Dr. John Stevenson, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

The Right Hon. Constantine Phipps, Baron Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland; at the Spa, in Germany. His Lordship is succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Constantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave.

The Hon. James Habersham, Esq; President of his majesty's council of Georgia, in America.

The Rev. Mr. Meredith, Rector of Ross, in Herefordshire, brother to Sir William Meredith, Bart. at Bristol.

17. Charles Allanson, Esq; member of parliament for Rippon; at Bramhambiggen, in Yorkshire.

Captain Thomas Forbes, aged 102 years; at Harwich.

18. John Conyers, Esq; member for Essex; at Copped Hall, in that county.

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The Hon. David Falconer, brother to Lord Halkerton; in Bury-court, St. Mary Axe.

Miss Temple, only daughter of Sir Richard Temple, Bart. one of the commissioners of his majesty's navy; at Hackney.

21. The Rev. Mr. Malet, Rector of Combflory, Somerset, and of Maiden Newton, Dorset, and Prebendary of Gloucester.

23. The Hon. Captain John Bentinck, of his majesty's navy, son of the late Count Bentinck, and grandson of the Earl of Portland.

24. Her serene highness the Princess Amelia, of Mecklenburg Schwerin, youngest sister to the reigning duke.

Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart. far advanced in years; in Queen's-row, near Buckingham-Gate. He married in August, 1730, Sarah, one of the daughters of Mr. Richard Righton, of Chippingnorton, in Oxfordshire; by whom he has left two sons, Richard, who succeeds him in his title, now Sir Richard Reynell, Bart. and Thomas, a Lieutenant in his majesty's 62d regiment.

26. The right hon. Don Antonio Lopez Suasso, Baron and Lord of Auvernes le Grass, in Brabant; at the Hague.

Lady Whitmore, relict of the Hon. Sir Thomas Whitmore, Knt. of the Bath; at Bath.

29. Mr. Stephen Winton, aged 99, at Windsor Forest.

October 3. Cardinal Francis Koenraed, Baron von Radt, and Prince Bishop of Constance.

4. The Hon. Miss Mary Falconer, daughter of David, and sister to the present Lord Falconer, of Halkerton; at Edinburgh, in Scotland.

6. Richard Lowndes, Esq; late member for Bucks; at Hillesden, in the same county.

8. The right hon. the Countess Dowager of Tankerville; at her house, in Kensington-square.

10. The hon. James Cholmondeley, uncle of the Earl of Cholmondeley, General of his majesty's land forces, and Colonel of the 6th regiment of dragoons; at Roehampton.

Louis Nicholas Victor de Félix, Comte de Muy, Marshal of France, Knight of the French King's Orders, Governor of Ville Franche, Minister and Secretary of State in the department of War.

11. The hon. Mrs. Hay, lady of his Excellency the Governor of Barbadoes; in Barbadoes.

12. Nicholas Bonfoy, Esq; Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons; at his seat near Huntingdon.

14. Monsieur de Massow, minister of state, in the revenue department, to his Prussian majesty.

Scudamore Winde, Esq; one of the Assistant Judges of the supreme Court of Judicature, and member of the Assembly, in Jamaica.

Miss Elizabeth Gordon, eldest daughter of the hon. Alexander Gordon, and the right hon. the Countess Dowager of Dumfries and Stair; at Perth, in Scotland.

15. Lieutenant-General Watersleben, in the service of his Prussian majesty; at Berlin.

16. The Rev. David Durell, D. D. Principal of Hertford college, Oxford; Prebendary of Canterbury, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1765, 1766, and 1767.

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—— Saunders, Esq; late governor of Madrass; in Upper Brooke-street.

Lady Murray, at Kensington.

20. The right hon. Alexander M'Donnel, Earl of Antrim, one of the Lords of his majesty's most hon. Privy Council in Ireland, and governor of the county of Antrim; in Granby-row, Dublin. He is succeeded in title and estate by his only son, the hon. William Randall M'Donnel, commonly called Lord Viscount Dunluce, now Earl of Antrim.

23. William Parry, Esq; deputy comptroller of his majesty's mint, and clerk in the navy office.

25. The right hon. the Countess Dowager of Kerry; in Wigmore-street, Cavendish square. Her ladyship was daughter to the Earl of Cavan. Her ladyship's first husband was the Earl of Kerry, by whom she had issue the present Earl, and Lady Ann, married to Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq. She married, Secondly, James Tilson, Esq; by whom she had issue, one daughter, Mrs. Mahon, to whom she has bequeathed the residue of her fortune.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Trail, Professor of Divinity, at Glasgow.

27. Sir Francis Whichcote, Bart. at Grantham, Lincolnshire; he is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son Christopher Whichcote, now Sir Christopher Whichcote, Baronet, of Aswarby, in the county of Lincoln.

The Baron Rotwell, in New Bond-street.

31. Lately, Sir John Molesworth, Bart. member in the present parliament for Cornwall, and Colonel of the Cornish regiment of militia; at Pencarrow, in Cornwall.

November 6. Peter Burrell, Esq; surveyor of his majesty's crown lands, father to the Lady of Lord Algernon Percy, second son to the Duke of Northumberland.

7. James Coke, Esq; great-uncle to the present Lord Viscount Grimston.

10. Stephen Penny, Esq; comptroller of the excise in Scotland.

Mrs. Peachey, sister to Sir J. Peachey, Bart.

13. His most serene highness Christian IV. Prince Palantine of Deux-Ponts, at his palace of Peterscheim. His highness is succeeded by his nephew, Prince Charles of Deux-Ponts.

Henry Forrester, Esq; first general accomptant of the revenue of excise, in Great Kirby street, Hatton-Garden.

Dr. Henry Season, physician and astronomer, and writer of the Almanack under his name; at Bromham, in Wilts.

James Smollet, of Bonhill, Esq; one of the commissaries of Edinburgh.

14. John Smith, Esq; member in parliament for the city of Bath.

16. The hon. Mrs. Osborn, only daughter of the Admiral Lord Viscount Torrington, and grandmother to Sir George Osborn, Bart.

Adam Hay, Esq; member of parliament for the shire of Peebles, in Scotland.

21. Lieutenant-General Cadwallader; in Ireland.

The right hon. Lord Blaney, colonel of the 38th regiment of foot, in Ireland.

Sir John Hill, Knt. of the Polar Star,

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Star, a Swedish order; in Golden-square. [See our article of Characters for this year.]

8. Roger Hope Elletson, Esq; late Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, at Bath.

The right hon. Thomas Earl of Cassilis, one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland in the present parliament, at Callean. His Lordship is succeeded in titles and estate by his only brother David Kennedy, Esq; of Newark.

Lately, Sir George Hawkinson, Knt. physician to King George the First.

Dec. 3. Cardinal Vincent Malvezzi, at Cento, in Italy.

7. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Knt. of the Bath, member for Heydon, in Yorkshire, Admiral of the Blue squadron, Lieutenant-General of Marines, and elder brother of the Trinity-House, in spring-gardens. [See our article of Characters.]

Lady Elizabeth Vanaxe Sambrook, relict of Sir Samuel Vanaxe Sambrook, Bart. and brother of the late Sir Jeremy, aged 94.

8. Cardinal Fabricio Serbelloni, Bishop of Ostia, at Rome.

12. The right honourable Lady Dowager Martha Chedworth, in Leicester-fields.

15. Louis Casimir, Sovereign Count of Ysemberg, Budingen, &c. at Budingen.

19. Robert Dods, Esq; Marchmont Herald at Arms, at Edinburgh.

19. Sir Richard Spry, Rear-Admiral of the White, in Devonshire.

20. John Scott, Esq; Major General of his Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 26th regiment of foot, and member of parliament for the county of Fife, at Balcomea, in the said county.

Lord Hobart, only son of the right hon. the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

21. The hon. Mrs. Parker, Lady of John Parker, Esq; one of the representatives for the county of Devon, and sister to Lord Grantham, at present Ambassador at Madrid, at Saltram, in Devonshire.

22. The hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq; Speaker of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and late President of the Continental Congress, in Virginia.

23. Lady Dowager Dering, at Denton, Kent.

John Owen, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the 59th regiment of foot, at Bath.

The Rev. Erasmus Saunders, Rector of St. Martin in the Fields, and one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral of Rochester, at Bristol.

30. Mrs. Monk, sister to the late General Bligh, and aunt to the Earl of Darnley, in Cecil-street.

31. Charles Milborne, of Wonestow, in Monmouthshire, Esq; brother-in-law to the Earl of Oxford.

Lady Irwine, mother to the present Lieutenant-General Sir John Irwine, K. B.

Cardinal Vecchis, at Rome.

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APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Some Account of the new Entertainment, called a Regatta, *introduced from* Venice *into* England, *in the Course of the Year* 1775,

ON Friday the 23d of June preparations were made in the morning for the celebration of this long-expected show. Before noon several of the companies and great numbers of pleasure barges were moored in the river, with flags, &c. Half a guinea was asked for a seat in a common barge.

Early in the afternoon, the whole river from London-bridge to the Ship tavern, Milbank, was covered with vessels of pleasure, and there seemed to be a general combination to make a gay evening.—Above 1200 flags were flying before four o'clock; and such was the public impatience, that scores of barges were filled at that time.—Scaffolds were erected on the banks and in vessels; and even on the top of Westminster-hall there was an erection of that kind.—Vessels were moored in the river, for the sale of liquors, and other refreshments.

Before five o'clock, Westminster-bridge was covered with spectators, in carriages and on foot, and men even placed themselves in the bodies of the lamp-irons. Plans of the regatta were sold from a shilling to a penny each, and songs on the occasion sung, in which *Regatta* was the rhyme for *Ranelagh*, and *Royal Family* echoed to *Liberty*.—The tops of the houses were covered, and the sashes of many windows taken out; and perhaps there was not one boat disengaged whose owner chose to work. Before six o'clock it was a perfect fair on both sides the water, and bad liquor, with short measure, was plentifully retailed. The bells of St. Martin's were rung in the morning, and those of St. Margaret's during the afternoon.

The whole river formed a splendid scene, which was proportionably more so nearer to Westminster-bridge. A river barge, used to take in ballast, was on this occasion, filled with the finest ballast in the world—above 100 elegant ladies.—The avenues to the bridge were covered with gambling-tables. Occasional constables guarded every passage to the water-side, and took money for admission, from half a crown to a penny.—Soon after six, drums, fifes, horns, trumpets, &c. formed several little concerts under the several arches of the bridge. This was succeeded by firing of cannon from a platform before the Duke of Richmond's, who, as well as his Grace of Montague, and the Earl of Pembroke, had splendid companies on the occasion. At half past seven, the Lord Mayor's barge moved, and falling down the stream made a circle towards the bridge, on which 21 cannon were fired as a salute; and just before it reached the bridge the wager-boats started,

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started, on the signal of firing a single piece of cannon. They were absent near 50 minutes; and, on their return, the whole procession moved, in a picturesque irregularity, towards Renelagh. The Thames was now a floating town. All the cutters, sailing-boats, &c. in short, every thing, from the dung-barge to the wherry, was in motion.

The company landed at the stairs about nine o'clock, when they joined the assembly which came by land, in the Temple of Neptune, a temporary octagon kind of building, erected about 20 yards below the rotunda, lined with striped linen of the different coloured flags of the navy, with light pillars near the centre, ornamented with streamers of the same kind loosely flowing, and lustres hanging between each. —It happened, however, that this building was not swept out, or even finished, when the company assembled, which prevented the cotillion dancing till after supper. This room discovered great taste, but we cannot reconcile the temple of Neptune's being supplied with musicians in Sylvan habits.

At half after ten the rotunda was opened for supper, which discovered three circular tables, of different elevations, elegantly set out, though not profusely covered. The rotunda was finely illuminated with party-coloured lamps, and those displayed with great taste and delicacy; the centre was solely appropriated for one of the fullest and finest bands of music, vocal and instrumental, ever collected in these kingdoms; the number being 240, in which were included the first masters, led by Giardini; and the whole directed by Mr. Simpson, in a manner that did him great credit. It was opened with a new grand piece composed for the occasion, after which various catches, and glees were admirably sung by Messrs. Vernon, Reinhold, &c. &c. But the illumination of the orchestra had been unfortunately overlooked, which gave that part of the design a gloomy appearance.

Supper being over, a part of the company retired to the temple, where they danced minuets, cotillions, &c. without any regard to precedence; while others entertained themselves in the great room. Several temporary structures were erected in the gardens, such as bridges, palm-trees, &c. &c. which were intended to discover something novel in the illumination style, but the badness of the evening prevented their being exhibited.

The company consisted of about 2000, among whom were the first personages of distinction, viz. their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, Duke of Northumberland, Lords North, Harrington, Stanley, Tyrconnel, Lincoln, their respective Ladies, &c. also Lords Lyttleton, Coleraine, Carlisle, March, Milbourne, Cholmondeley, Petersham, &c. the French, Spanish, Prussian, Russian, and Neapolitan ambassadors, &c. &c.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, accompanied by Lord Cholmondeley, the Duchess of Lofton, and her sister, went on board his Royal Highness's barge, at Somerset Stairs, to see the regatta.

The Duke of Cumberland, accompanied by the Hon. Miss Luttrell, the Ladies Ferrers, Ranelagh, &c. went on board his Royal Highness's barge, at Somerset-Stairs, and

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and was rowed to Westminster-bridge to see the regatta. The royal standard was hoisted on board the barge.

A State of the Dispute between the Count de Guines, Ambassador from the Court of France, against his late Secretaries the Sieurs Tort *and* Roger, *and the Sieur* Delpech, *with the decision of the Judges**.

The Count's State of the Matter.

THE Count, on being appointed ambassador to the court of London, at the commencement of the dispute between the courts of London and Madrid respecting Falkland's Islands, employed the Sieur Tort as his chief secretary for private affairs, and the Sieur Roger as his deputy. The former of these, with one Delpech, and a teacher of French in London, he declares to have been concerned together in fraudulently smuggling goods into England, under his name. But this trade, however beneficial, was not, it seems, sufficient to gratify the avarice of the Sieur Tort. He presently formed an acquaintance with a woman, who assumed the title of Countess of Moriencourt, and who was intimately connected with Mr. Salvadore the Jew, and with a number of stock-jobbers. To them, and to the Sieurs Heruello and Morphy, the Sieur Bordieu, the Sieur Chollet, the Sieur Thelusson, and others, he offered to communicate his Excellency's dispatches, on condition of being allowed a third of the profits which might accrue from their speculations: and he even scrupled not to assure them, that the ambassador was not only privy to this proceeding, but was also to reap a separate emolument from it himself.

It was by an anonymous letter, received by Prince Masserano in March, 1771, that the Count first obtained intelligence that Tort had the smallest connection with the public funds; in which clandestine practice, be it at the same time remarked the Sieur Roger, and one Vauchon, who also belonged to the ambassador's suite, were concerned with him; in the belief, as they protested, that it was not without his Excellency's approbation.

From this period, the Sieur Tort was denied all access to the ambassador's dispatches: and, from this period, all his transactions in the Alley, and those of his associates, were so absurdly conducted, that they could not possibly have been directed by one in his secrets. The object of their speculations was to lower the funds, when they ought to have raised them: instead of gaming on the certainty of a peace, they gamed on the certainty of a war; and the 19th of April convinced them of their error, by bringing events to light, of which the Count, in his public character, had received authentic information a considerable time before. Stocks rose considerably; and, on the 20th,

* From Memoire pour le Comte de Guines, et Memoire contre le Comte, published lately at Paris.

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the Sieur Tort, having obtained leave some time before to pass a few days in the country with certain merchants of his acquintance, eloped to France. On the 21st the Countess of Meriencourt waited upon his Excellency, to whom she was an utter stranger; and, with great agitation, begged to know if he could inform her where the Sieur Tort was, adding, that doubtless he could not be ignorant of the vast sums, which, by Tort's orders, Mr. Salvadore had sunk for his Excellency in the Alley. This visit of the Countess opened the whole scene of imposture; and as it then appeared, that the Sieurs Roger and Vauchon were accessary to it, the ambassador instantly dismissed them both.

His Excellency omitted no measures which might remove a possibility of doubt of his own innocence, and bring to justice the offender Tort, whose guilt appeared every day more flagrant. The first intelligence received of him was, that he was at Montreuil, where Salvadore, by appointment, presently joined him. There they had a long private conference together; and from Montreuil they were traced to Chantilly, where a second conference took place, and where Salvadore left Tort, and set out for Paris. From Chantilly, the latter wrote a letter to his Excellency, expressing, among other things, his contrition for what was past, and his hopes of meriting forgiveness, by his future conduct.

In order to facilitate the apprehending of him, the Ambassador immediately transmitted the contents of this letter to the Duke de la Vrilliere, then minister for foreign affairs. As for Salvadore, on his arrival in Paris, he sent for the Sieur Boyer, the Count's *homme d' affaires*, and told him, that the Count de Guines owed him 95,000 livres, which by his Excellency's private directions, he had sunk for him in the English funds; that he was well assured the Sieur Boyer would reimburse him; and that, for particulars, he referred him to M. Tort, at Chantilly. The Sieur Boyer accordingly went thither; and Tort, thinking to intimidate him, complained aloud of the Ambassador, and said he had sacrificed himself to his interests. Borne away by passion, however, he inadvertently added, that, *if his Excellency gave him a stab before his face, he would give his Excellency a stab behind his back, which he little expected.*

At length an order was issued by the Duke de Vrilliere to arrest Tort; of which receiving information from Delpech, who then resided at Paris, he stole away from Chantilly to the capital; where from a counter information of the same Delpech, he was apprehended on the 28th of April, and committed to the Bastille. On the 30th of June the Duke de la Vrilliere wrote to the Ambassador, requesting his opinion, whether the banishing Tort from Paris, to the distance of 20 leagues, would be a proper punishment for him?—His Excellency insisted on more severity; and, while matters were in this uncertainty, the Duke d' Aguillon succeeded to the department of foreign affairs. From this minister the Count unexpectedly received letters of recal, at the end of August; and, on his return, was informed, to his utter astonish-

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astonishment, that the secret object of this recal was an accusation brought against him by Tort, the very man whom he had himself accused, and delivered into the hands of government.

Though the Sieur Tort produced no proof of his charge, yet the Count thought it his duty, in several memorials, presented to the King in council, to make it appear that the whole was an absurd and contradictory piece of calumny. This he could not but suppose he had done effectually; as it was the condition on which he was to be reinstated in the ambassy. On the 10th of January, 1772, he returned to England. Tort left the Bastille a few days after; and the first use he made of his liberty was to spread a report, that he had been justified by his Majesty's council. This falsehood the Count contradicted, in a spirited letter to the Sieur Thelusson, one of the persons with whom Tort had speculated in the funds; which being transmitted to the French ministry, served as a pretext for the criminal prosecution to which he is now exposed. By command of his Majesty, however, a stop was put to the proceedings till the 4th of June, 1773, the King of England's birth day, when his Excellency asked and obtained leave to return, and vindicate his character in person.

Though it was not till some days after the stipulated time, that the letters of recal arrived, yet his Excellency found, that the Sieur Tort had already lodged a criminal information against him at Calais; and, on that account, in order to preserve the representative of his Majesty's person from indignity, he found himself under the humiliating necessity of returning to France by way of Dieppe.

The Sieur Tort's *State.*

HE maintains, that, in all his transactions in the Alley, he was nothing more than an agent of the Count de Guines. On his arrival in London, says the Sieur Tort, his Excellency retained in his pay no less than fourscore domestics, besides a dozen *valets de chambre*, and a band of musicians. By a letter of unlimited credit on Walpole, the banker, he was enabled to support so expensive a retinue, till about the end of December, 1770; when, that resource failing, he was reduced to the necessity of either living with less splendor, or speculating in the funds. The latter alternative he adopted; and, as secrecy was necessary, he employed in that service, as every Ambassador ought to do, a man in whom he could confide.

That his transactions in the Alley were so unfortunate, adds the Sieur, there can be little cause to wonder, from his utter ignorance of what was going forward between the courts of London and Madrid, till the 19th of April, when it was publicly announced to the whole kingdom, that, the misunderstanding being adjusted, there would be no war. It was by his Excellency's orders, given to him in private, that he left London on the 20th. He was not even allowed to delay his departure a moment, his Excellency being every minute afraid, that some of the persons, who had speculated so deeply on his account, should appear before him as his creditors, and that he should not have the confidence to declare, to his

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his face, that Tort was not his agent. The Count had asserted, that the Sieur Tort eloped to France, under the pretext of passing a few days in the country, with certain merchants of his acquaintance, to which he had obtained his Excellency's consent some days before. The present Memorialist refers to the Ambassador's letter, of the 24th of June, 1771, to the minister; in which he expressly says, that, *on the 20th of April, at nine in the morning, he gave him leave to pay a visit to the Countess of Moriencourt.**

His meeting with Salvadore at Montreuil, he insinuates, was perfectly accidental. He even declares, that, though he had an interview with him at Chantilly afterwards, yet the only motive he had for seeking that interview was, to communicate to him in confidence what had happened to his Excellency, and to request his advice upon it. He owns his having written a letter to the Ambassador from Chantilly, though by no means a *penitential* one, or at all the same with that alluded to by his antagonist. On the particulars of his interview with the Sieur Boyer, he is rather reserved: though he exculpates Delpech from the charge of betraying him into the hands of government, and asserts, that Boyer sent this man thither, in order to prevail with him to leave France†.

The Decision of this Dispute.

'ON the 2d day of June, 1775, the criminal chamber of the Chatelet passed sentence in the cause between the Count de Guines and the Sieurs Tort and Roger, his secretaries. It is in substance as follows:

'The complaint of the Sieur Tort against the Count de Guines, respecting his gaming in the English funds, is declared calumnious, and he is condemned to make reparation to the Ambassador, according to a process to be drawn up; he is further condemned in a fine of 300 livres for damages, to be given, with the consent of the Count, to the prisoners in the Chatelet.

'With respect to the complaint of the Count against Tort and Roger, for having betrayed the secrets of the state, the two latter are expelled from the court. The Sieur Tort is to pay five sixths of the expence of the process, and the Count the other sixth. The other parties are to pay their own expences.'

* As a proof of the Ambassador's delinquency, the Sieur Tort asserts, that, on the morning after his departure, when the Countess of Moriencourt, full of alarm and apprehension, waited upon him to know if he could give her any tidings of the Sieur, his Excellency confessed to her he was ruined in London, squeezed her by the hand, and conjured her, in the name of God, *not to speak so loud.*

† It would be a great pity to omit, on this occasion, the very honourable testimony the Count de Guines gives of three French merchants, Messieurs Beaumont, Darnauld, and Fagan. He says that these honest men, being offered by Tort a share in his dealings, were so shocked at the iniquity of the plan, on which they were founded, that they refused to have any concern in them.

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All the memorials published by Tort are ordered to be erased, suppressed, and cancelled, with a strict admonition to Mr. F. his advocate, never to publish any such memorials on such pains as shall appertain. Tort, Roger and Delpech, are not cleared from the accusation made by Count de Guines against them, of having abused his name and dispatches, and for other ministerial objects; they are only put out of the Court by the Chatelet upon these points.

Some Account of the apprehending and trying of Robert Perreau, *of Golden square, Apothecary;* Daniel Perreau, *of Harley-street, and* Margaret Carolina Rudd, *for divers forgeries.*

ON Saturday evening, March the 11th, a gentleman came to the Public Office, in Bow-street, in company with a woman elegantly dressed, and inquired for one of the Magistrates. William Addington, Esq; being then in the parlour, the parties were introduced, when the man, after a short preface, in which he acquainted the Justice, that his name was Robert Perreau, and that he had lived as an apothecary, for some time in Golden-square, in great reputation, said he was come to do himself justice, by producing the person, who had given him a bond for 7500 l. which was a forgery. The woman denying the circumstance, and the parties mutually upbraiding each other, Mr. Addington thought proper, as there was great appearance of an iniquitous combination, to commit them both to Tothill-fields Bridewell, for further examination.

On the next day, from a variety of circumstances, there being a strong foundation to believe Robert Perreau's brother Daniel was also concerned in the forgery, he was detained in Tothill-fields Bridewell, upon his going to pay Robert a visit.

The Wednesday following, they were all three examined before the bench of Magistrates at Guildhall, Westminster; but nothing material appeared at this, or any of the subsequent examinations previous to their trials, but what appeared again at the trials in a more satisfactory light; except some few facts, which have been since found to be false; and some others, the truth of which there is, on that, and many other accounts, all the reason in the world to disbelieve: we shall therefore proceed to the trials, just taking notice, that, at the above mentioned examination at Guildhall, Mrs. Rudd was, on making the usual declarations, admitted an evidence for the crown.

Robert's trial first came on, on Thursday, the first of June, at eight in the morning, before Mr. Justice Aston, Barons Burland and Hotham, &c. at the Sessions house, in the Old-Bailey. He was indicted for uttering a bond of 7500 l. under four counts, the first with an intent to defraud William Adair, Esq; the second to defraud Henry and Robert Drummond, Esqrs. and the other two for uttering and publishing it, knowing it to be forged.

Mr. Howarth, counsel for the prosecution, opened the trial, by barely recounting the charges laid in the indictment; he was followed by Mr. Lee, on the same side; who

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who expatiated more fully on the nature and circumstances of the offence; at the same time remarking to the Jury, that as *public justice* was alone the object of the prosecution, they were entirely to be guided as the favourable or unfavourable circumstances appeared to them.

Mr. Henry Drummond was the first witness called, who deposed, that about the 15th or 16th of last January, the prisoner at the bar whom he had known from being apothecary in several families he was connected with, came to him to borrow 1500 l. to assist him in perfecting a purchase he had just made which would come to 14 or 15000 l. that he offered to give him as security the bond of a man, whom he would hereafter name, who was very responsible. To this Mr. Drummond made answer, that the title deeds of such an estate would alone be ample security; but this the prisoner objected to, as the business was to be transacted in the country. However, as he wanted the money but for *ten days*, he would give him as security the lease of a house in Harley-street, Cavendish-square, with his own note for the proper execution of the assignment. This Mr. Drummond accepted of.

On the 7th of March following, the prisoner came to him, and after apologizing to him for not being punctual to his time of payment, told him he had a further favour to beg of him, which was to borrow the sum of 7500l. more on a bond of William Adair, Esq; out of which he would pay Mr. Drummond his first demand of 1500l. Mr. Drummond desired to see the bond, which the prisoner produced. On Mr. Drummond's inspection of it, he expressed his doubts of its being Mr. Adair's signature; the prisoner replied, there could not be the least doubt of it, for that it was witnessed by two of Mr. Adair's domestics, Jones and Stark; that he then talked much of Mr. Adair's friendship for him, and he *believed*, he said, that this bond was giving him by Mr. Adair as the balance of his account. Mr. Drummond's brother and partner coming in on this conversation, was shewn the bond, who likewise believed it *not* to be Mr. Adair's; they therefore told the prisoner to call the next day, and they would consider of it. The prisoner at the bar then went away, but returned about two hours afterwards, who said he saw Mr. Adair just going out airing; that he told him the circumstance, and that Mr. Adair observed the only reason he could account for Mr. Drummond's thinking it *not* to be his hand-writing, was the difference of twenty years [much about the time Mr. Drummond had last seen his signature]. This, however, did not satisfy Messrs. Drummonds; they still doubted, and desired he would call next day. In the evening of that day, however, Messrs. Drummond, being resolved to be satisfied, waited on a friend of Mr. Adair, who assured them it was not his hand-writing.

About eleven o'clock next day the prisoner called; and, as a confirmation of the signature's being genuine, produced a letter from Mr. Adair, signed only with the initials W. A. to that purpose. This, however, would not satisfy Messrs. Drummonds; they therefore proposed to the prisoner going down

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down to Mr. Adair's to put an end to their doubts; to this he, at first, made a slight objection, by saying Perhaps he is gone out; but, the others asking it a second time, he very chearfully consented, and Mr. H. Drummond and he stept into the latter's carriage, and drove to Mr. Adair's. when they arrived, Mr. Adair not only denied the whole circumstance, but even knowing any of the name of Perreau. This seemed to astonish the prisoner, as well as the rest of the parties, which made the former reply, "Surely, Sir, you are jocular." However, on Mr. Adair's persisting in the contrary, the prisoner seemed to be agitated, and said, "Send for Mrs. D. Perreau, and she will explain this matter." Mrs. D. Perreau (Mrs. Rudd) was accordingly sent for; who, upon being pressed to tell what she knew about it, confessed herself to be the person who forged the bond, and that she made this discovery sooner than let an innocent man, with a large family, suffer. Mr. Drummond then said, he did not see her till the Saturday following at Sir John Fielding's, along with the prisoner and his brother.

Mr. G. Wheatly (Clerk to Messrs. Drummonds bank) circumstantially corroborated the above evidence, as did Mr. Drummond's brother, with this further circumstance, that, when the latter doubted Mrs. Rudd's powers to forge Mr. Adair's name, she took up a slip of paper, and wrote the name in every respect similar to that at the bottom of the bond.

Sir Thomas Frankland deposed, that the prisoner was his apothecary for fifteen years; he always believed him to be an honest man, and had lent him, at different times, several sums of money on bonds, particularly one of Mr. Adair's, for 4000l. on the 24th December, 1774, which was to be paid the 29th of March last.

Mr. R. Wilson deposed, he filled the bond attempted to be passed to Messrs. Drummond; that he had it from the prisoner at the bar, with a minute in his own hand-writing, directing him to fill it up as a debt due from W. Adair, Esq; to R. Perreau, Esq; which minute he afterwards desired him to burn, the prisoner at the bar first crossing it with a pen.

Mr. Ogleyie deposed, that he was in a familiar acquaintance with Mr. Adair's hand-writing, and that *That* at the bottom of the bond was no way like it.

Mr. J. Adair deposed the same, and Mr. Jones, one of the supposed subscribing witnesses, declared his name to be a forgery.

These evidences being all gone through, the prisoner entered on his defence which he read from his notes, Mr. Justice Aston having previously pointed out to him *where* it was necessary for him to be particular. The prisoner was an hour and twenty minutes reading it, which principally consisted in a detail of the many artifices made use of by Mrs. Rudd to engage him to get those bonds discounted.—That she was constantly conversing about the interest she had with Mr. William Adair.—That, among other things, Mr. Adair had, by his interest with his majesty, obtained a promise of a baronetage for Mr. Daniel Perreau, and was about procuring him a seat in parliament.—That Mr. Adair had promised to open a bank, and to take the two

Perreaus

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Perreaus into partnership with him —That he received many letters signed William Adair, which he did not doubt really came from William Adair.—That Mr. Wm. Adair had promised to give them a very considerable part of his fortune during his life; and was to allow Mr. Daniel Perreau two thousand five hundred pounds per ann. for his houshold expences, and six hundred pounds per ann. for her pin money.—That Mr. Daniel Perreau purchased a house in Harley-street for four thousand pounds, which money Mr. William Adair was to give them.—That, when Daniel Perreau was pressed by the person he bought the house of for the money, the prisoner understood they applied to Mr. W. Adair, and that his answer was, That he had lent the King seventy thousand pounds, and had purchased a house in Pall-mall at seven thousand pounds to carry on the banking business in; therefore could not spare the four thousand pounds at that time. And that Mrs. Rudd told him (the prisoner) that Mr. Adair desired that he would get a bond for five thousand three hundred pounds filled up, as he had done once before, and Mr. Adair would execute it.—That after Wilson had filled up the bond, he delivered it to Mrs. Rudd, who gave it to the prisoner a day or two after executed.—That he borrowed the four thousand pounds upon this bond, which was dated the 20th of December, of Sir Tho. Frankland, and delivered Sir Thomas's draught to Mrs. Rudd. —— That about the 10th of March he told Mrs. Rudd, that Mr. Adair's bond that he had given to Sir Thomas Frankland in November was nearly due; and Mrs. Rudd told him, the next day, that Mr. Adair desired he would once more borrow for him five thousand pounds. — That he made many objections to being employed in so disagreeable a business; but at last, supposing he should oblige Mr. Adair, he consented, and accordingly got a bond filled up by the stationer for seven thousand five hundred pounds, payable to himself. — That he delivered it to Mrs. Rudd, on Saturday the 4th of March, in the presence of his wife, his brother, and Mr. Cassadey. — That Mrs. Rudd returned it him executed on the Tuesday following. And that he never had the least suspicion but that the bonds were really executed by Mr. William Adair. — That, when he took the bond to Mr. Drummonds, he did not say that he had himself seen it executed by Mr. Adair, but that he knew it was Mr. Adair's hand-writing, as he had often seen letters from Mr. Adair to Mr. Daniel Perreau and his wife.—That when he informed Mrs. Rudd of the observations Mr. Drummond had made upon the signature to the bond, she went out, and upon her return she told him she had seen Mr. Adair just as he was going out a riding; and that Mr. Adair told her, that the alteration in the signature was merely the difference between age and youth, and that it was his hand-writing, and that he told Mr. Drummond so; and that he knew nothing of its being a forgery till the interview with Mr. Adair.

All these circumstances he granted, made against his *understanding*; but he hoped the justice of the Court would judge of him by his *intentions*, which, he appealed to

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God in the most solemn manner, were not in the least degree criminal.

A croud of witnesses were then called to the prisoner's character, and in particular a man and maid-servant of D. Perreau's, who both deposed, That Mrs. Rudd used to write letters herself addressed to D. Perreau, and desire them to say they were left by Mr. Adair for him; that a double rap was likewise often heard at the door, and that Mrs. Rudd used to be in waiting, step aside, write a card as if from Mr. Adair, and carry it up stairs to Mr. Daniel Perreau. Amongst the witnesses to his character were likewise many respectable persons; such as Lady Littleton, Sir John More, K. B. Sir J. Chapman, General Trapaud, Cæsar Hawkins, Esq. Dr. Baker, and a number of respectable Physicians, who all were unanimous in giving him the best of characters.

The Judge then summed up the evidence to the jury, with an accuracy and impartiality which did him great honour; and the jury, after retiring for about ten minutes, brought in their verdict, "Guilty of publishing and uttering the bond, knowing it to be forged."

Daniel Perreau was then set to the bar, as charged in the indictment, with forging the above bond; but it not appearing on the trial he was the least concerned in it, he was of course immediately acquitted.

The next morning, Friday June 2, at nine o'clock, Daniel Perreau was set to the bar before Mr. Justice Aston and Baron Hotham, charged on another indictment of four counts. The first for forging a bond on William Adair, Esq. in penalty 6200l. conditionally 3100l. the second, publishing that bond, with an intent to defraud Dr. Thomas Brooke; the third and fourth for uttering and publishing it, contrary to laws made and provided for that purpose.

Mr. Howarth, Counsel for the prosecution, opened the case to the jury, and, after briefly stating to them the particular circumstances of the forgery and publication chargeable on the prisoner, observed, that from the long and familiar intimacy the prosecutor, Doctor Brooke, had with the prisoner, it was with great pain of mind he was necessitated to appear against him; and that as nothing but the love of public justice could induce him thus to appear, all he wished by it was, that it should operate as it ought; he therefore said he would urge nothing further for their consideration than the evidence which should be laid before them.

Dr. Thomas Brooke was therefore called upon, who deposed, that he had a very great intimacy with the prisoner; that on the first of November, 1774, he applied to him to borrow a sum of money for a little time; the Doctor told him, he had not then any money at his banker's, but what would be only sufficient for his own private use; upon which the prisoner at the bar replied, "Have you not got some "*Air-bonds?* (bonds belonging to "the late bank in Air) Let me "have them, and I will give you "as security a bond of Mr. Adair's "the late agent in Pall-mall." This the Doctor consented to, and accordingly gave him (taking Mr. Adair's bond, payable to Daniel Perreau,

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Perreau, witnessed by Messrs. Jones and Stark, the same two subscribing witnesse as to Robert Perreau's bond) fifteen Air bonds, each of the value of 100l. which 1500l. was to have been paid in eight days time. Some time after the expiration of the eight days, Dr. Brooke called on him for the payment of the money; but the prisoner begged him to have a little further patience, for that he had lodged the bonds in Drummond's bank, and would take them out in a few days. Upon this Dr. Brooke was satisfied, and never heard more of it till he heard of Robert Perreau's being taken up for forgery, which led him to suspect, that the bond which he had of the prisoner was of the same counterfeit species, and which, upon enquiry of Mr. W. Adair, he found to be fact.

Upon cross examination by Mr. Bearcroft, Dr. Brooke was asked his opinion of the prisoner before this charge, who answered he had the highest one both of his integrity and friendship, otherwise he would have had no dealings with him. He was likewise asked, whether he knew the prisoner had surrendered of his own accord, or suffered himself to be taken? To which the Doctor said, he did not positively know. The bond was then read.

Richard Wilson (the scrivener who filled the bond on which R. Perreau was the day before convicted of publishing, knowing it to be forged, was next examined, who deposed, he had filled up the present bond, but could not positively swear which of the two Perreaus brought it to him, though he knew he had filled no other bond with the name of Adair, but what was brought by either one or the other of them.

Mr. Ogilby, who lives with Mr. Adair, positively swore the signature of William Adair to the bond was not Mr. Adair's hand-writing, nor in any litteral respect like it.

These being all the evidences to support the prosecution, the prisoner was called upon by the court for his defence, and informed by them *where* it was necessary for him to be most particular. He accordingly informed the Court in a few words, that "He was unfortunately the dupe of an artful woman. (Mrs. Rudd); and had implicitly believed the bond, which he deposited with Dr. Brooke, to be a true one, and really signed by Mr. Adair." This he affirmed in the most solemn manner to be the real state of the case, otherwise he would not for the world be guilty of so infamous an action.

John Moody and Mary Browne two servants of the prisoner's, were then called, together with another maid servant, who all severally related the former circumstances which they had given in evidence on Robert Perreau's trial.

Several respectable witnesses were then called to his character (amongst the rest General Melville) all of whom gave him a very good one, both in respect to his conduct abroad and at home.

Mr. Justice Aston then summed up the evidence to the jury, and observed very equally on the several circumstances.

The jury withdrew for a few minutes, and brought in their verdict, "Guilty of uttering and publishing the bond, knowing it to be forged."

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But, though these unfortunate men were thus found guilty, and the usual sentence accordingly passed upon them, they were not mentioned in any report to his majesty till the month of December following, for those reasons, probably, which we have ventured to assign in our Chronicle.

In the mean time, Mrs. Rudd, though she had not been called upon as king's evidence, at either of the foregoing trials, bestirred herself to obtain the advantages of one. For this purpose on Monday, the 3d of July, she brought herself from Newgate, by *habeas corpus*, before the Court of King's Bench, Westminster; when Mr. Davenport spoke as her counsel, and Mr. Wallace replied for the Crown. Mr. Justice Aston recited what passed at the Old Bailey, and Lord Mansfield gave his opinion of the matter as it then appeared. Mrs. Rudd herself said a few words on the occasion. After an hour had been spent in argument, she was remanded till next morning, when she was again brought up to the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, where Mr. Davenport, her counsel, produced an affidavit sworn to by Sir John Fielding, Sampson Wright and William Addington, Esqrs. This affidavit, which was read by the proper officer, stated the circumstance of their admitting her an evidence for the Crown against the Perreaus, *as an accomplice*. Mr. Davenport renewed his arguments in order to induce the Court to admit her to bail. He was replied to by Mr. Wallace, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Howarth, who all denied the authority of the Magistrates to offer her protection, and rested their client's case on the illegality of the proceeding. Lord Mansfield then, in a very accurate and eloquent manner, delivered the opinion of the Court, entering into a definition of the different modes of admission of felons to give evidence against their accomplices as warranted by law, in the three instances of approvers, king's evidences agreeable to the statutes of King William and Queen Anne, and persons to whom a pardon had been promised either by proclamation, or advertisement in the Gazette, with the King's sign manual. His Lordship very clearly pointed out the distinction in each mode; and after having as clearly proved that the prisoner fell under neither of the three descriptions, he mentioned that in some cases there arose circumstances, which rendered accomplices, even though illegally admitted evidences, objects deserving mercy; and these chiefly were a regular decent behaviour, and an invariable relation of the whole truth; which did not, he said, appear to be the case in the present instance; the Court therefore remanded her to Newgate.

In consequence of this determination, she was next brought to the bar of the Old Bailey to take her trial, but had it put off by an affidavit of her own, and another of her attorney's, that she had not as yet been able to procure a material witness in her behalf, though she had taken all the necessary steps for that purpose.

She was again brought to the same bar, for the same purpose, on Saturday, September the 16th; but her counsel insisting, that, as she had been already admitted an evidence for the king, it would be an

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an unprecedented thing to detain her for trial, and the Judges differing in opinion on the point of law, she was remanded back to prison, till the opinion of all the Judges could be had on so important a question. At length, the Judges having sat on her case, she was for the third and last time brought to the bar of the Old Bailey, on Tuesday, the 7th of December. The avidity of the public to hear her trial was such, that the galleries were crouded soon after day light. A little before nine o'clock, the Lord Mayor, Judges and Aldermen being assembled, the prisoner was called to the bar, and the business was opened by Mr. Justice Aston's acquainting the prisoner with the opinion of the Judges respecting her case, which he did in an elegant speech, explaining the reasons on which that opinion was founded, which, in brief, were her not having disclosed the *whole* of what she knew respetting the forgeries. She was then indicted for forging a bond of 5,300l. (penalty 10,000 l.) as from William Adair, Esq. to Robert Perreau, with an intent to defraud Sir Thomas Frankland, Messrs. Drummond, and Mr. Adair. She said, "that as the Judges opinion was in her disfavour she chearfully submitted to her trial, and pleaded Not guilty." She was a second time indicted for a forgery for 6000 l. a third for 3,100 l. and a fourth for 7,500l. A chair was ordered, that she might sit when she thought proper. A counsel now explained the nature of the indictment, expatiated on her pretended friendship with Mr. Adair, and her skill in different hand-writings. Mrs. Robert Perreau being called as an evidence, a counsel asked her, "if Mrs. Rudd should be convicted, whether she did not think it would lead to an acquittal of her husband? She replied, that she hoped her husband's innocence would fully appear." The counsel insisted upon a positive answer to his question, when she said, "she hoped it would tend to acquit him." He then objected to her being admitted an evidence, as she was interested in the event. The next counsel insisted upon her inadmissibility, for the plain reason that an evidence should "not be subjected to any temptation to falsify." Mr. Lucas, on the other side, argued, that it would be impossible to convict any offender, if persons who had an advantage in such conviction were denied to give evidence, and mentioned the cases of accomplices who saved their lives, and persons robbed, who recovered their property, by the conviction of the offender. Judge Aston said, Robert Perreau was not convicted of publishing the bond in question, but for uttering another: and he saw no objection to the competency of Mrs. Perreau's evidence. Mr. Baron Burland concurred in opinion, observing, that her interest in the conviction of the prisoner, though it could not destroy the competency, yet might possibly lessen the credit of her testimony with the Jury.

Mrs. Perreau swore, that on the 24th of December, 1774, she saw Mrs. Rudd deliver a bond for 6300l. payable to Robert Perreau, and signed William Adair, and that Mrs. Rudd said she would be obliged to him to procure 4000 l. on it from Sir Thomas Frankland.

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In the evening R. Perreau brought her something less than 4000l. and paid her in drafts. That the next day the parties, and some friends from Wales, dined at Mr. Robert Perreau's, when the above bond was the subject of conversation between the brothers Perreau and the prisoner. The counsel, in cross-examining her, were so extremely abrupt, that she burst into tears, and was near fainting. A lady gave her a smelling bottle, and some water being handed, she recovered. The counsel apologized, and she was asked how she could remember the particulars of the bond (for she owned she had never seen one before) at such a distance of time? She said it was owing to a good memory.

Sir Thomas Frankland swore, that Robert Perreau came to his house, and borrowed 4000l. on that bond, paying out of it near 10l. for interest due on a bond of 5000l and that he lent the money on the credit of the said Perreau. Sir Thomas being asked if he had any property of Mrs. Rudd's, said all he had was by bill of sale from the Perreaus. Were there any jewels? Yes; and he believed the poor jeweller was never paid for them. "And yet, (said the counsel) you would keep those very jewels the poor man was never paid for?" Sir Thomas said, the jewels were sold. Did he believe Mrs. Rudd used to wear them? He did not know if she had any holes in her ears for earrings. Were there any women's cloaths? Yes. Did he think Mr. Perreau wore them? He did not know, he might go in masquerade. Had Mrs. Rudd claimed the effects? She had claimed every thing that was Daniel Perreau's; but the right of the property was yet to be determined in a court of law. He owned having given an order on his banker to pay Robert Perreau 5000l. Had Sir Thomas heard of a Jane Williams, a Mrs. Pendilow, a Mrs. Groseby, &c. and had he reason to think Mrs. Rudd had represented any, or all of them? He did not know but she might.

Mr. Ogilby proved that the hand-writing to the bond was not Mr. Adair's; another gentleman proved the same; and David Cassadey proved Mrs. Rudd's great anxiety for Robert Perreau's return from Sir Thomas Frankland, who was asked if he knew any thing of Perreau's dealing in the stocks? He said not. Mr. Batson, banker, proved that Mr. Alexander, of the Union Coffee-house, Cornhill, received three notes of 1000l. one of 850l. one of 50l. and one of 40l. with nine shillings in silver, for Sir Thomas Frankland's draft; and Mr. Alexander acknowledged the having received it for Daniel Perreau.

Elias Isaac proved Daniel Perreau's paying 4000l. at Bidulph and Cox's, on the 26th of December, at which time he had near 600l. in their hands.

John Moody (late servant to Mrs. Rudd) said he knew her feigned, though not her common hand, that she used to give him letters of her own writing, for him to deliver, as coming from Mr. Adair; that she wrote with crow quill and other pens, that he had seen her direct these letters, which he had delivered five or six times. Had he disclosed this transaction to Daniel Perreau?

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No. Had he visited him? Yes, in Bridewell, having been sent for by him; and Mr. Perreau bade him go to his house, to meet his attorney.

Christian Hart (formerly servant to the prisoner) deposed, that she went to Mrs. Rudd in Newgate, who wrote down a set of instructions for her to swear to, to save her life; and promised her 100l. or 200l. or even ten times that sum for her trouble; that Mrs. Rudd told her what a bond was, that she might acquaint the jury. These instructions being read, tended to criminate the Perreaus, and urged a connection and scheme between Mrs. Perreau and Sir Thomas Frankland, in order to take away Mrs. Rudd's life. Mrs. Hart had wrote her name on the paper of instructions, and writing it again in court, the hands appeared to agree. She was asked if she knew Counsellor Bailey? she said, no.

Sarah Dickenson said Mrs. Rudd could write more hands than one, and she believed the papers her writing. John Hart said that he went to Newgate, and found his wife in conversation with Mrs. Rudd. The papers were produced, and sworn to by him; and Alexander Allen gave this Hart the character of an honest man. The forged bond was now read, and Sir Thomas Frankland's draft in favour of R. Perreau.

The prisoner, in her defence, attacked the credit of Christian Hart and John Moody; observed how much Mrs. Perreau was interested in her being convicted; was severe on Sir Thomas Frankland's conduct; avowed her innocence in explicit terms; said that her life was to be taken away to save the Perreaus; that she had never appeared there as a prisoner, had she not come as a witness; and (turning to the jury) added, "I have no reliance but on you; you are honest men, and I am safe in your hands."

Mr. Bailey (Mrs. Rudd's original counsel) swore that he remembered to have seen Mrs. Hart with her in Newgate; that he understood Mrs. Hart dictated every line Mrs. Rudd wrote; that he kept a copy of the scheme, but thought it too wild and romantic to be paid any regard to. That the next day he shewed that copy to Mr. Davenport, and, in a word, contradicted almost every thing that Christian Hart had sworn. Yet Mr. Bailey went to Hart's house in the evening, saw the husband, and talked with him on the subject of those papers.—Isabella Wright saw Mrs. Hart in Mrs. Rudd's room, but could not remember when, or how often; but she seemed rather to confirm Mr. Bailey's evidence.

Several persons were now called to Mrs. Rudd's character, the first of whom, Mrs. Nightingale, had known her eight years; said she had 16,000l. fortune, 7900l. of which had been paid into the hands of a near relation of this evidence, but that Mrs. Perreau was in distressed circumstances when her husband left her.—Francis Carbery had known the prisoner some time, but knew not of any fortune she had. The Judge now proceeded to sum up the evidence, and the jury (after being out about half an hour) brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.

There were the loudest applauses on this acquital almost ever known in a court of justice. And she appeared confounded with joy at her discharge.

The trial lasted from nine in the

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morning, till three quarters past seven.

She was afterwards charged with the other three indictments, and acquitted, no evidence being given.

Mrs. Rudd was neatly dressed in second mourning. During her trial she wrote near 50 notes to her counsel, and displayed a most astonishing composure.

Whatever tendency the condemnation of Mrs. Rudd might have to save the life of Robert Perreau, her acquittal put an end to the respite he and his brother had so long enjoyed. They were included in the next report to his Majesty, and ordered for execution on Wednesday the 17th of January following, and executed accordingly, notwithstanding a most moving petition presented to her Majesty in favour of Robert, by his disconsolate wife, and their three young children, in deep mourning; and another petition in his favour likewise, to his Majesty, signed by seventy-eight capital bankers and merchants of the city of London. The following are the most authentic particulars of their behaviour during their last moments.

On Wednesday the 17th of January, 1776, the morning of their execution, Daniel came in first from chapel, bowed to the company, and went to the fire where he warmed himself with the greatest composure. Robert soon after followed, and, looking at his brother for a moment, wiped off a falling tear, which he seemed anxious to hide: he then turned to a little table, where lay the ropes with which they were to be bound; his emotions were then so strongly painted in his countenance, that the surrounding spectators gave vent to their sympathy in loud lamentations. Daniel now assisted in putting the rope properly round himself with decent firmness; but when he saw the man do the same office for his brother, it quite unmanned him; he sighed and wept. They then took a last farewell of their friends, and were conveyed to Tyburn in a genteel mourning coach; preceded by another convict for a highway robbery, and two Jews for housebreaking, all in one cart; and two for coining, in a sledge. The procession left Newgate a few minutes after nine, and arrived at the place of execution about half past ten, when the cart immediatly drove under one part of the gallows, for there were two divisions, distant from each other, a circumstance never before remembered at Tyburn. As soon as the Jews were tied to the tree, a rabbi, or priest, got into the cart, and prayed with them till near the time it was drove away. The highwayman was now taken from out of the cart in which the Jews were, and carried to an empty one that had been driven under the other gallows. When the executioner had tied him to the gallows, the two coiners ascended the same cart, and were tied up in like manner.

During this time, which might be about fifteen minutes, the two Perreaus remained in the coach with a clergyman. Daniel first entered the cart, and Robert immediately after. They both appeared in new suits of deep mourning, their hair dressed and powdered, but without any hats. After the usual formalities of taking the cord from round the arms and waist, the executioner untying Daniel's neckcloth, put the cord round his neck, and

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and immediately tied it to the tree; and then proceeded in the same manner with Robert.

All being made fast, the clergyman entered into prayer with them, which being ended, he addressed himself to the two brothers, with whom he conversed for some time. When the ordinary addressed them to acknowledge the justice of their sentence, they put each a paper into his hand. Then, after praying a short time to themselves, each having a prayer-book in his hand, the executioner put on their caps. The clergyman now took his leave, which Robert and Daniel returned by bowing, and immediately embraced and saluted each other in a most tender and affectionate manner. They then took hold of each other's hand, the caps having been drawn over their faces, and in this manner the cart driving away, they launched into eternity.

Their hands remained clinched together about half a minute after the cart was driven away; when, by the motion of their bodies, they separated. They both behaved with a firmness and resolution rarely to be met with in men at the hour of death; yet, with a devotion becoming their unhappy situation. From the time they entered the cart, to the moment of their dissolution, not the least fear of death was discernible in either of their countenances. They appeared calm, and entirely resigned to their fate.

They were both handsome men, about five feet nine inches high, were twins, very much alike in person, and appeared to be about forty years of age. The number of spectators present was incredibly great, supposed not less than 30,000.

Hearses attended to receive their bodies, which were privately interred on the Sunday evening following, in the family vault of Robert Perreau, in St. Martin's in the Fields.

The papers left with the ordinary were soon after published. They contain the most solemn affirmations of the unhappy writers' innocence; but as their veracity is greatly invalidated by facts urged against them in a letter written by Mrs. Rudd to Lord Weymouth, two days before their execution; and persons of credit appealed to for the truth of these facts, as concerned in them; and as some or all of these facts may not appear strictly legal; we cannot help thinking ourselves, for obvious reasons, dispensed from saying any more on the occasion.

Account of the trial of Miss Jane Butterfield, *charged with poisoning* William Scawen, *Esq. before Lord Chief Baron* Smythe, *on* Saturday, August 19, *at* Croydon.

AT seven o'clock the prisoner was brought in a post chaise, attended by the keeper of Tothill-fields Bridewell, and a young lady, her friend. Mr. Cochran was first sworn and examined; he declared he had acted as Mr. Scawen's apothecary, and gave a very circumstantial account of his state of health for some time before he died: he told the court, that the deceased was greatly emaciated, was in a very ill habit of body, and had an ulcer in his arm, which bred maggots; that in March last he thought it expedient to rub it with some mercurial

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mercurial ointment, in order to destroy the animalcula; that it threw Mr. Scawen into a salivation; soon after which he put himself entirely under the care of Mr. Sanxy, and he (the witness) did little more than make up the proper medicines.

Mr. Sanxy was a full hour giving his evidence. He began with describing Mr. Scawen's situation when he saw him on the 4th of May, declared what food and medicines he prescribed for him, and said, that on the 14th of June he complained to him of a *brassy taste* in his mouth. Mr. Sanxy felt his pulse, and, on examining his mouth, discovered the symptoms of an approaching salivation. He saw him again on the 18th, when he again complained of the brassy taste, and was actually in a state of high salivation. Mr. Sanxy suspecting unfair treatment; questioned him as to the person who gave him his medicines, and was told by him, that he received them always from the hands of the prisoner. As the symptoms grew more and more violent, Mr. Sanxy prescribed the decoction of the bark, in order to prevent a mortification; and when he next saw Mr. Scawen, the latter complained, that the doses of the decoction which he swallowed, sometimes had and sometimes had not, the brassy taste. In a short time an ulcer appeared to be formed in his mouth, and the gums mortified. Mr. Sanxy then called in the assistance of Mr. Young, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and upon their visiting Mr. Scawen, Mr. Sanxy questioned him respecting the brassy taste, and asked if he should know it again: upon his replying in the affirmative, Mr. Sanxy made a weak solution of corrosive sublimate, and touched Mr. Scawen's tongue with it, when he immediately said, "that was the taste." Mr. Sanxy then informed him of his opinion, that he had been poisoned, which Mr. Scawen would by no means believe, but ascribed his dreadful illness to a quack medicine for the rheumatism which he had taken; at length, however, he agreed to be moved to Mr. Sanxy's house, where he took more bark, but did not again complain of the brassy tate. Mr. Scawen made a fresh will at Mr. Sanxy's, and died there in a very few days. Mr. Sanxy was cross-examined by the counsel for the prisoner, who desired to know, whether he thought the second salivation might not be caused by the mercury (which occasioned the first, not being entirely out of the body. He replied in a very decisive manner, that it could not, and enlarged upon the effects of mercurial preparations, laying it down as a doctrine which he had always subscribed to, that after a salivation, no mercury remained in the system; and a second salivation, and a second brassy taste, must owe their origin to a second exhibition of mercury.

Baron Smithe asked Mr. Sanxy what appearances there were on opening the body of the deceased? the latter replied, "he did not open the body as there was not the least occasion for it." Upon which one of the prisoner's counsel observed, that, as Mr. Sanxy had positively declared the deceased was poisoned, he apprehended it would have been right for him to have gained every possible information

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ation of the state and appearance of the internal parts.

Mr. Young was sworn, and corroborated Mr. Sanxy's evidence as far as it related to the state of the deceased, when he was called in to give his advice. Upon his cross-examination, he rather differed from him respecting the effects of mercury, and the possibility of the second salivation being in consequence of the mercury which occasioned the first.

Edward Wheelock, an old servant of Mr. Scawen, was examined, and deposed, that his master made him take some of the rheumatic medicine with him. Upon his being asked whether he found any *brassy* taste in it, he said, he thought it had no taste at all, or, if any, it was most like water gruel.

It was proved that all the food Mr. Scawen took was boiled in silver; and that the quack medicine was bought of Mr. Harris in St. Paul's church-yard.

Mr. Dodd, the compounder of the medicine in question, declared it had no mercurial ingredient.

Dr. Higgins, in a very sensible and clear manner, gave an account of his having analyzed a bottle of the tincture for the rheumatism, when it did not appear to have any mercury in its composition.

Mr. Godfrey gave a similar evidence.

Dr. Saunders spoke to the effects of corrosive sublimate, and the subtlety of its nature.

These three gentlemen, upon their cross examination, dissented from Mr. Sanxy's doctrine of the certainty of its being evacuated out of the system by salivation.

As soon as the evidence in support of the prosecution was closed, the prisoner was asked what she had to say in her defence; she replied, that her spirits were so agitated she was not able to speak what she wished the court to hear; she begged therefore to be indulged with having her defence read by the clerk; this request was granted. It consisted of several pages of paper, closely written, and took up near twenty minutes in the recital. It began with informing the court and jury, that at the early age of fourteen she was seduced from her parents by one of her own sex, and brought to Mr. Scawen; that through a variety of artifices she was prevailed on to continue in his house; and that the circumstance broke her father's heart: she confessed that Mr. Scawen had spared no expence in perfecting her education, and that he had shewn so many instances of friendship and kindness to her, that she tenderly loved him, and had, by a conduct of many years, convinced him of her affection and gratitude. During his illness, which was almost without intermission for the last six years of his life, she acted as his nurse, had watched him with the most wary care, and the most constant attention, having sacrificed night after night to wait upon him and give him his food and medicines. She declared she had been treated by the whole family as Mrs. Scawen, and was received in the neighbourhood in the same character; that she really and sincerely loved the deceased; and, taking every circumstance into consideration, she hoped no person would harbour a thought so injurious to her as to suppose her a monster

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monster capable of such an inhuman act as the murder of her best benefactor.

Mr. Bromfield, surgeon of St. George's Hospital, was the first witness sworn in behalf of the prisoner; he was examined merely with regard to the power of corrosive sublimate, and the possibility of a second salivation ensuing without a fresh exhibition of mercurials. He spoke on the subject with that precision and freedom which are generally the characteristics of skill and experience. He declared he had, in the course of his practice, met with a variety of cases where a salivation had returned, after every effort had been made to evacuate the mercury from the system. That mercury had often laid dormant and imperceptible in the habit for several weeks: and whenever its action was re-produced (which it might be by many casual circumstances incident to the human frame) the *brassy* taste was always a concomitant symptom.

Mr. Howard, surgeon of the Middlesex Hospital, confirmed Mr. Bromfield's evidence, by declaring he had frequently experienced the same, and that mercury was of so subtle a nature, it was not possible for any man to say for what length of time it might lie dormant before it re-appeared.

Dr. Brocklesby asserted, in like manner, that a second salivation might happen without a fresh exhibition of mercury. With regard to the *brassy* taste, he affirmed, that he lately made a solution of a very small particle of corrosive sublimate, and wet his tongue with it; that it immediately gave him a *brassy* taste; that he dined heartily after it, and in the evening the *brassy* taste returned. He instanced Dr. Mead's works on poisons, as a corroboration of his opinion.

Mr. Bromfield, Dr. Brocklesby, and Mr. Howard, severally mentioned cases in point to support what they urged in opposition to Mr. Sanxy's evidence.

Mr. Ingram declared himself entirely of opinion with the three preceding witnesses.

Mr. Parry, the surgeon, deposed that Mr. Scawen had in his last illness consulted him about his complaints; that he mentioned to him several quack medicines which he had taken, in every one of which there were mercurial ingredients; and that he strongly cautioned him against mercurials. He said he bought a bottle of the rheumatic tincture before there was any report of Mr. Scawen's being poisoned, and, upon tasting it, he found that it had some mercury in it, as it made him exceedingly sick; and he well knew the taste of corrosive sublimate. That since the report, he had purchased a bottle, had analysed it, when he discovered mercury disguised with gum guaiacum. He complained of being unhandsomely treated in Bow-street, because, before he was sworn, he had vaguely said, the rheumatic tincture had mercury enough in it *to kill a horse*; an expression which he used merely figuratively, without meaning to infer more from it, than that it was a very violent medicine. He instanced two cases in which a salivation had returned, and the patients had died, without having taken any fresh mercury; the one of a person, who after a salivation, and an appearance of a perfect re-

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covery, caught cold in a shower of rain, had a second salivation in consequence, and died within a few days; the other, of a lady who died, as Mr. Scawen did, of a second salivation, which caused a mortification in her mouth.

The Rev. Mr. Lodge said he had known Mr. Scawen's family for some time; that the prisoner always treated the deceased with unexampled tenderness; and that there was a mutual affection between them.

A gentleman, who had been intimate with the late Mr. Scawen for the two last years of his life, was sworn, and deposed, that he had repeatedly heard the deceased speak of the prisoner in very recommendatory terms; and that he had once bought a bottle of Maredant's drops for him.

Miss Smith declared she had been acquainted with Mr. Scawen and the prisoner; that she went to see him a few weeks before his death, and, while she was in the room, saw him take a dose of the rheumatic tincture, which made him very sick; that the prisoner then expressed great uneasiness at his illness, and advised him not to take any more quack medicines, as they made him rather worse than better. This witness declared she did not believe that the prisoner poisoned Mr. Scawen, as she would be the last person in the world whom she should think capable of committing such a crime.

The witnesses on behalf of the prisoner having been all heard, the judge summed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury, who, after being out of court about a quarter of an hour, returned, and found the prisoner, Not Guilty.

The trial lasted from about seven in the morning till between three and four in the afternoon. The counsel for the crown were Mr. Lucas and Mr. Cooper. For the prisoner Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Cox, and Mr. Peckham.

Some Account of the Proceedings against Captain David Roach, *some years since joint-candidate with Mr.* Wilkes, *for the county of* Middlesex, *on a charge of having murdered Captain* John Ferguson, *at the* Cape of Good Hope, *on the 4th of* September, 1773.

ON Wednesday the 28th of June, 1775, Captain Roach was taken on board the Thames East-Indiaman, just arrived in the Downs from Bombay; and, the Friday following, in consequence of a warrant granted by William Addington, Esq. and backed by —— Russel, Esq. of Greenwich, was brought to London, where he was twice examined, the same day, by the magistrates in Bow-street; but we need not dwell upon what passed upon that occasion, as the whole appeared again upon his trial; for which, as the properest place, we shall accordingly reserve it. We shall only observe, that Mr. Chamberlain, Solicitor of the Treasury, attended in order to prosecute Captain Roach, at the suit of the crown; and that the magistrates at Bow-street thought proper to commit him to Tothil-fields Bridewell, upon a statute made in the

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the 33d of Henry VIII. for the trial of offences committed in foreign parts not subject to the crown of England, under a special commission to be issued by the crown for that purpose, there to abide the pleasure of the privy-council.

There, accordingly, the Captain remained till Monday the 10th of July, when, after being examined by the privy-council, present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Rockford, Lord North, and Lord Charles Spencer, he was committed to Newgate; and, on the 5th of August, a special commission passed the great-seal for his trial.

On the 13th of September, the Captain, being brought by Mr. Akerman, keeper of Newgate, before the court of sessions then sitting at the Old Bailey, presented a petition to be then tried, as his health, he urged, was greatly impaired by confinement, and he was conscious of his innocence, having been already honourably acquitted of the crime with which he was charged, at the Cape of Good Hope; but the judges could not comply with his request. However, being brought by habeas corpus, the 24th of the next month, before the court of King's Bench, he was admitted to bail; on binding himself in 800l. with four other gentlemen in 200l. each, to appear before the commission for his trial.

At these proceedings in the court of King's Bench, the following extraordinary mode of proceeding by the Dutch judicatures, appeared in the deposition of Mr. John Davies, of St. Martin's-lane, who had been many years resident at the Cape of Good Hope. When any offence of a capital nature is committed there, application is made to the Fiscal, or supreme judge, who immediately dispatches officers in pursuit of the offender, armed with drawn sabres, and attended by a number of fine large dogs, of surprising sagacity, by whom the criminal is generally discovered. If the criminal happens to be a person of distinction, he is given to the care of some friend, who becomes responsible for his appearance, in the penalties of life, and fortune; if, on the contrary, he proves to be a person of low or middling repute, he is cast into a dungeon. Depositions are there made before the Fiscal, who solely determines thereon, and from whose sentence, except in cases of treason against the state, there is no appeal; nor has the wretched culprit the least opportunity of defending himself, but frequently suffers excruciating tortures, upon the partial evidence of relations and slaves, sometimes perhaps suborned for that purpose.

At length, on the 11th of December 1775, the Captain was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, in consequence of the special commission issued for that purpose.

Andrew Cairncross, surgeon of the Vansittart Indiaman, deposed, that the prisoner and the deceased, having both had commissions in the East India Company's land service, were passengers on board the said ship; that they had several disagreements while on their voyage to the Cape; and that, a day or two after their arrival there, as himself

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himself and several officers were drinking tea together, about six in the evening, the deceased received a message that Captain Matthews wanted to speak with him; that the deceased went down stairs; and that, in a few minutes after, word was brought that some persons were fighting in the street; that the witness ran down stairs, and met Captain Roach sheathing his sword, and, at about ten yards distance, found Captain Ferguson in the agonies of death.

John Moody, surgeon's mate, deposed, that he had frequently heard the prisoner declare, "that he wished to shorten the race of the Fergusons;" that he had expressed an intention to challenge the deceased as soon as they should land; and, if he did not meet him, to run him through the body; but of this he acknowledged he had given no intimation to the deceased, nor to any once else till after the affair was over.

Robert Young, Captain of the Vansittart, corroborated the evidence of Mr. Cairncross, as to the differences between the prisoner and the deceased; that, before their landing at the Cape, the prisoner had complained to him that the deceased would not speak to him; and added, that he *should* speak to him when he came on shore.

Captain Roach said in his defence, that he had several instruments to prove his having been tried at the Cape, and honourably acquitted, for the offence now charged against him; that what he did was in virtue of his commission, that made it necessary for him to support his honour; that he had been barbarously assaulted; had one of his arms dislocated, and had received a violent contusion on his skull; and that he stood acquitted before God of any guilt, as his innocence would appear by his witnesses. His witnesses were James Goodwin and Gustavus M'Gusty, who swore that the deceased was the aggressor, and had violently assaulted the prisoner before he drew his sword. The jury brought in their verdict, Not Guilty.

The counsel for the prosecution were Mr. Serjeant Davy, Mr. Cox, Mr. Macdonald, and a young barrister.—For the prisoner, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Howarth.

Some Account of the Proceedings against Stephen Sayre, *Esq. on a Charge of High Treason.*

BETWEEN the hours of nine and ten on Monday morning the 25d of October, 1775, Mr. Staley, of Halfmoon-street, Piccadilly, and Mr. King, of Queen-Anne-street, Westminster, both king's messengers, attended by a constable, repaired to the house of Stephen Sayre, Esq. in Oxford-street. As an excuse to obtain an interview with Mr. Sayre, they pretended that a forged draft for 200l. had been issued by the bank in which Mr. Sayre was a partner; and Mr. Sayre no sooner appeared, than the messengers acquainted him, that "they had an order signed by Lord Rochford, one of the secretaries of state, to take him into custody on a charge of high treason; and to search for, seize, and carry with them, such of his papers as they might

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might deem effectual for their purpose."

Mr. Sayre heard the charge, and permitted them to search his escritores, boxes, and bureaus, without opposition, from whence they took a letter from Mrs. Macaulay, sister to the then lord-mayor elect, and another letter, addressed to the livery of London, under the signature of "Barnard's Ghost, &c." Mr. Sayre expressed his readiness to accompany the king's messengers unto Lord Rochford's house, having previously dispatched a servant to Mr. Reynolds, requiring his attendance with the utmost expedition. The messengers then conducted Mr. Sayre, to the presence of Lord Rochford, where Sir John Fielding was already seated. An information from Mr. Richardson, an adjutant of the guards, was now read. The charge in this information was to the following purport: That Stephen Sayre, Esq. had expressed to him, the said Richardson, an intention of seizng the king's person, as his Majesty went on Thursday to the parliament house; also an intention of taking possession of the Tower, and of overturning the present government."

After this information had been read, Mr. Sayre replied to the separate charges with great composure: he stated how very slightly he was acquainted with Adjutant Richardson; he mentioned the only conversation which had ever passed between them, in which he acknowledged he had expressed himself very freely concerning the unhappy and destructive contest now depending in America, &c. &c. and that he concluded this conversation by saying, he feared there was not spirit enough in this country to bring about a total change of men and measures: but that as to any plan or intention about seizing the person of the King, or any expression which could be construed into such intention, he totally and utterly denied. He farther observed, that had there been any such plan under consideration, Mr. Richardson should, *if in his senses*, have concealed his resolution of divulging it, until some further steps were taken; that, by a little delay, Mr. Richardson, in case the design had been real, must have been furnished with a thousand corroborating circumstances. But, said Mr. Sayre, I perceive there is a dangerous disposition which gives high encouragement to informers, and marks some persons as unfavourable to liberty, whether their information proves well-grounded or not: here he instanced the honours and rewards which had been heaped upon two American Governors, and many others, whose whole evidence (he said) stood flatly contradicted by known and acknowledged facts; and added, that if such a disposition continued to be exerted, no man of any character or importance in this country would be safe a moment. Mr. Sayre was proceeding to relate the whole of the conversation which happened; and was about to enter more largely into the futility of the charge, when it was announced to Lord Rochford, "that Mr. Reynolds demanded immediate admittance to his client." Mr. Reynolds was admitted. Having been introduced to Lord Rochford, and Sir John Fielding, the latter put the following question to Mr. Reynolds.

"Is

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"Is it Mr. Sayre's desire that "you should attend in his be- "half?"

Mr. Reynolds replied in the affirmative. Sir John Fielding desired that it might be asked of Mr. Sayre "whether he had sent for Mr. Reynolds?" Mr. Sayre replied, "he had sent for him without mentioning the place where he was to attend."

It being now agreed, that Mr. Reynolds might attend the private examination of his friend, the first advice Mr. Reynolds gave to Mr. Sayre was this, "That he should not answer any interrogatories which Lord Rochford or Sir John Fielding might propound; and that he should not sign any paper."

The information which contained the charge, was a second time read at the request of Mr. Sayre, who smiling at the recital, Mr. Reynolds said, "that the whole was too ridiculous to be seriously attended to." An altercation now ensuing between Mr. Reynolds and Adjutant Richardson, Lord Rochford and Sir John Fielding were requested by the latter to silence Mr. Reynolds; Mr. Reynolds saved them that trouble by observing, "that he should always pay a proper deference to authority; but whatever he had there said of the informer, he would repeat in any other place whatever.

Mr. Reynolds then told Lord Rochford, "that if, after consulting the great law officers of state (which his lordship would do of course), as the information did not amount to a direct charge against Mr. Sayre, his lordship should think himself warranted to receive bail, ample and sufficient bail should be given; but, if it was thought warrantable to commit, he scorned to ask a favour for his client."

Mr. Sayre was ordered into an adjacent apartment; and he was soon afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

The following is a true copy of the warrant of commitment:

"William-Henry, Earl of Rochford, one of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-council, and Principal Secretary of State:

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your custody the body of Stephen Sayre, Esq. herewith sent you, being charged upon oath before me, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, with treasonable practices, and to keep him in close custody, until he shall be delivered by due course of law; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"Given at St. James's, on the 23d of October, 1775, in the fifteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

ROCHFORD."

"To the Earl Cornwallis, Constable of his Majesty's Tower of London, or to the Lieutenant of the said Tower, or his Deputy."

The same day Mr Sayre, after being committed to the Tower, sent the following letter to the secretary of state:

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Mr. Sayre to Lord Rochford.

"My Lord,

"I find, upon reading the warrant of commitment, that the commanding officer here cannot permit my friends to visit me, unless by express orders from your Lordship. If it is in your Lordship's power, I have no doubt but you will readily grant me that indulgence."

I am, &c.

Tower, three o'clock, Oct. 23.

In consequence of this letter, Mrs. Sayre was permitted to visit him.

The day following the Lord-Mayor waited on the Lieutenant of the Tower, and intreated the favour to be admitted to see Mr. Sayre, but was told, that his request could not be complied with; for that the secretaries of state had given orders that no one should see him; nor was he to be allowed pen, ink, or paper: therefore all the satisfaction his Lordship could have, was to see Mr. Sayre at the window, when they bowed to each other. Several other gentlemen were also refused admittance.

Nor were any sealed letters permitted to be sent from or delivered to Mr. Sayre.

Mr. Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Lucas, Mr. Davrell, Mr. Alleyne, and Mr. Arthur Lee, were retained as counsel for Mr. Sayre, in case he should be brought to trial.

On the 28th of the same month, by virtue of a habeas corpus granted by Lord Mansfield, Mr. Sayre was conveyed by the proper officers, from the Tower to his Lordship's house in Bloomsbury-square. Messrs. Adair, Davrell, Lucas, and Alleyne, attended on the part of Mr. Sayre, and Mr. White, partner with the Solicitor of the Treasury, on the part of the crown. After the two first mentioned gentlemen had spoken for some little time on the subject of Mr. Sayre's being committed to close confinement, by virtue of the warrant of commitment, which only conveyed a general charge, and Mr. White had declared that he had no instructions to oppose the bail, his Lordship called for the warrant of commitment, and immediately on perusing it pronounced, that he had not the least doubt of Mr. Sayre's being entitled to bail; as he observed, that that gentleman was only charged with treasonable practices, and that he, Lord Mansfield, should not have refused the bail, if Mr. Sayre had come without any counsel. Bail was accordingly directly offered and accepted; viz. Mr. Sayre himself in 500l. and John Reynolds and Coote Purdon, Esqrs. in 250l. each.

After the business was over, Mr. Sayre thanked his Lordship for the great politeness and candour he had shewn on the occasion; and hoped his Lordship would always act in the like impartial manner according to the constitution. "I hope so too, replied his Lordship; let us both act according to the constitution, and we shall avoid all difficulties and dangers."

The Lord-Mayor and several other friends of Mr. Sayre attended upon this occasion.

On

On Wednesday evening, the 13th of December, Mr. Sayre appeared at the Old-Bailey; and his counsel, Mr. Arthur Lee, moved the court to discharge the recognizance entered into before Lord Mansfield, on the 28th of October last, on his being brought before his Lordship on a writ of habeas corpus, on the commitment by Lord Rochford to the Tower for "treasonable practices;" when Mr. Baron Burland, who, with the Lord-Mayor, presided at the court, accordingly discharged the recognizance.

Mr. Sayre, it is said, has since given directions to his solicitor, to commence actions against Lord Rochford, his under secretaries of state, and the king's messengers employed on this occasion.

Francis Richardson, gent. was admitted into the guards on the 19th of September, vice Charles Frederick, by purchase. He is an American by birth.

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TABLE exhibiting, at one View, the SUPPLIES granted for the Service of the Year 1775, with the WAYS and MEANS of raising them; each Article being accurately arranged under its separate Head, &c.

SUPPLIES, 1775.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
NAVY.						
18,000 seamen	936,000	0	0			
Building and repairing ships	297,379	0	0			
Ordinary of Navy	440,680	15	10			
				1,674,059	15	10
ORDNANCE.						
Ordinaries	228,059	1	7			
Extraordinaries	32,748	5	3			
				260,807	6	10
ARMY.						
17,547 landmen	627,699	19	4			
4,383 ditto	67,706	12	1			
Guards and garrisons	386,186	0	10½			
Difference between British and Irish pay	2,874	4	9			
General and staff officers	11,473	18	6			
Chelsea Hospital	122,221	15	5			
Reduced officers	105,326	16	8			
Horse-Guards reduced	870	3	9			
Pensions to widows	628	0	0			
Difference between British and Irish pay	9,536	10	7			
Land extras	262,537	7	10½			
				1,597,051	9	9½
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.						
Greenwich Hospital	6,000	0	0			
British Museum	3,000	0	0			
Levant Company	5,000	0	0			
Nova Scotia	4,346	10	5			
Georgia	3,086	0	0			
East-Florida	4,950	0	0			

West-

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	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
West-Florida	5,450,	0	0			
American surveys	1,885	4	0			
Senegambia	6,336	0	9½			
Charts of Great Britain and Ireland	2,145,	0	0			
Charts of North America	3,711	15	0			
African forts	13,000	0	0			
Commons addresses	12,678	14	9			
Cleaning Barbadoes harbour	5,000	0	0			
Expences preventing distempers among horned cattle	1,684,	15	10			
Roads and bridges in North-Britain	6,998	10	7			
Further deficiency in the gold coin	46,846	9	3			
Extras of mint	22,824	19	9			
Further expence of coinage	11,716	0	1½			
				166,559	19	9
DEFICIENCIES.						
Land	228,168	0	0			
Malt	227,832	0	0			
Grant 1774	112,528	2	5½			
Fund 3½ per cent 1758	45,446	8	2			
				607,974	10	7½
Exchequer Bills discharged				1,250,000	0	0
Total of Supplies				5,556,453	2	10
1,000,000l. 3 per cents. discharged	880,000	0	0			
Surplus of Ways and Means to answer defalcation of any doubtful articles of Ways and Means	122,793	6	2			
Surplus of Ways and Means disposed of as above				1,002,793	6	2
				6,559,246	9	0

WAYS and MEANS, 1775.

Land 3 s.	1,500,000	0	0	
Malt	750,000	0	0	
Sinking Fund, 5th January	11,239	10	0	
Ditto, 5th April	884,447	3	10½	
Ditto growing produce	1,904,313	6	1½	
Exchequer bills renewed	1,250,000	0	0	
Profit on a lottery	150,000	0	0	
American revenues	15,000	0	0	

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	£.	s.	d.
Gum Seneca	5,000	0	0
French prize money	17,000	0	0
Sale of the ceded islands	50,000	0	0
Sundry surplusses in the Exchequer, consisting of surplus of duty on rice, apples, cambrick, militia money, &c.	22,246	9	0
Total of Ways and Means	6,559,246	9	0

SUPPLIES of 1774 and 1775 compared.

	1774. £.	s.	d.	1775. £.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Navy	1,904,917	4	3	1,674,059	15	10	230,857	8	5	decr.
Ordnance	271,124	17	7	260,807	6	10	10,317	10	9	ditto
Army	1,549,720	14	8	1,597,001	9	9½	47,330	15	1½	incr.
Deficiencies	552,457	3	3	607,974	10	7½	55,517	7	4½	ditto
Miscellaneous Services	60,252	13	1	166,559	19	9	100,307	6	9	ditto

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled; presented to his Majesty on Thursday the 9th of February, 1775.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, return your majesty our most humble thanks for having been graciously pleased to communicate to us the several papers relating to the present state of the British colonies in America, which, by your majesty's commands, have been laid before us: We have taken them into our most serious consideration; and we find, that a part of your majesty's subjects, in the province of the Massachusett's-Bay, have proceeded so far as to resist the authority of the supreme legislature; that a rebellion at this time actually exists within the said province; and we see, with the utmost concern, that they have been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by your majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies, to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent fellow-subjects, resident within the kingdom of Great-Britain, and the rest of your majesty's dominions: This conduct, on their part, appears to us the more inexcusable, when we consider with how much temper your majesty, and the two houses of parliament, have acted in support of the laws and constitution of Great-Britain. We can never so far desert the trust reposed in us, as to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over all your majesty's dominions, which, by law, is vested in your majesty and the two houses of parliament; and the conduct of many persons, in several of the colonies, during the late disturbances, is alone sufficient to convince us how necessary this power is for the protection of the lives and fortunes of your majesty's subjects.

We ever have been, and always shall be, ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of any of your majesty's subjects, which shall, in a dutiful and constitutional manner, be laid before us; and, whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence: At the same time, we consider it as our indispensable duty humbly to beseech your ma-

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jesty, that you will take the most effectual measures to inforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; and we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure your majesty, that it is our fixed resolution, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to stand by your majesty against all rebellious attempts in the maintenance of the just rights of your majesty and the two houses of parliament.

His Majesty's Most Gracious Answer.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal address, and for the affectionate and solemn assurances you give me of your support in maintaining the just rights of my crown, and of the two houses of parliament; and you may depend on my taking the most speedy and effectual measures for inforcing due obedience to the laws, and the authority of the supreme legislature.

'Whenever any of my colonies shall make a proper and dutiful application, I shall be ready to conclude with you, in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wish, that this disposition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my subjects in America.'

Protest of several of the Lords, *on its being resolved in their* House, *on* Tuesday, *the* 7th *of* February, 1775, *to put a main Question, viz. To agree with the* Commons *in the foregoing Address, sent by them to their Lordships for their Concurrence, by filling up the Blank left in it for that Purpose, with the Words,* "Lords Spiritual and Temporal;" *as likewise another Protest of several of the* Lords, *on their* House's *agreeing with the* Commons *in the said Address.*

Dissentient, 1st. THE previous question was moved, not to prevent the proceeding in the address, communicated at the conference with the Commons, but in order to present the petitions of the N. American merchants, and of the West-India merchants and planters, which petitions the House might reject if frivolous, or postpone if not urgent, as it might seem fit to their wisdom; but to hurry on the business to which these petitions so materially and directly related, the express prayer of which was, that they might be heard before "any resolution may be taken by this right honourable House respecting America," to refuse so much as to suffer them to be presented, is a proceeding of the most unwarrantable nature, and directly subversive of the most sacred rights of the subject. It is the more particularly exceptionable, as a Lord, in his place, at the express desire of the West-India merchants, informed the House, that, if necessitated so to do, they were ready, without counsel, or farther preparation, instantly to offer evidence to prove, that several islands of the West-Indies could not be able to subsist after the operation of the proposed address in America. Justice, in regard to individuals, policy, with regard to the public, and decorum, with regard to ourselves, required that we should admit this petition to be

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be presented. By refusing it, justice is denied.

2dly, Because the papers laid upon our table by the ministers, are so manifestly defective, and so avowedly curtailed, that we can derive from them nothing like information of the true state of the object on which we are going to act, or of the consequences of the resolutions which we may take. We ought, as we conceive, with gladness, to have accepted that information from the merchants, which, if it had not been voluntarily offered, it was our duty to seek. There is no information concerning the state of our colonies (taken in any point of view) which the merchants are not far more competent to give than governors or officers, who often know far less of the temper and disposition, or may be more disposed to misrepresent it than the merchants. Of this we have a full and melancholy experience, in the mistaken ideas on which the fatal acts of the last parliament were formed.

3dly. Because we are of opinion, that in entering into a war, in which mischief and inconvenience are great and certain (but the utmost extent of which it is impossible to foresee) true policy requires that those who are most likely to be immediately affected should be thoroughly satisfied of the deliberation with which it was undertaken: and we apprehend that the planters, merchants and manufacturers will not bear their losses and burthens, brought on them by the proposed civil war, the better for our refusing so much as to hear them previous to our engaging in that war; nor will our precipitation in resolving add much to the success in executing any plan that may be pursued.

We protest therefore against the refusal to suffer such petitions to be presented; and we thus clear ourselves to our country of the disgrace and mischief, which must attend this unconstitutional, indecent, and improvident proceeding.

Richmond,	Portland,
Ponsonby,	Camden,
Archer,	Fitzwilliam,
Rockingham,	Scarborough,
Wycombe,	Abergavenny,
Effingham,	Abingdon,
Torrington,	Craven,
Stanhope,	Courtenay,
Cholmondeley,	Tankerville.

Then the main question was put, whether to agree with the Commons in the said address, by inserting the words *(Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and)*

It was resolved in the affirmative.

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Dissentient, 1st. Because the violent matter of this dangerous address was highly aggravated by the violent manner in which it was precipitately hurried through the House. Lords were not allowed the interposition of a moment's time for deliberation, before they were driven headlong into a declaration of civil war. A conference was held with the Commons, an address of this importance presented, all extraneous information, although offered, positively refused; all petitions arbitrarily rejected, and the whole of this most awful business received, debated and concluded in a single day.

2dly. Because no legal grounds were laid, in argument or in fact, to shew that a rebellion, properly so called,

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called, did exist in Massachusett's-Bay, when the papers of the latest date, and from whence alone we derive our information, were written. The overt-acts to which the species of treason affirmed in the address ought to be applied, were not established, nor any offenders marked out: but a general mass of the acts of turbulence, said to be done at various times and places, and of various natures, were all thrown together, to make out one general constructive treason. Neither was there any sort of proof of the continuance of any unlawful force, from whence we could infer that a rebellion does now exist. And we are the more cautious of pronouncing any part of his majesty's dominions to be in actual rebellion, because the cases of constructive treason, under that branch of the 25th of Edward the Third, which describes the crime of rebellion, have been already so far extended by the judges, and the distinctions thereupon so nice and subtle, that no prudent man ought to declare any single person in that situation, without the clearest evidence of uncontrovertible overt-acts, to warrant such a declaration. Much less ought so high an authority as both houses of parliament to denounce so severe a judgment against a considerable part of his majesty's subjects, by which his forces may think themselves justified in commencing a war, without any further order or commission.

3dly. Because we think that several acts of the last parliament, and several late proceedings of administration with regard to the colonies, are *real grievances*, and just causes of complaint; and we cannot, in honour, or in conscience, consent to an address which commends the temper by which proceedings, so very intemperate, have been carried on; nor can we persuade ourselves to authorize violent courses against persons in the colonies who have resisted authority, without, at the same time, redressing the grievances which have given but too much provocation for their behaviour.

4thly. Because we think the loose and general assurances given by the address, of future redress of grievances, in case of submission, is far from satisfactory, or at all likely to produce their end, whilst the acts complained of continue unrepealed, or unamended, and their authors remain in authority here, because these advisers of all the measures which have brought on the calamities of this empire, will not be trusted, whilst they defend, as just, necessary, and even indulgent, all the acts complained of as grievances by the Americans; and must, therefore, on their own principles, be found in future to govern the colonies in the manner which has already produced such fatal effects; and we fear that the refusal of this House, so much as to receive, previous to determination (which is the most offensive mode of rejection) petitions from the unoffending natives of Great-Britain, and the West-India islands, affords but a very discouraging prospect of our obtaining hereafter any petitions at all, from those whom we have declared actors in, rebellion, or abettors of that crime.

Lastly. Because the means of inforcing the authority of the British legislature, is confided to persons of

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of whose capacity, for that purpose, from abundant experience, we have reason to doubt; and who have hitherto used no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing those who oppose that authority: this appears in the constant failure of all their projects, the insufficiency of all their information, and the disappointment of all the hopes, which they have for several years held out to the public. Parliament has never refused any of their proposals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worse, until we have been brought, step by step, to that state of confusion, and even civil violence, which was the natural result of these desperate measures.

We therefore protest against an address amounting to a *declaration of war*, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (although it be the undoubted right of the subject to present the same) which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and which promises support to those ministers who have inflamed America, and grosly misconducted the affairs of Great-Britain.

Richmond,	Cholmondeley,
Craven,	Abingdon,
Archer,	Portland,
Abergavenny,	Camden,
Rockingham,	Effingham,
Wycombe,	Stanhope,
Courtenay,	Scarborough,
Torrington,	Fitzwilliam,
Ponsonby,	Tankerville.

Message of his Majesty to the House of Commons, on Friday, *the 10th of* February, 1775.

"George R.

"HIS Majesty being determined, in consequence of the address of both Houses of Parliament, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of his crown, and the two Houses of Parliament, thinks proper to acquaint this House, that some addition to his forces by sea and land will be necessary for that purpose; and doubts not but his faithful Commons, on whose zeal and affection he entirely relies, will enable him to make such augmentation to his forces as the present occasion shall be thought to require.

"G. R."

Petition of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, *&c. presented to the House of Commons, on* Friday, *the 24th of February*, 1775.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *in Common-Council assembled,*

Sheweth,

"THAT although your petitioners bear all due respect to the policy of those acts of parliament, which have anciently preserved Great-Britain a necessary and beneficial

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beneficial commerce with our colonies, yet they are exceedingly alarmed at the consequences that must ensue, if the bill now depending in this honourable house should pass into a law, entitled, "A Bill to restrain the Trade and Commerce of Massachusett's Bay and New Hampshire, and Colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation in North-America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in the West-Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited; the said bill as your petitioners conceive, being unjustly founded, because it involves the whole in the punishment intended for the supposed offences of a few.

"That it must, in its consequences, overwhelm thousands of his majesty's loyal and useful subjects with the utmost poverty and distress, inasmuch as they will be thereby deprived of the fisheries, which are the natural means of supporting themselves and families.

"That the extensive commerce between Great-Britain and her colonies will, by this bill, be greatly injured, as a capital source of remittance will be stopt, which will not only disconnect the future commercial intercourse between those colonies and this country, but will eventually render them incapable of paying the large debts already due to the merchants of this city.

"That the utmost confusion will probably ensue from enforcing this bill, if passed into a law, as it cannot be supposed that a great number of men, naturally hardy and brave, will quietly submit to a law which will reduce them almost to famine, they not having within themselves provisions sufficient for their subsistence.

"That it will induce the French to extend their fisheries, and by that means increase the wealth and strength of our rivals in trade, to the great prejudice of this country.

"That your petitioners feel for the many hardships which their fellow-subjects in America already labour under, from the execution of several late acts of parliament, evidently partial and oppressive, and which seem to be extended and continued by this bill; inasmuch as it confirms those acts, which in particular cases deprive the American subjects of trial by jury, prohibit the Americans from carrying provisions from one colony to another, invite a contraband trade under military protection, prevent any subject of Great-Britain or Ireland from being part owner of certain American ships or vessels, and vest an undue and dangerous authority in the governor and council of Massachusett's Bay.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable house, that the said bill may not pass into a law."

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, entered into by the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusett's, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. *in General Congress, met*

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met at Philadelphia, May 20th, 1775.

ARTICLE I.

THE name of the confederacy shall henceforth be, The United Colonies of North America.

II. The united colonies hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, binding on themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the security of their liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III. That each colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own assembly or convention.

IV. That, for the more convenient management of general interests, delegates shall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only where particular circumstances do not make a deviation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, that each succeeding Congress is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation; and that, accordingly, the next Congress after the present shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V. That the power and duty of the Congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the settling all disputes between colony and colony, if any should arise, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congress shall also make such general ordinances, thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular assemblies cannot be competent, viz. those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, the regulation of our common forces; the Congress shall also have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, such as general treasurer, secretary, &c. &c. &c.

VI. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

VII. The number of delegates to be elected, and sent to the Congress by each colony, shall be regulated from time to time, by the number of such polls returned; so as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them to every Congress an authenticated return of the number of polls in their respective colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above-mentioned.

VIII. At every meeting of the Congress, one half of the members returned, exclusive of proxies, shall be necessary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in all cases; and, if necessarily absent, shall be allowed

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lowed to appoint any other delegate from the same colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

IX. An executive council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of 12 persons, of whom in the first appointment, one third, viz. four, shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and, as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one third of the members will be chosen annually; and each person who has served the same term of three years as counsellor, shall have a respite of three years, before he can be elected again. This council, of whom two-thirds shall be a quorum, in the recess of the Congress, is to execute what shall have been injoined thereby; to manage the general continental business and interests, to receive applications from foreign countries, to prepare matters for the consideration of the Congress, to fill up, *pro tempore*, continental offices that fall vacant, and to draw on the general treasurer for such monies as may be necessary for general services, and appropriated by the Congress to such services.

X. No colony shall engage in an offensive war with any nation of Indians without the consent of the Congress or great council abovementioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such war.

XI. A perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entered into, as soon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits ascertained, and to be secured to them; their lands not to be incroached on, nor any private or colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onondega and the general Congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the trade with them; and be enabled at our general expence, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses; and all purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the general advantage and benefit of the united colonies.

XII. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the colony assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the articles of this confederation.

XIII. Any and every colony from Great-Britain upon the continent of North-America, not at present engaged in our association, may, upon application, and joining the said association, be received into the confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas, and shall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance, and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several provincial conventions or assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to impower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in

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in the ensuing Congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port; for burning Charlestown, and for the expence of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great-Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation is to be perpetual.

WHEREAS it hath pleased God to bless these countries with a most plentiful harvest, whereby much corn and other provisions can be spared to foreign nations who may want the same:

Resolved, That after the expiration of six months, from the 20th of July instant, being the day appointed by a late act of parliament of Great-Britain, for restraining the trade of the confederate colonies, all custom-houses therein (if the said act be not first repealed) shall be shut up, and all the officers of the same discharged from the execution of their several functions; and all the ports of the said colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the ships of every state in Europe that will admit our commerce, and protect it, who may bring in and expose to sale, free of all duties, their respective produce and manufactures, and every kind of merchandize, excepting teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British West-India islands.

Resolved, That we will, to the utmost of our power, maintain and support this freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, any reconciliation between us and Great Britain notwithstanding, and as much longer beyond that term as the late acts of parliament for restraining the commerce and fisheries, and disallowing the laws and charters of any of the colonies, shall continue unrepealed.

Address, &c. of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, *&c. presented to his Majesty, on* Friday *the 14th of* July, 1775.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, *in Common Council assembled.*

"Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, with all humility beg leave to lay themselves at your royal feet, humbly imploring your benign attention towards the grievous distractions of their fellow-subjects in America.

The characteristic of the people, Sire, over whom you reign, has ever been equally remarked for their unparalleled loyalty to their sovereign, whilst the principles of the constitution have been the rule of his

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his government, as well as a firm opposition whenever their rights have been invaded.

Your American subjects, Royal Sire, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves, appear equally jealous of the prerogatives of freemen, without which they cannot deem themselves happy.

Their chearful and unasked for contributions, as well as willing services to the mother country, whilst they remained free from the clog of compulsory laws, will, we are sure, plead powerfully with the humanity of your disposition, for graciously granting them every reasonable opportunity of giving, as freemen, what they seem resolutely determined to refuse under the injunction of laws made independent of their own consent.

The abhorrence we entertain of civil bloodshed and confusion will, we trust, Sire, if not wholly exculpate us in your royal mind, yet plead powerfully in our favour, for the warmth with which we lament those measures, whose destructive principles have driven our American brethren to acts of desperation.

Convinced of the earnest disposition of the colonists to remain firm in all duteous obedience to the constitutional authority of this kingdom, permit us most gracious sovereign, to beseech you that those operations of force, which at present distract them with the most dreadful apprehensions, may be suspended; and that, uncontrouled by a restraint incompatible with a free government, they may possess an opportunity of tendering such terms of accommodation, as, we doubt not, will approve them worthy of a distinguished rank among the firmest friends of this country."

Signed by order of court,
WILLIAM RIX.

To which address and petition his Majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

"I AM always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of my subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but, while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained."

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Friday, May 26, 1775.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Cannot, in justice to you, forbear to express my intire satisfaction in your conduct, during the course of this important session.

You have maintained with a firm and steady resolution, the rights of my crown, and the authority of parliament, which I shall ever consider as inseparable; you have protected and promoted the commercial interests of my kingdoms, and you have, at the same time, given convincing proofs of your readiness (as far as the constitution will allow you) to gratify the wishes, and remove the apprehensions, of my subjects in America; and I am persuaded, that the most salutary effects

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fects must, in the end, result from measures formed and conducted on such principles.

The late mark of your affectionate attachment to me, and to the Queen, and the zeal and unanimity which accompanied it, demand my particular thanks.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, as well from the general dispositions of other powers, as from the solemn assurances which I have received, I have great reason to expect the continuance of peace: nothing on my part, consistent with the maintenance of the honour and interest of my kingdoms, shall be wanting to secure the public tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It gives me much concern, that the unhappy disturbances in some of my colonies have obliged me to propose to you an augmentation of my army, and have prevented me from compleating the intended reduction of the establishment of my naval forces. I cannot sufficiently thank you for the chearfulness and public spirit with which you have granted the supplies for the several services of the current year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have nothing to desire of you but to use your best endeavours to preserve and to cultivate, in your several counties, the same regard for public order, and the same discernment of their true interests, which have in these times distinguished the character of my faithful and beloved people; and the continuance of which cannot fail to render them happy at home, and respected abroad."

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday the twenty-seventh day of July next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 27th day of July next.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, *now met in General Congress at* Philadelphia, *setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their taking up Arms.*

IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly resistable, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great-Britain, however stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success

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in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so as to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great-Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navagation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great-Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. —Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels.— From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour, from the beginning of colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament; could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of asquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose

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dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-admiralty beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the 'murderers' of colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great-Britain and America, a despotism dangerous for our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can 'of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever.' What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws! And an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language. But administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great-Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth would supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flatter ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech. Our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons, in their address, in the month of February, said, 'that a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province

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of Massachusets-Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies! and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.' Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were intirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts on which they always depended for their sustenance! and large re-inforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band, of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxation, where colonies should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us at the point of the bayonet the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify; if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusett's Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their Governor; and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him; it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects.

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They accordingly delivered up their arms but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General further emulating his Ministerial Masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falshoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to 'declare them all either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supercede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.'——His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely intail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just: Our union is perfect: Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those

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powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects, in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies, with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion, of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers, and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial judge and ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By order of the congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attested,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1775.

A Second Petition *from the* General Congress *in* America, *to his* Majesty.

THE following is a true copy of the Petition from the General Congress in America, to his Majesty, which we delivered to Lord Dartmouth, the first of this month, and to which, his Lordship said, no answer would be given.

Sept. 4, 1775. Richard Penn. Arthur Lee.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusett's-Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants

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inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother-country and those colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great-Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissentions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving so continual and formidable an accession of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of these settlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great-Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and extension immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late King, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new *system of statutes* and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the mother-country: for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great-Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, which have flowed from this fatal source. Your Majesty's ministers persevering in their measures, and proceeding to

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open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequence; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensible obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire. Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference to your Majesty; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion.

Could we represent, in their full force, the sentiments which agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great-Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most *ardently desire the former harmony between her* and these colonies may be restored, but that a *concord may be established* between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissentions to succeeding generations in both countries; to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation, as might in any manner be inconsistant with *her dignity or her welfare*. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support

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support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects, on this continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interest of your Majesty and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed, to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating these important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to *direct some mode* by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies be repealed. For by such arrangements as your Majesty's wisdom can form, for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists toward their sovereign and the parent state, that the wished for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern the dominions, with honour to themselves, and happiness to their subjects is our sincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Colonies of New Hampshire. John Langdon, Thomas Cushing.

Massachusett's Bay. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island. Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward, Eliphant Dyar.

Connecticut. Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York. Philip Levingston, James Duane, John Alsop, Francis Lewis, John Jay, Robert Levingston, junior, Lewis Morris, Wm. Floyd, Henry Wisner.

New Jersey. William Levingston, John Deharts, Richard Smith.

Pennsylvania. John Dickenson, Benjamin Franklin, George Ross, James Wilson, Charles Wilson, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle.

Delaware Counties Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, George Read.

Maryland. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, junior, William Pace, Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone.

Virginia. P. Henry, junior, R. Henry Lee, Edmond Fendleton, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Jefferson.

North Carolina. Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes.

South

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South Carolina. Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, J. Rutlege, Edward Rutlege.

Speech of his Excellency, Simon, *Earl of* Harcourt, *to both Houses of the* Irish *Parliament, on* Tuesday, *the* 10*th of* October, 1775.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOUR distinguished loyalty to the King; your just attention to the honour and dignity of his government; and your well regulated zeal for the peace and happiness of your country; have made so sensible an impression on my mind, during a three years residence amongst you, that, encouraged by the experience of what I have seen, it is with the most sincere satisfaction I meet you again in parliament.

I am persuaded that you entertain a grateful sense of the blessings you enjoy under the mild and firm government of the best of sovereigns; and his Majesty relies on the known zeal and loyalty of his subjects of Ireland, that, whilst his government is disturbed by a rebellion existing in a part of his American dominions, you will be ready to shew your inviolable attachment to his person and government, in the assertion of his just rights, and in the support of his legal authority.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper accounts and estimates to be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge of the provisions necessary to be made for the ordinary expences of his Majesty's establishments, and for discharging an arrear which has been unavoidably incurred.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am happy to inform you, that, since your last meeting, his Majesty's tender concern for the welfare of this kingdom hath induced him to pass several laws in the British parliament highly beneficial to your commerce, your manufactures, and your agriculture.

By the act which extends the great advantages of British fisheries to Ireland, a source of industry and wealth is opened to you, which has made other nations great and flourishing. Let me therefore recommend to your earnest attention the improvement of advantages tending so obviously to promote your navigation and trade; in the pursuit of which you may depend upon my warmest assistance and support.

The act which allows the cloathing and accoutrements necessary for his Majesty's forces paid from the revenues of this kingdom, to be exported from Ireland, is a particular mark of the royal favour; and even that which allows the importation of rape-seed into Great Britain from this kingdom, under certain regulations, connected with those salutary laws passed in your last session, form such a system of agriculture and improvement as will, I trust, secure riches and plenty to the people of Ireland.

A bounty granted by Great-Britain upon the importation of flax-seed, is so marked a recommendation of the linen manufacture, that it becomes needless for me to urge the most persevering application

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plication to that staple of your country.

The Protestant Charter Schools, an institution established on the principles of wisdom and humanity, and so peculiarly adapted to the present state and circumstances of this kingdom, are eminently intitled to your consideration and care.

On my part, you may be assured that I shall continue faithfully to represent your loyalty and zeal to his Majesty; and that I shall chearfully co-operate with you in whatever may tend to advance the prosperity and happiness of this kingdom.

The Address, Memorial, *and* Petition, *of several of the* Gentlemen, Merchants, *and* Traders *of the City of* London, *presented by a Deputation of them to his* Majesty, *on* Wednesday *the* 11*th of* October, 1775.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address, Memorial, *and* Petition *of the* Gentlemen, Merchants, *and* Traders *of* London.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders of London, beg leave to approach your Majesty with unfeigned assurance of affection and attachment to your Majesty's person and government, and to represent, with great humility, our sentiments on the present alarming state of public affairs.

By the operation of divers acts of the British parliament, we behold, with deep affliction, that happy communion of interests and good offices, which had so long subsisted between this country and America, suspended, and an intercourse (which, augmenting, as it grew, the strength and dignity of your Majesty's dominions, hath enabled your Majesty to defeat the natural rivals of your greatness in every quarter of the world) threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We should humbly represent to your Majesty, if they had not been already represented, the deadly wounds which the commerce of this country must feel from these unfortunate measures; that it has not yet more deeply felt them is owing to temporary and accidental causes which cannot long continue.

But we beg your Majesty to cast an eye on the general property of this land, and to reflect what must be its fate when deprived of our American commerce.

It fills our minds with additional grief to see the blood and treasure of your Majesty's subjects wasted in effecting a fatal separation between the different parts of your Majesty's empire, by a war, uncertain in the event, destructive in its consequences, and the object contended for lost in the contest.

The experience we have had of your Majesty's paternal regard for the welfare and privileges of all your people, and the opinion we entertain of the justice of the British parliament, forbid us to believe, that laws, so repugnant to the policy of former times, would have received their sanction, had the real circumstances and sentiments of

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of the colonies been thoroughly understood, or the true principles of their connection with the mother-country been duly weighed: we are therefore necessarily constrained to impute blame to those by whom your Majesty and the parliament have been designedly misled, or partially informed of those matters, on a full knowledge of which alone, determinations of such importance should have been founded.

We beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that, in questions of high national concern affecting the dearest interests of a state, speculation and experiment are seldom to be justified: That want of foresight is want of judgment; and perseverance in measures, which repeated experience hath condemned, ceases to be error.

We might appeal to the history of all countries to shew, that force hath never been employed with success, to change the opinions or convince the minds of freemen; and, from the annals of our own in particular, we learn, that the free and voluntary gifts of the subject have ever exceeded the exactions of the sword.

Restraining, prohibitory, and penal laws have failed to re-establish the public tranquillity; and the present state of this unfortunate dispute affords reason to believe, that, as it commenced without policy, it must be prosecuted by means which the natural and constitutional strength of Great-Britain cannot supply.

In your Majesty's justice we confide for a fair construction of an apprehension we have conceived, that your Majesty hath been advised to take foriegn troops into British pay, and to raise and discipline Papists both in Ireland and Canada, for the purpose of enforcing submission to laws which your Majesty's Protestant subjects in America conceive to be destructive of their liberties, and against which they have repeatedly petitioned in vain.

Anxious to vindicate the national honour, we would willingly discredit reports of slaves incited to insurrection, and barbarous nations encouraged to take arms against our American brethren, if they had not prevailed without refutation, and filled the minds of your Majesty's faithful subjects with indignation and horror.

If to these circumstances of peril and distress our fears could suggest any addition, we might justly expect it from the resentment of those powerful enemies, who have ever shewn a readiness to take advantage of our internal commotions, and will joyfully embrace the occasion of avenging that disgrace they sustained, during the late glorious war, from the united arms of Great-Britain and America;—and we should indeed be reduced to despair, but that we are encouraged to look up to your Majesty, the common father of all your people, as the happy instrument in the hands of Divine Providence, which bringeth good out of evil, for restoring to this distracted empire the blessings of mutual confidence, liberty, and peace.

For the speedy effecting of which, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to cause hostilities to cease in your Majesty's colonies in America, and to adopt such mode of reconciling this unhappy controversy as may

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may best promote the interest of commerce, and the welfare of all your people.

[Signed by 1171 persons.]

Address *of a very numerous Body of the* Merchants *and* Traders of the *City of* London, *presented by a Deputation of them to his* Majesty, *on* Saturday *the* 14*th of* October, 1775. *Which* Address *his* Majesty *was pleased to receive very graciously; and the Gentlemen of the Deputation had the honour to kiss his* Majesty's *Hand.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, merchants and traders of the city of London, filled with the deepest concern at the unjustifiable proceedings of some of your Majesty's colonies in America, beg leave to approach your royal throne to testify our entire disapprobation and abhorrence of them, with the most solemn assurances that we will support your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, in maintaining the authority of the legislature of this country, which, we conceive, does and ought to extend over and pervade every part of the British dominions.

With regret and indignation we see colonies, which owe their existence, and every blessing that attended their late prosperous situation, to this their parent country, unnaturally regardless of the fostering hand that raised and supported them, and affecting distinctions in their dependence, not founded in law, or in the constitution of Great-Britain.

We are convinced by the experienced clemency of your Majesty's government, that no endeavours will be wanting to induce our deluded fellow-subjects to return to their obedience to that constitution which our ancestors bled to establish, and which has flourished, pure and uninterrupted under the mild government of the House of Hanover.

May that Being, who governs the universe, so direct your Majesty's councils and measures, that from the present confusion, order may arise, and peace again be restored.

That your Majesty may long reign over an happy and united people, is the earnest prayer of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects.

[Signed by 941 persons.]

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both houses of Parliament, on Thursday, *the* 26*th Day of* October, 1775.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present situation of America, and my constant desire to have your advice, concurrence and assistance on every important occasion, have determined me to call you thus early together.

Those who have too long successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordi-

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nate relation to Great-Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force; they have seized the public revenue, and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise, in the most arbitrary manner over the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects; and although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequence of this usurpation, and wish to resist it; yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force shall appear to support them.

The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the Parent-state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your last session, that a rebellion existed within the province of the Massachusett's Bay, yet even that province we wished rather to reclaim, than to subdue. The resolutions of parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to cases of criminal combinations amongst subjects not then in arms. I have acted with the same temper; anxious to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America would have discerned the traiterous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a subject of Great-Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society in the known world.

The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the success of such a plan. The object is too important, the spirit of the British nation too high, the resources with which God hath blessed her too numerous, to give up so many colonies which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expence of blood and treasure.

It is now become the part of wisdom, and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose, I have increased my naval establishment and greatly augmented my land-forces; but in such a manner as may be the least burthensome to my kingdoms.

I have also the satisfaction to inform you, that I have received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance; and if I shall make any treaties in consequence thereof, they shall be laid before you. And I have, in testimony of my affection for my people, who can have no cause in which I am not equally interested, sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of my Electoral troops, in order that a larger number of the established

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blished forces of this kingdom may be applied to the maintenance of its authority; and the national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the rights, safety and protection of my crown and people, may give a farther extent and activity to our military operations.

When the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, I shall be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; and, in order to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove, as soon as possible, the calamities which they suffer, I shall give authority to certain persons upon the spot to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they shall think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which shall be disposed to return to its allegiance. It may be also proper to authorise the persons so commissioned to restore such province or colony, so returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if such province or colony had never revolted.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your affection to me, and your resolution to maintain the just rights of this country, for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs require. Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly than the extraordinary burthen which it must create to my faithful subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have fully opened to you my views and intentions. The constant employment of my thoughts and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the safety and happiness of all my people, and to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity through the several parts of my dominions, in a close connection and constitutional dependance. You see the tendency of the present disorders, and I have stated to you the measures which I mean to pursue for suppressing them. Whatever remains to be done, that may farther contribute to this end, I commit to your wisdom. And I am happy to add, that, as well from the assurances I have received, as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, I see no probability that the measures which you may adopt will be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.

The following Address of the Liverymen of the City of London *has been presented to his Majesty by* Thomas Wellings, *Chairman*, John Spiller, Gabriel Leekey, William Judd, Evan Pugh, Roger Griffin, *and* Thomas Moore, *Esqrs. being introduced by the Lord of his Majesty's Bed-chamber in waiting; which address his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; and they had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.*

To

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To the King's most excellent Majesty.

Most gracious Sovereign,

FROM the warmest sense of duty to your Majesty, and love of our country, we, your Majesty's loyal subjects, liverymen of the city of London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, with the freedom we ever mean to assert as Englishmen, and with that deference which we owe as good subjects to your Majesty, presume to approach your royal presence, and to entreat your attention to the genuine sentiments of a loyal and dutiful people.

It is with the deepest concern we observe, that our fellow subjects, in your Majesty's American colonies, are now in open rebellion. A malignant spirit of resistance to law and government has gone forth amongst them, which we firmly believe has been excited and encouraged by selfish men, who hope to derive private emolument from public calamities: from the counsels, the persuasions, the influence of such men, God protect your Majesty. The interest, the honour, the sovereignty of your kingdom of Great-Britain, are now at stake: as the guardian of those, we trust you will ever assert and preserve them. In this great work, be assured, Sire, that under your Majesty's direction, we will, with the greatest chearfulness, exert ourselves to the utmost of our abilities, in support of those laws which are our protection, and of that government which is our blessing.

Whilst we presume to approach your Majesty, with hopes you will exert the constitutional power you possess, to subdue such of your deluded people as are now acting in open defiance of the laws, permit us, gracious Sire, to implore your clemency towards those whose eyes may be opened to a full conviction of their offences; and who, hereafter, when reason and reflection shall prevail over passion and prejudice, may be restored to the allegiance which they owe to the mother country and their sovereign.

That your Majesty and your posterity may long reign over a people happy in enjoying those blessings which the accession of your ancestors to the throne of these kingdoms has hitherto insured to us, is the unfeigned and ardent wish of your Majesty's most dutiful, faithful, and devoted subjects.

[The above address was signed by 1029 liverymen.]

CHARACTERS.

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CHARACTERS.

Sketch of their Majesties domestic Life at Kew, during the Summer Season.

THEIR majesties rise at six in the morning, and enjoy the two succeeding hours, which they call their *own:* at eight the prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, the princess Royal, and princes William and Henry, are brought from their several houses, to Kew house to breakfast with their illustrious relations. At nine, their younger children attend to lisp or smile their good morrows, and whilst the five eldest are closely applying to their tasks, the little ones and their nurses pass the whole morning in Richmond Gardens.

The king and queen frequently amuse themselves with sitting in the room while the children dine, and once a week, attended by the whole offspring in pairs, make the little delightful tour of Richmond Gardens. In the afternoon the queen works, and the king reads to her, and whatever charms ambition or folly may conceive as attendant on so exalted a situation, it is neither on the throne, nor in the drawing-room, in the splendor or the toys of sovereignty, that they place their felicity; it is, next to the fulfilling of the duties of their station, in social and domestic gratifications, in breathing the free air, admiring the works of nature, tasting and encouraging the elegancies of art, and in living to their own hearts. In the evening, all the children again pay their duty at Kew house, before they retire to bed; and the same order is observed through each returning day. The sovereign is the father of his family; not a grievance reaches his knowledge that remains unredressed; nor is a single character of merit, or ingenuity, ever disregarded; so that his private conduct must be allowed to be no less exemplary, than it is truly amiable.

Though naturally a lover of peace, his personal courage cannot in the smallest degree be impeached; he exercises his troops himself, understands every martial manœuvre as well as any private centinel in his service, and has the articles of war at his fingers ends. Topography is one of his favourite studies; he copies every capital chart, takes the models of all the celebrated fortifications, knows the soundings of the chief harbours in Europe, and the strong and weak sides of most fortified towns. He can name every ship in his navy, and he keeps lists of the commanders. And all these are private acquisitions, and of his own chusing.

The prince of Wales and the bishop of Osnaburgh bid fair, however, for excelling the generality of mankind in learning, as much as they are their superiors in rank: eight hours close application to the languages and the liberal sciences is daily enjoined them, and their industry is unremitting: all the ten are indeed fine children, and it does

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not yet appear that parental partiality is known at court.

Exercise, air, and light diet, are the grand fundamental in the king's idea of health and sprightliness; his majesty feeds chiefly on vegetables, and drinks little wine; the queen is what many private gentlewomen would call whimsically abstemious, for at a table covered with dainties, she culls the plainest and the simplest dish, and seldom eats of more than two things at a meal. Her wardrobe is changed every three months; and, while the nobility are eager to supply themselves with foreign trifles, her care is that nothing but what is English shall be provided for her wear. The tradesmens bills are regularly paid once a quarter for what comes under the childrens department, and the whole is judiciously and happily conducted.

Character of the late Queen Matilda, *of* Denmark.

THE writer of the following lines, conscious of his incapacity to draw, in the masterly manner it deserves, so amiable a character as that of the late Queen Matilda of Denmark, waited in expectation that some more able and eloquent pen would have attempted it. But few persons in this kingdom were in any degree acquainted with her life or actions, while she resided at Copenhagen; perhaps still fewer had the honour to know that exalted sufferer, during the latter years which she spent in her retreat at Zell. To this unacquaintance with her Majesty may, he doubts not, be imputed the almost universal silence respecting her; and it is from the appearance of no other writer qualified to do justice to so noble a cause, that the present attempt to present her real character to the English people must derive its excuse.

Sacrificed in the bloom of life, being born the 22d of July, 1751, and married the first of October, 1766, she was first sent an inexperienced victim to a court, in which, surrounded with spies and emissaries, who interpreted the most trifling levities of youth into enormous crimes, the young and unsuspecting Queen could not long remain without giving her enemies too favourable an opportunity to effect her fall. They succeeded, and induced the wretched King to become the engine of their malevolence, by signing the order for her imprisonment. The interposition of the British court saved her from farther violence, and conducted her to an asylum in the electoral dominions of Hanover. Here she appeared in her true and native character. Divested of the retinue and pomp which, on the throne of Denmark, veiled her in a great degree from the inspection of nice observers, the qualities of her heart displayed themselves in her little court at Zell, and gained her universal love. Her person was dignified and graceful: she excelled in all the exercises befitting her sex, birth, and station. She danced the finest minuet in the Danish court, and managed the horse with uncommon address and spirit. She had a taste in music, and devoted much of her time, while at Zell, to the harpsichord. The characteristic stile of her dress was simplicity, not magnificence; that of her deportment, an affability, which in a personage of such high rank might be termed extreme condescension. Her talents were

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were liberal and diffusive; and, cultivated by reading, displayed themselves on all occasions. She conversed with the most perfect facility in French, English, German, and Danish; and to those extraordinary attainments she added a thorough knowledge of the Italian, which she studied and admired for its beauty and delicacy. Her manners were the most polished, soft, and ingratiating; and even the contracted state of her finances could not restrain that princely munificence of temper, which made her purse ever open to distress or misery. Naturally chearful and happy in her disposition, adored and beloved to the highest degree by the circle of her court, even the dark cloud of adversity could not alter the sweetness and serenity of her temper. Banished, with every circumstance of indignity, from the throne of Denmark, she yet retained no sentiment of revenge or resentment against the authors of her fall, or against the Danish people. Her heart was not tinctured with ambition, and she looked back to the diadem which had been torn from her brow, with a calmness and superiority of soul, which might have made a Philip the Fifth, or a Victor Amadeus, blush. It was not the crown she regretted; her children only employed her care; the feelings of the sovereign were absorbed in those of the mother; and, if she wept the day when she quitted the island of Zealand, it was because she was then bereft of those dear objects of her maternal fondness. Two or three months before her death, she shewed, with transports of joy, to Madam d'O——, her first lady of the bed-chamber, a little portrait of the prince-royal her son, which she had just received. It happened that this lady, some few days after, entered the Queen's apartment at an unusual hour. She was surprized at hearing her majesty talk, though quite alone. While she stood in this attitude of astonishment, unable to retire, the Queen turned suddenly round, and addressing herself to her with that charming smile, which she alone could preserve at a moment, when her heart was torn with the most acute and agonizing sensation,—"What must you think (said she) of a circumstance so extraordinary as that of hearing me talk, though you find me perfectly alone? But it was to this dear and cherished image I addressed my conversation; and what do you imagine I said to it? nearly the same verses which you sent not long ago to a child, sensible to the happiness of having found her father; verses (added she) which I changed after the manner following:

* "*Eh! qui donc, comme moi, gouteroit la douceur [cœur!*
De t'appeller mon fils, d'etre cherg a ton
Toi qu'on arrache aux bras d'un mere sensible,
Qui ne pleure que toi, dans ce destin terrible."

Madam d'O—— could not speak; she burst into tears, and, overcome with her own emotion, retired hastily from the royal presence.

When she was first apprehended to be in danger from the disorder which seized her, anxiety and consternation were spread through her

* TRANSLATION attempted.

Ah! who, like me, could taste the joy divine,
My lovely babe! to mix my soul with thine!
Torn from my breast, I weep alone for thee,
Amidst the griefs which heaven dispens'd to me.

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whole court, which idolized her; but when she expired, no language can express the horror and grief visible in every apartment of the palace. Leyser, the physician, who attended her Majesty through the course of her illness, dreaded the event from the first moment. She saw it, and, impressed with a presentiment of her approaching death, which proved but too true, "You have twice (said she to him) extricated me from very dangerous indispositions since the month of October, but this exceeds your skill: I know I am not within the help of medicine". Leyser desired that the celebrated Zimmermann might be called in to his aid from Hanover: he was so: but her Majesty's illness, which was a most malignant spotted fever, baffled every endeavour. Its violence even in the beginning was such, that her pulse beat an hundred and thirty-one strokes in a minute; but during the last two days it became impossible to count them. She bore the pains of her distemper with exquisite patience, and even shewed the most generous and delicate attention to the ladies who waited by her. She preserved her senses, speech, and understanding to the last moment, and only a short time before her death (the 10th of May, 1775) expressed the most perfect forgiveness of all those enemies who had persecuted and calumniated her during her life. Mons. de Lichtenstein, Grand Mareschal of the court of Hanover, presided at the funeral rites, which were conducted with a pomp suited to her royal dignity. Her Majesty's body was interred with her maternal ancestors, the Dukes of Zell. The streets and the great church were thronged with crowds of people, drawn by the sincerest grief of condolence to behold the mournful obsequies of their royal benefactress pass along. It was a scene the most affecting and awful to be imagined; and when the funeral-sermon was preached over her remains, the numerous audience melted into tears, and were impressed with emotions of sorrow and lamentation only to be compared with those which the famous Bourdaloue excited by his oration on a very similar occasion, the death of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, in the last century. But the most striking proof of the love and attachment borne to her Majesty's memory after death, and the impression which her virtues had made among all ranks of people in the country where she died, is the resolution which the states of Lunenburg framed at Hanover on the 10th of last month. It was as follows:

"The Nobility and the States of the duchy of Lunenburg assembled, have resolved on the 10th of June, in their last session, to present a request to the King of Great-Britain, to obtain the permission of erecting at Zell a monument, in memory of the qualities of mind and heart of the late Queen of Denmark, as well as of the devotion and veneration which they have borne to that Princess. They intend chusing the most exquisite artists for the execution of it; and they hope, by this avowed proof of their zeal, to transmit, to the most remote posterity, both the profound grief, which the premature death of that young Queen has spread through a whole province which adored her, and the homage which they rendered to that true greatness, which the catastrophes and adversities the most cruel only render more respectable."

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The author of this address to the public does not wish to be known: he has no interest in offering a tribute of adulation to a departed Queen. He was only induced, by the most lively conviction of her virtues and undeserved calamities, to attempt to display the image of their Princess to the English people. The eulogium is due to her memory; it is an atonement to her injured shade.

Memoirs of the late Pope Clement XIV.

IT is commonly said in Italy, that a *pope never sees the truth but when he reads the gospel.* Clement, without employing spies, the resource of low and little minds, cast his eyes about him, and saw himself what it was necessary for him to know; whereby as a prince who knew how to reign, he rewarded and punished; he declared himself, or he dissembled. *Providence* (said he) *has placed me as a centinel, only carefully to watch over Israel.* It is true, his extraordinary vigilance created murmurs; but he was convinced that a people is happy only in proportion as their sovereign pays attention to every *minutia* that relates to their welfare; and those who filled offices and employments were obliged to be very careful in conducting themselves properly, which was not the case in the former reign, when malversation was practised with impunity.

Lambertini (Benedict XIV.) attained the reputation of a great doctor, and was respected abroad, without abilities to govern his dominions. The Romans, in speaking of him, used to say, *Magnus in folio, parvus in solio.* Corsini (Clement XII.) was ten years blind out of the twelve that he reigned; and it may be judged from thence, whether the treasurers or receivers had not then good eyes. Orsini (Benedict XIII.) of the order of the brother preachers, too sanctified to suspect any ill, was incessantly imposed upon by the unfortunate cardinal Coscia, who, though only the son of a barber in the kingdom of Naples, enriched himself at the cost of the holy see, became a prisoner in the castle of St. Ange, and died in 1755, loaded with riches and the public indignation.

The duties of a prince and pastor are very difficult to reconcile; policy often exacts what religion does not allow: if the character of a pope inspires clemency, that of a sovereign enjoins severity. Thus we read that Sixtus V. was a great monarch without being a bigot; and that S. Pius was a good pope and a poor prince. This made an historian say, that such pontiffs as had been taken from the order of the Cordeliers, and were six in number, were all possessed of the talent of governing well; and those who had been of the order of the Dominicans, were more capable of edifying.

Ganganelli, the late pope, whose Christian names were Francis Laurence, was born at Saint Angelo, in the duchy of Urbino, the 31st of October, 1705; and chosen pope, though not yet a bishop, the 19th of May, 1769; at which time, as the reader may recollect, the see of Rome was involved in a most disagreeable and dangerous contest with the house of Bourbon. He was the pope who most united the above qualities, as a manly piety is more analogous with sovereignty, than an effeminate and pusillanimous

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mous devotion. His religion bore the impression of his character and his genius: it was strong and elevated, otherwise he would often have been stopped in his operations; but seeing all things as a great man, and rising superior to public rumours, prejudices, and even events, he knew how to be a prince and a pontiff.

The little artifices practised by narrow minds, to obtain their ends, he was a stranger to. Though peculiarly calculated for a court which is accused of being the very vortex of intrigue and chicane, he never deceived the politicians, but by remaining silent; for when he spoke, he uttered the truth. He was too upright a man to act by sinister means, and was, indeed, too great a genius to stand in need of them.

No one knew better when to seize the proper moment, when he neither was slow nor precipitate. The hour is not come, he would say, when he was solicited to hasten some operation. He wrote to Cardinal Stoppani, "I mistrust my vivacity, and therefore I shall not answer till the end of a week, concerning what your eminence requires of me. Our imagination is often our greatest enemy; I am striving to weary it before I act. Matters of business, like fruits, have their maturity, and it is only when they are hastings that we should think of accomplishing them."

His manner of reading resembled his other operations; he abstained from books, if he found himself disposed to reflect; and as sovereigns are led by circumstances, from whence we may conclude that all men are born dependent, he often kept vigils great part of the night, and slept in the day-time. Their rule, he used to say, is the compass of monks and friars; but the wants of their people is the clock of sovereigns: let it be what hour it may, if they want us, we must attend them: *La bussola di frati é la loro regola, ma il bisogno del popolo é l'orologio dei sovrani.*

This maxim, when he was pope, often took him from his books. He then read only to edify, or to relax from business. He was of opinion, that all the books in the world might be reduced to six thousand volumes in folio, and that those of the present age were nothing but pictures, which daubers had found the art of cleaning, in order to present them in the properest light to public view.

It is to be lamented that he produced nothing in the literary way, though some have ascribed to him part of the works of Benedict XIV. We should have found in his the phlegm of the Germans, blended with the vivacity of the Italians; but he was so thoroughly persuaded that there were too many writers, that he was always fearful of increasing the number. He said one day, smiling, "Who knows whether brother Francis may not one day take it into his head to write? I should not be in the least astonished to see some work in his manner; but surely it would not be a history of my ragouts, or the book must be very concise!"

When any one mentioned to him the fashionable productions that appeared against christianity, he would say, "the more there are, the more the world will be convinced of the necessity of it." He observed, "that all the writers who opposed Christianity, knew only how

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how to dig a ditch, and that was all they could supply its place with." He said, "that Mr. Voltaire, whose poetry he admired, attacked religion so often, only because it was troublesome to him; and that J. J. Rousseau was a painter, who always forgot the heads, and who excelled only in the drapery."

He explained himself one day upon a work, called The System of Nature, and added, "what hurts me is, that the more it is founded upon false principles, the more, in an age like ours, it will gain reputation and readers; and it will receive an additional value by its being seriously refuted." He afterwards observed, that "the author of this bad book is a madman, who imagines, that, by changing the master of the house, he can dispose of it just as he pleases, without reflecting that no creatures can breathe but by existing in God, *in ipso vivimus, movemur, & sumus.* But every age is distinguished by a new fangled mode of thinking. After the times of superstition, are come the days of incredulity, and the man who formerly adored a multitude of gods, now affects not to acknowledge any one. Virtue, vice, immortality, annihilation, all appear to him synonymous, provided some insignificant pamphlet serves him as a rampart against heaven; and it is in the very bosom of religion that these scandalous opinions originate and multiply. Whilst religion was persecuted by the Pagans, a pope had at least the glory and the good fortune to defend it at the price of his blood; but now that he cannot fly to martyrdom, he is unfortunately compelled to be the miserable witness of error and impiety."

These excellent reflections he made in the presence of a commander of Malta, from whom the author had them, and who assured him that the pope was ever ready to sacrifice himself for the benefit of religion, and the interest of the church, considering his life as no object when these were called in question. It was solely for the glory of the church that he from time to time created several cardinals, without paying any attention to their private connections.

Their institution, which commenced in the ninth century, had no other object than the benefit and honour of religion. They constitute the council of the sovereign pontiffs, when they have occasion for advice; and there were at all times amongst them persons of eminence, whose zeal, added to their knowledge, proved of infinite use to the church and state. Some carried their courage and their faith to the extremities of the world; others, with the approbation of princes, governed with wisdom the most flourishing empires. The most remote ages will remember, with admiration, the Amboises, Ximenes, Richlieus, and Fleurys, and consider them as the bulwarks of those kingdoms where they acted as ministers.

If Clement XIV. did not make any complete promotion of cardinals during his pontificate, it is to be supposed that he was confined by other powers, or that he was puzzled to chuse proper subjects. He may have preferred not chusing, rather than create misunderstandings among ancient friends, who flattered themselves with obtaining the purple, and nevertheless might not

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be worthy of it. The good qualities necessary in friendship are not sufficient for a cardinal. It is a dignity that has too much influence upon the church, to let chance dispose of it.

To judge properly of the genius of Clement, we should view him with some friends, and particularly the cardinal de Bernis, (whose different ages seemed appropriated to the most flattering periods, and the most delicate works) conferring upon the subjects of the times, and the means of reconciling the interests of religion with those of princes. When the greatest lights had been thrown by these his counsellors upon the subject in debate, Ganganelli, as the *primum mobile* of their deliberations, decided with manly resolution. The slightest error would have been of the most dangerous consequence. The chief point in question was to weigh the rights of the sovereign pontiff, the motives upon which he acted, and to keep within the bounds that support the equilibrium between the holy father and the other potentates.

The more arduous and difficult the functions of a pope, the more he stands in need of repose to enable him to go through his labours. Castlegandolfe, a castle built by the Chevalier Bernini, four leagues from Rome, near the lake Albano, which commands the most agreeable prospects, is the usual summer residence of the sovereign pontiffs.

Clement failed not to repair thither in the months of May and October, the most proper seasons in Italy to enjoy the pleasures of the country; and it was here, to be intimately acquainted with Clement, we should view him anatomizing an insect, analyzing a flower, pursuing the phænomena of nature, and by degrees rising up to her Author; and at length taking a general view of earth and heaven: or collecting himself within himself, considering man; or, at other times, familiarly conversing with his friends and intimates.

His imagination was gratified at the sight of those beauties that present themselves in the neighbourhood of Rome; at the recollection of the antient Romans, who had so boldly trampled upon the soil, he recalled to his memory the most sublime and ingenious passages of the antient poets upon the occasion. There are few Italians, however little read, who are unacquainted with the works of Ariosto, Dante, Tasso, Petrarch, and Metastasio; even the women amuse themselves with the perusal of these poets, and can quote them occasionally. His philosophy served his imagination as an excellent second; it recalled to his memory the different situations of his life; at one time in a state of obscure tranquillity, then forcibly agitated in the glare of dignity, like a pilot, who, after a calm serene morning, in the evening finds himself in a violent hurricane, accompanied with thunder, hail, and rain.

Sometimes, weary of meditation, he would retire with an old convent friend of his, Father Francis, into a bower sequestered from the eye of curiosity: here the cloyster anecdotes amused them, and they seemed in a perfect state of equality. One day, Clement viewing him, repeated twice these words: "He has kept his garb, and is happier than me who wear the tiara. It was decreed I should be a pope, and I much

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much fear (here he paused) however, we must submit to the will of God."

He meditated in the same manner when any ambassadors were announced to him. They found him as serene and composed as if nothing agitated his mind; but he could not help laughing in his sleeve at the perplexities he gave the curious.

While he was at Castlegandolfe, on giving a splendid repast to some grandees of Spain, he laid aside his sovereign authority, and joined them in a friendly manner when seated at table, without suffering them to rise to salute him.

The public imagined he had lost sight of the grand objects of the jesuits, whilst, according to the custom of the court of Rome, he only aimed at gaining time. He at times searched the archives of the *Propaganda*, to consult the Memoirs of Cardinal de Tournon, of M. Maigrot, of La Beaume, and of the Jesuit Missionaries. At other times he had read to him the accusations of the society, and their vindications. Every important work, *pro* or *con*, with respect to the jesuits, he attentively examined; whilst equally mistrusting the eulogiums, and the sarcasms passed upon them; he was biassed neither by their panegyrists nor their satyrists. No man was ever more impartial. Equally abstracting himself from his own inclination, as well as all prejudices, he judged in the same manner upon the occasion as posterity necessarily must.

"Let me (said he to the sovereigns who pressed him to determine) have leisure to examine the important affair upon which I am to pronounce. I am the common father of the faithful, particularly those of the clergy; and I cannot destroy a celebrated order, without sufficient reason to justify me in the eyes of all ages, and above all, before God."

The people ever idolizing him, ceased not to bless his reign; and their perseverance in doing so constitutes his greatest eulogium. It is well known that the Romans easily change from enthusiasm to hatred; that they have often calumniated those pontiffs whom they had the most flattered; and that a pope to please them should not reign above three years. Unfortunately, on account of their laziness, they constantly hope, that a change of masters must be attended with an increase of happiness; just as sick men are apt to fancy that they will be much easier when they are placed in another posture.

The glory of Clement would not have been complete, if he had not contributed to the embellishment of Rome; a city so susceptible of ornaments, so fruitful in riches proper to decorate it; but unwilling to pursue the path of Sixtus V. Paul V. or Benedict XIV. he composed a museum, comprizing every thing that could gratify the curiosity of antiquaries and travellers; that is to say, the scarcest curiosities that had been transmitted by the ancients.

It might be said, on this occasion, that Rome, jealous of honouring this pontificate, was eager to display the master-pieces which lay concealed within her bowels. Scarce a year passed without vases, urns, statues of exquisite workmanship, being dug up, to enrich the superb collection begun under Lambertini. Here, with the cast of an eye, we may see the triumph of the Christain religion, by the fragments that

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served in the pagan sacrifices, and the ruins of all those prophane divinities, the statues of which are no longer held in estimation, but in proportion to the mastership with which they are executed.

When Clement could relax from the variety of business in which he was engaged, he visited these monuments with foreigners of distinction, and celebrated artists, rather as a sovereign who considers it as a duty to embellish his capital, than as an *amateur*, who gratifies his taste. This he said to the Chevalier Chatelus, a worthy branch of the immortal d'Aguesseau, as well on account of his wit as his extensive knowledge. After conversing with him upon different subjects, he concluded, that "being born in a village, and brought up in a cloyster, where the love of arts was not inspired, he could not acquire the necessary judgment to determine as a connoisseur, upon the monuments he collected; but that, as a sovereign, he thought himself obliged to display the finest models to artists and the curious, in order that they might know and imitate them."

If he did not always reward the learned, as they might think they had a right to expect from so enlightened a pope, circumstances should be adverted to. The multiplicity of business in which he was engaged, joined to the shortness of his reign, did not afford him leisure to engage in those pursuits which would have given him the greatest pleasure. Moreover, a pope cannot always act agreeably to his own inclinations. There are incidents that tie his hands. Nevertheless, he was always found attentive to bestow bishoprics only upon those he knew to be men of learning; and to this reason may be ascribed his so frequently promoting priests of his own order.

A pope is generally very circumspect in the nomination of a bishop. He knows that the proper regulation of a diocese requires judgment and abilities; for which reason the Italian bishops are usually as meek as they are learned, and as charitable as they are zealous. They are constant residents, and they live in friendship and cordiality with their curates, for they must not be confounded with those *monsignori*, known in Rome under the titles of prelates, and who frequently, not being in orders, fill such posts as laymen might occupy, and serve the pope in his various functions.

Clement was not less attentive in the nomination of his nuncios: he was desirous that his ambassadors should do him honour, as well by their manners as by their learning, and particularly by their love of peace; and, if he appointed M. Doria his nuncio to the court of France, notwithstanding his youth, it was because he was convinced that his extraordinary virtues had outstripped his years, and that his merit already corresponded with the celebrity of his name. It was not till after the consequence this prelate had gained in Spain (where he was the bearer of the consecrated child-bed linen) that Clement named him nuncio in France. He sent him there as an angel of peace, fit to maintain the harmony between the father and the eldest son of the church.

Religion has often suffered by an indiscreet zeal; and in order to prevent it for the future, as far as possible, Clement, whose prudence ever dictated all his steps and resolves,

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solves, observed a gospel toleration, as did the divine legislator with regard to the Sadduceans and the Samaritans. He used to say, "We too often lay aside charity to maintain faith, without reflecting, that, if it is not allowed to tolerate error, it is forbidden to hate and persecute those who have unfortunately embraced it."

To the above rather too general a character, it may not be amiss to add the following particulars. His death was immediately attributed to poison, as if an old man of seventy, loaded with infirmities and disorders, could not quit the world without violence. His proceedings against the jesuits furnished, in the minds of some people, a plausible colour for this charge, and the malevolence of their enemies embellished it with circumstances. It seems even as if the ministers of those powers who had procured their dissolution did not think it beneath them to countenance the report, as if falsehood was necessary to prevent the revival of a body which had already sunk, in its full strength, a mighty sacrifice to their combined resentment.

The charge was the more ridiculous, as the Pontiff had for a long time laboured under a painful disorder, which originally proceeded from a suppression of urine, to which he was subject; yet the report was propagated with the greatest industry: and, though the French and Spanish ministers were present at the opening of his body, the most horrible circumstances were published relative to that operation. Nay, it was confidently affirmed, that the hair dropped off from the hand, the head fell off from the body, and that the stench poisoned and killed the operators. It availed but little that the operators shewed themselves alive and in good health, and that the surgeons and physicians proved the falshood of every part of the report.

Striking Picture of Charles V. *during his Retirement in the Monastry of* St. Just, *where he ended his Days. From Travels through* Spain, *by* Richard Twiss, *Esq; F. R. S.*

AS I have mentioned Charles V. I shall add a short quotation from the Abbé de la Porte: he says, he was in 1755 in the monastery of St. Just, which is situated between the cities of Talavera la Reyna and Placentia: and that one of the monks shewed him the place where the emperor had lodged. "There, said he sneeringly, there is the melancholy solitude where that monarch, become imbecile and devout, passed his days in winding up clocks, in teazing the friars, in giving himself the discipline, in daubing the walls of his cell with scraps on predestination and grace, in stunning himself with reflecting on the adandonment o all his crowns, and in repenting. There he performed the farce of his own burial, put himself in a coffin, sung for himself the *de profundis*, and shewed all the follies of a distempered brain. One day when he went in his turn to wake the novices, at the hour of mattins, one of them, whom he shook too violently, because he still slept, said to him, hast thou not troubled the repose of the world long enough, without coming to disturb that of peaceable men who have forsaken it?"

Political

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Political Characters, by Mr. Edmund Burke, *in his Speech on American Taxation, in the House of Commons, April* 19, 1774.

George Grenville.

A Person to whom on other accounts (Mr. Burke excepts his new colony system) this country owes very great obligations. I do believe, that he had a very serious desire to benefit the public. But, with no small study of the detail, he did not seem to have his view, at least equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights that were rather too detached. Whether the business of an American revenue was imposed upon him altogether; whether it was entirely the result of his own speculation; or, what is more probable, that his own ideas rather coincided with the instructions he had received; certain it is; that, with the best intentions in the world, he first brought this fatal scheme into form, and established it by act of parliament.

No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whose loss we deplore in common. Our little party-differences have been long ago composed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a first-rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of this house, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service; and to secure to himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business.

Sir, if such a man fell into errors, it must be from defects not intrinsical; they must be rather sought in the particular habits of his life; which, though they do not alter the ground-work of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profession. He was bred to the law, which is in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences: a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion. Passing from that study he did not go very largely into the world; but plunged into business; I mean into the business of office; and the limited and fixed methods and forms established there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in that line; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may truly be said, that men too much conversant in office are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the substance

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stance of business not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. These forms are adapted to ordinary occasions; and therefore persons who are nurtured in office do admirably well, as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extensive comprehension of things, is requisite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wisdom and power of human legislation than in truth it deserves. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flourishing trade of this country was greatly owing to law and institution, and not quite so much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which stood first in reputation was his idol. I mean the act of navigation. He has often professed it to be so. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many respects well understood. But I do say, that, if the act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose.

After the war, and in the last year of it, the trade of America had increased far beyond the speculations of the most sanguine imagination. It swelled out on every side. It filled all its proper channels to the brim. It overflowed with a rich redundance, and, breaking its banks on the right and on the left, it spread out upon some places, where it was indeed improper, upon others where it was only irregular. It is the nature of all greatness not to be exact; and great trade will always be attended with considerable abuses. The contraband will always keep pace in some measure with the fair trade. It should stand as a fundamental maxim, that no vulgar precaution ought to be employed in the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the cause of our prosperity. Perhaps this great person turned his eyes somewhat less than was just towards the incredible increase of the fair trade; and looked with something of too exquisite a jealousy towards the contraband. He certainly felt a singular degree of anxiety on the subject; and even began to act from that passion earlier than is commonly imagined. For whilst he was first lord of the Admiralty, though not strictly called upon in his official line, he presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury (my lord Bute was then at the head of the board) heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit commerce in America. Some mischief happened even at that time from this overearnest zeal. Much greater happened afterwards when it operated with greater power in the highest department of the finances. The bonds of the act of navigation were straitened so much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate. They found, under the construction and execution then used, the act no longer tying but actually strangling them. All this coming with new

enumerations

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enumerations of commodities; with regulations which in a manner put a stop to the mutual coasting intercourse of the colonies; with the appointment of courts of admiralty under various improper circumstances; with a sudden extinction of the paper currencies; with a compulsory provision for the quartering of soldiers; the people of America thought themselves proceeded against as delinquents, or at best as people under suspicion of delinquency; and in such a manner as, they imagined, their recent services in the war did not at all merit. Any of these innumerable regulations, perhaps, would not have alarmed alone; some might be thought reasonable; the multitude struck them with terror.

Marquis of ROCKINGHAM.

In the year 1765, being in a very private station, far enough from any line of business, and not having the honour of a seat in this house, it was my fortune, unknowing and unknown to the then ministry, by the intervention of a common friend, to become connected with a very noble person, and at the head of the treasury department. It was indeed in a situation of little rank and no consequence, suitable to the mediocrity of talents and pretensions. But a situation near enough to enable me to see, as well as others, what was going on; and I did see in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward. Sir, Lord Rockingham very early in that summer received a strong representation from many weighty English merchants and manufacturers, from governors of provinces and commanders of men of war, against almost the whole of the American commercial regulations: and particularly with regard to the total ruin which was threatened to the Spanish trade. I believe, Sir, the noble lord soon saw his way in this business. But he did not rashly determine against acts which it might be supposed were the result of much deliberation. However, Sir, he scarcely began to open the ground, when the whole veteran body of office took the alarm. A violent outcry of all (except those who knew and felt the mischief) was raised against any alteration. On one hand, his attempt was a direct violation of treaties and public law.—On the other, the act of navigation, and all the corps of trade laws were drawn up in array against it.

The first step the noble lord took was to have the opinion of his excellent, learned, and ever-lamented friend the late Mr. York, then attorney general, on the point of law. When he knew that formally and officially, which in substance he had known before, he immediately dispatched orders to redress the grievance. But I will say it for the then minister, he is of that constitution of mind, that I know he would have issued, on the same critical occasion, the very same orders, if the acts of trade had been, as they were not, directly against him; and would have chearfully submitted to the equity of parliament for his indemnity.

On

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On the conclusion of this business of the Spanish trade, the news of the troubles, on account of the stamp-act, arrived in England. It was not until the end of October that these accounts were received. No sooner had the sound of that mighty tempest reached us in England, than the whole of the then opposition, instead of feeling humbled by the unhappy issue of their measures, seemed to be infinitely elated, and cried out that the ministry, from envy to the glory of their predecessors, were prepared to repeal the stamp-act. Near nine years after, the hon. gentleman takes quite opposite ground, and now challenges me to put my hand to my heart, and say, whether the ministry had resolved on the repeal till a considerable time after the meeting of parliament. Though I do not very well know what the hon. gentleman wishes to infer from the admission, or from the denial, of this fact, on which he so earnestly adjures me; I do put my hand on my heart, and assure him that they did *not* come to a resolution directly to repeal. They weighed this matter as its difficulty and importance required. They considered maturely among themselves. They consulted with all who could give advice or information. It was not determined, until a little before the meeting of parliament; but it was determined, and the main lines of their own plan marked out, before that meeting. Two questions arose (I hope I am not going into a narrative troublesome to the house.)

[A cry of, Go on, go on.]

The first of the two considerations was, whether the repeal should be total, or whether only partial; taking out every thing burthensome and productive, and reserving only an empty acknowledgment, such as a stamp on cards and dice. The other question was on what principle the act should be repealed? On this head also two principles were started. One, that the legislative rights of this country, with regard to America, were not entire, but had certain restrictions and limitations. The other principle was, that taxes of this kind were contrary to the fundamental principles of commerce on which the colonies were founded; and contrary to every idea of political equity; by which equity we are bound, as much as possible, to extend the spirit and benefit of the British constitution to every part of the British dominions. The option, both of the measure and of the principle of repeal, was made before the session; and I wonder how any one can read the king's speech at the opening of that session, without seeing in that speech both the repeal and the declaratory act very sufficiently crayoned out. Those who cannot see this, can see nothing.

Surely the hon. gentleman will not think that a great deal less time than was then employed, ought to have been spent in deliberation; when he considers that the news of the troubles did not arrive till towards the end of October. The parliament sat to fill the vacancies on the 14th day of December, and on business the 14th of the following January.

Sir, a partial repeal, or, as the *bon-ton* of court then was, a *modification*, would have satisfied a timid, unsystematic, procrastinating ministry,

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nistry, as such a measure has since done such a ministry. A modification is the constant resource of weak undeciding minds. To repeal by a denial of our right to tax in the preamble (and this too did not want advisers), would have cut, in the heroic style, the gordian knot with a sword. Either measure would have cost no more than a day's debate. But when the total repeal was adopted; and adopted on principles of policy, of equity, and of commerce; this plan made it necessary to enter into many and difficult measures. It became necessary to open a very large field of evidence commensurate to these extensive views. But then this labour did knights service. It opened the eyes of several to the true state of the American affairs; it enlarged their ideas; it removed prejudices; and it conciliated the opinions and affections of men. The noble lord, who then took the lead in administration, my hon. friend* under me, and a right hon. gentleman† (if he will not reject his share, and it was a large one, of this business) exerted the most laudable industry in bringing before you the fullest, most impartial, and least-garbled body of evidence that ever was produced to this house. I think the enquiry lasted in the committee for six weeks; and at its conclusion this house, by an independent, noble, spirited, and unexpected majority; by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in parliament; in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiss of state, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the stamp-act, and (if it had been so permitted) a lasting peace to this whole empire.

I state, Sir, these particulars, because this act of spirit and fortitude has lately been, in the circulation of the season, and in some hazarded declamations in this house, attributed to timidity. If, Sir, the conduct of ministry, in proposing the repeal, had arisen from timidity with regard to themselves, it would have been greatly to be condemned. Interested timidity disgraces as much in the cabinet, as personal timidity does in the field. But timidity, with regard to the well-being of our country, is heroic virtue. The noble lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilst they trembled at the prospect of such distresses as you have since brought upon yourselves, were not afraid steadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ablest, and, let me say, not the most scrupulous oppositions, that perhaps ever was in this house, and withstood it, unaided by, even one of, the usual supports of administration. He did this when he repealed the stamp-act. He looked in the face a person he had long respected and regarded, and whose aid was then particularly wanting; I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he passed the declaratory act.

It is now given out, for the usual purposes, by the usual emissaries, that Lord Rockingham did not con-

* Mr. Dowdeswell. † General Conway.

sent

sent to the repeal of this act until he was bullied into it by lord Chatham; and the reporters have gone so far as publicly to assert, in an hundred companies, that the hon. gentleman under the gallery*, who proposed the repeal in the American committee, had another sett of resolutions in his pocket directly the reverse of those he moved. These artifices of a desperate cause are, at this time, spread abroad, with incredible care, in every part of the town, from the highest to the lowest companies; as if the industry of the circulation were to make amends for the absurdity of the report.

Sir, whether the noble lord is of a complexion to be bullied by lord Chatham, or by any man, I must submit to those who know him. I confess, when I look back to that time, I consider him as placed in one of the most trying situations in which, perhaps, any man ever stood. In the house of peers there were very few of the ministry, out of the noble lord's own particular connexion, (except lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could discern, an honourable and manly part,) that did not look to some other future arrangement, which warped his politicks. There were in both houses new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other, than a most resolute minister, from his measure or from his station. The household troops openly revolted. The allies of ministry (those, I mean, who supported some of their measures, but refused responsibility for any) endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that must be fatal to the success of the very cause which they would be thought to countenance. The question of the repeal was brought on by ministry in the committee of this house, in the very instant when it was known that more than one court negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the opposition. Every thing, upon every side, was full of traps and mines. Earth below shook; heaven above menaced; all the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved. It was in the midst of this chaos of plots and counterplots; it was in the midst of this complicated warfare against public opposition and private treachery, that the firmness of that noble person was put to the proof. He never stirred from his ground; no, not an inch. He remained fixed and determined, in principle, in measure and in conduct. He practised no managements. He secured no retreat. He sought no apology.

General Conway.

I will likewise do justice, I ought to do it, to the hon. gentleman who led us in this house (viz. general Conway.) Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from any body) the true state of things; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this house. It was a time for a *man* to act in. We had powerful

* General Conway.

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enemies; but we had faithful and determined friends, and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight; but we had the means of fighting; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day and conquer.

I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the hon. gentleman * who made the motion for the repeal; in that crisis, when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors, thrown upon, shewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined to his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. *Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest.* I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the scripture of the first martyr, "his face was as if it had been the face of an angel." I do not know how others feel; but, if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished.

Sir, this act of supreme magnanimity has been represented, as if it had been a measure of an administration, that, having no scheme of their own, took a middle line, pilfered a bit from one side and a bit from the other. Sir, they took *no* middle lines. They differed fundamentally from the schemes of both parties; but they preserved the objects of both. They preserved the authority of Great Britain. They preserved the equity of Great Britain. They made the declaratory act; they repealed the stamp-act. They did both *fully*; because the declaratory act was *without qualification*; and the repeal of the stamp-act *total*. This they did in the situation I have described.

Lord CHATHAM.

A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

——*Clarum et venerabile nomen.*
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his con-

* General Conway.

duct.

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duct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me, at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crosly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic; such tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious shew; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. such a one—I beg a thousand pardons—" I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and point, in the same truckle-bed*.

Sir, In consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted, to seem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were

* Supposed to allude to the right hon. Lord North and George Cooke, Esq; who were made joint paymasters in the summer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham administration.

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the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publickly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant. This light too is passed, and set for ever. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of

CHARLES TOWNSHEND,

officially the re-producer of this fatal scheme; whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this house, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit; and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a short time, all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate, that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation, and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the house just between wind and water.—And, not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious, or more earnest, than the preconceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required; to whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the house; and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it.

I beg pardon, Sir, if, when I speak of this and of other great men, I appear to digress in saying something of their characters. In this eventful history of the revolutions of America, the characters of such men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-posts and land-marks in the state. The credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the publick measures. It would be an invidious thing (most foreign I trust to what you think my disposition) to remark the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing justice at the same time to the great qualities, whence that authority arose. The subject is instructive to those who wish to form themselves on whatever of excellence has gone before them. There are many young members in the house (such of late has been the rapid succession of public men) who never

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never saw that prodigy Charles Townshend; nor of course know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings. For failings he had undoubtedly—many of us remember them; we are this day considering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cause; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame; a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess wheresoever she appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favourite habitation, in her chosen temple, the House of Commons. Besides the characters of the individuals that compose our body, it is impossible, Mr. Speaker, not to observe, that this house has a collective character of its own. That character too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all great public collections of men, you possess a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But, among vices, there is none, which the house abhors in the same degree with *obstinacy*. Obstinacy, Sir, is certainly a great vice; and in the changeful state of political affairs it is frequently the cause of great mischief. It happens, however, very unfortunately, that almost the whole line of the great and masculine virtues, constancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmness are closely allied to this disagreeable quality, of which you have so just an abhorrence: and, in their excess, all these virtues very easily fall into it. He, who paid such a punctilious attention to all your feelings, certainly took care not to shock them by that vice which is the most disgustful to you.

That fear of displeasing those who ought most to be pleased, betrayed him sometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and, in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the stamp act. Things and the disposition of mens minds were changed. In short, the stamp act began to be no favourite in this house. He therefore attended at the private meeting, in which the resolutions moved by a right hon. gentleman were settled; resolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal; and he would have spoken for it too, if an illness, (not as was then given out a political) but to my knowledge, a very real illness had not prevented it.

The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this house as the stamp-act had been in the session before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail most amongst those most in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements by some who had no objection to such experiments, when made at the cost of persons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the king stood in a sort of humiliated state, until something of the kind should be done.

Here this extraordinary man, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, found himself in great straits. To please universally was the object of his life; but to tax and to

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please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partizans of American revenue, he made a preamble stating the necessity of such a revenue. To close with the American distinction, this revenue was *external* or port-duty; but again, to soften it to the other party, it was a duty of *supply*. To gratify the *colonists*, it was laid on British manufactures; to satisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted East India Company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a shilling to threepence. But, to secure the favour of those who would tax America, the scene of collection was changed, and, with the rest, it was levied in the colonies. What need I say more? This fine-spun scheme had the usual fate of all exquisite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both arose singly and solely from a love of our applause. He was truly the child of the house. He never thought, did, or said any thing but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition; and adjusted himself before it, as at a looking glass.

He had observed (indeed it could not escape him) that several persons, infinitely his inferiors in all respects, had formerly rendered themselves considerable in this house by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the species is extinct) who, when they rose in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles; from any order or system in their politics; or from any sequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is astonishing how much this uncertainty, especially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on such men. All eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote, almost to the end of their speeches. While the house hung in this uncertainty, now the *Hear-hims* rose from this side, now they re-bellowed from the other; and that party to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempest of applause. The fortune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one, to whom a single whiff of incense withheld gave much greater pain, than he received delight, in the clouds of it, which daily rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim was to make those agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing else.

Hence arose this unfortunate act, the subject of this day's debate; from a disposition which, after making an American revenue to please one, repealed it to please others, and again revived it in hopes of pleasing a third, and of catching something in the ideas of all.

Memoirs of Allen Bathurst, *Earl* Bathurst.

THIS nobleman, one of the last worthies of Queen Anne's reign,

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reign, that shining period of triumphs, taste, genius, and elegance, was born in the year 1684. His studies and his education were equally conducive to the brilliant figure he was destined to make in social life and in the senate, as a polite scholar, a patriot, and a statesman. These talents he had an opportunity to display as early as the year 1705; when, at the request of his father, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and the solicitation of the constituents of Cirencester, he served in parliament for that borough, his native soil, with reputation and integrity. He distinguished himself particularly in the struggles and debates relative to the union between the two kingdoms, firmly supporting this measure, calculated to strengthen the vigour of government by uniting its force. Though he was contented to act a subordinate character in the great opposition planned by Mr. Harley and Mr. St John, his intimate friends, to sap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and his adherents, he was of infinite service to his party in arraigning, with spirit and eloquence, the conduct of the General and the Earl of Godolphin, who had long governed the Queen, and lavished the treasures of the nation on conquests more splendid than serviceable. The loss of the battle of Almanza seconded his efforts, to dispel the intoxication of former successes. His personal regard for Lord Somers, President of the Council, was never altered, though they were of different opinions in politics; and when he was divested of his office, Mr. Bathurst acted with such tenderness and delicacy, as to preserve the esteem of Lord Somers in a private station. In consideration of his zeal and services, the Queen advanced him, in 1711, to the dignity of a peer, by the title of Baron Bathurst, of Battlesden, in Bedfordshire.

His Lordship continued to speak his sentiments with an undaunted freedom in the upper house, and stept forth as a formidable opponent to the court measures in the reign of George I, and during Sir Robert Walpole's administration. The acrimony of the prosecution carried on against the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormond, stimulated his indignation and his eloquence against such vindictive proceedings; and he observed, that the king of a faction was but a sovereign of half his subjects.

The South-Sea scheme having infected the whole nation with a spirit of avaricious enterprize, the people awaked from their delirium, and an infinite number of families was involved in ruin. Lord Bathurst publicly impeached the directors, whose arts had enabled these vain expectations to amass surprizing fortunes: he represented that the national honour was concerned in stripping them of their ill-acquired wealth, and moved for having all the directors of the South-Sea Company punished by a forfeiture of their estates, for such a notorious act of sordid knavery.

When the bill was brought into the House of Lords against Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, that learned prelate, who joined to the graces of stile and elocution all the elegance of a just delivery; among the many friends the bishop's eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity had procured him, was Ld. Bathurst. He spoke against the bill with great

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vehemence and propriety, observing, "that, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, or intercepted letter, might be made criminal." Then turning to the bishops, he said, he "could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that they were infatuated like the wild Americans, who fondly believe they inherit not only the spoils but even the abilities of the man they destroy." He was one of the Lords who entered his protest against the bill.

His Lordship was entirely averse to continental connexions, and animadverted severely upon the monarch whose thoughts were turned to foreign concerns and alliances which could never be useful; complaining of the immense sums lavished in subsidies to needy and rapacious princes; He accused the British ministry of a base desertion of the honour and interest of their country in the Spanish convention; alledging that the Spaniards, instead of granting a redress, had rather extorted a release for their former conduct, as the word satisfaction had not been so much as mentioned in all the treaty. His Lordship moved to know, whether Spain had paid the sums stipulated by this convention, when the time limited for the payment was expired. The Duke of Newcastle answered in the negative, and could assign no reason for the delay.

The directors of the charitable corporation having embezzled 500,000 l. of the proprietors capital, Lord Bathurst declared, in the House of Lords, his abhorrence of this most iniquitous scene of fraud, asserting, that not one shilling of the money was ever applied to the proper service, but became the reward of avarice and venality.

His Lordship concurred, with all his power, in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, who now tottered on the brink of ruin. This minister, after obstinate struggles, having been forced to resign all his employments, Lord Bathurst was sworn of the privy-counsel, and made captain of the gentlemen pensioners, which post he resigned in 1744. He was appointed treasurer to the present king, then prince of Wales, in 1757, and continued in the list of privy-counsellors at his accession to the throne; but, on account of his great age, he chose to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*.

Lord Bathurst's integrity gained him the esteem even of his opponents; and his humanity and benevolence, the affection of all that knew him more intimately. He added to his public virtues all the good breeding, politeness, and elegance of social intercourse. Dr. Freind, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Swift, Prior, Rowe, Addison, Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, and most men of genius in his own time, cultivated his friendship, and were proud of his correspondence.

Pope, in his epistle to him on the Use of Riches, thus addresses him;

> The sense to value riches, with the art
> T'enjoy them, and the virtue to impart;
> To balance fortune by a just expence,
> Join with œconomy magnificence,

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With splendor charity, with plenty health;
O teach us, Bathurst, yet unspoil'd by wealth!
That secret rare, between th' extremes to move,
Of mad good nature, and of mean self-love."

And Sterne, in his letters to Eliza, thus speaks of him:

"This nobleman, says he, is an old friend of mine; he was always the protector of men of wit and genius; and has had those of the last century always at his table. The manner in which his notice began of me, was as singular as it was polite.—He came up to me one day, as I was at the Princess of Wales's court: 'I want to know you, Mr. Sterne; but it is fit you should know also who it is that wishes this pleasure: you have heard, continued he, of an old Lord Bathurst, of whom your Popes and Swifts have sung and spoken so much: I have lived my life with geniuses of that cast, but have survived them; and despairing ever to find their equals, it is some years since I have closed my accounts, and shut up my books, with thoughts of never opening them again; but you have kindled a desire in me of opening them once more before I die, which I now do, so go home, and dine with me.' This nobleman, I say, is a prodigy, for at eighty-five he has all the wit and promptness of a man of thirty; a disposition to be pleased, and a power to please others beyond whatever I knew! added to which, a man of learning, courtesy, and feeling."

His Lordship, in the latter part of his life, preserved his natural chearfulness and vivacity, always accessible, hospitable, and beneficent. Lately he delighted in rural amusements, and enjoyed, with a philosophical satisfaction, the shade of the lofty trees he had planted himself. To within a month of his death he constantly rode out on horse-back two hours before dinner, and constantly drank his bottle of Claret or Madeira after dinner. He used to declare, in a jocose manner, he never could think of adopting Dr. Cadogan's method, as Dr. Cheyne had assured him, fifty years ago, he would never live seven years longer, unless he abridged himself of his wine. Pursuant to this maxim, his Lordship having, about two years ago, invited several of his friends to spend a few chearful days with him at his seat at Cirencester; and being one evening, very loth to part with them; on his son the present Chancellor's objecting to their sitting up any longer, and adding, that health and long life were best secured by regularity; he suffered him to retire: but, as soon as he was gone, the chearful father said, "Come, my good friends, since the old gentleman is gone to bed, I think we may venture to crack another bottle."

His Lordship was advanced to the dignity of Earl in 1772, and lived to see the above nobleman, his eldest son, several years Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, and promoted to the peerage in 1771, by the title of Baron Apsley. Lord Bathurst married Catharine, daughter of Sir Peter Apsley, by whom he had two other sons, and five daughters. His death happened, after a few days illness, at his seat near Cirencester, in the 91st year of his age, and on the 16th of September, 1775.

Memoirs

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Memoirs of the Life and Actions of the late Sir Charles Saunders.

MR. Saunders entered early into the royal navy, and was so distinguished by that undoubted judge of naval merit, the late Lord Anson, as to be appointed, on his recommendation, first lieutenant of his own ship, the Centurion, when he sailed on the expedition to the South Seas in Sept. 1740. In Feb. following, during their stay at Port St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, which was occasioned by an accident that happened to the Tryal's main-mast, Mr. Saunders was promoted by the Commodore to the command of that sloop, in the room of Capt. Cheap, removed to the Wager. But Capt. Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the surgeons, that the removing him on board his own ship in his present condition might hazard his life, Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master and commander of the Tryal during the illness of her captain.

In the passage round Cape Horn, Capt. Saunders, out of his small complement of 80 men, buried 20; and arriving at the island of Juan Fernandez soon after the Commodore, lest any ships of the squadron should have mistaken the neighbouring island of Massa Fuera for that of Fernandes, all its bays and creeks were, by Mr. Anson's orders, more particularly examined by Capt. Saunders (says Mr. Robins*) "than ever had been before, or perhaps ever will be again;" though in this last circumstance he is mistaken, as Capt. Carteret, (see Hawkesworth's Voyages) in May, 1767, much more accurately surveyed that island, and has also given a chart of it. It is observable, that the Spaniards taken soon after in a prize, by the Centurion, were astonished on seeing the Tryal sloop at anchor; and that, after all their fatigues, the English could have so soon refitted such a vessel on the spot; and could scarce believe that such a bauble as that could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back. On Sept. 18, 1741. Capt. Saunders, being dispatched on a cruize off Valparaiso, took a large merchant-man, of 600 tons, bound to that port from Callao. But, to balance this success, the Tryal soon after sprung both her masts, and, besides was so leaky, that on joining the Commodore he found it necessary to take out her people, and destroy her, and in her stead appointed her prize to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, mounting her with 20 guns, manning her with the Tryal's crew, and giving commissions to the Captain and other officers accordingly. After scuttling and sinking her, Capt. Saunders, with his new frigate (called the Tryal Prize), was dispatched on a cruize off the high land of Valparaiso, in company with the Centurion's prize, where, however, they had no success, and so proceeded down the coast to the rendezvous off Nasca, where they joined the Commodore Nov. 2. From that time till the April following, Capt. Saunders kept company with the Commodore; but then the whole numbers on board the squadron not

* The real author of Lord Anson's Voyage.

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amounting to the complement of a fourth-rate man of war, it was agreed to destroy the Tryal's and other prizes, and to reinforce the Gloucester with the best part of her crew: and accordingly, on April 27, they were towed on shore, and scuttled in the harbour of Chequetan.

Soon after the Centurion's arrival at Macao, in China, in Nov. 1742, Capt. Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, charged with dispatches from the Commodore, and arrived in the Downs in May, 1743. By this means he lost the great emoluments that attended the capture of the Manilla galleon in June following. We have not been able to learn what ships this brave officer commanded (as we can hardly suppose he was unemployed) till March, 1745, when he was made Captain of the Sandwich, of 90 guns. Nor had he any opportunity of distinguishing himself till Oct. 14, 1747, when, being commander of the Yarmouth, of 64 guns, in the squadron of Admiral Hawke, he had a great share in the victory of that day, the Neptune and Monarque, both of 74 guns, striking to him: and though he had 22 men killed and 70 wounded, he gallantly proposed to Captain Saumarez and Rodney the pursuing the two ships that escaped, which they in consequence engaged, and probably would have taken, if the death of Capt. Saumarez (our hero's fellow-lieutenant in the Centurion) had not occasioned his ship to haul her wind, and do no more service. On the trial of Capt. Fox, of the Kent, for misbehaviour on that day, Nov. 25, our Capain was one of the witnesses against him. In April, 1750, he was elected member of parliament for Plymouth, in the room of Lord Vere Beauclerk, deceased. In May, 1752, Mr. Saunders sailed as Commodore, in the Penzance, of 40 guns, to protect the Newfoundland fishery, with instructions also to look for a supposed island in lat. 49 deg. 40 min. longitude, 24 deg. 30 min. from the Lizard, in search of which Commodore Rodney (some weeks before) had cruized ten days in vain. It is needless to add that Commodore Saunders had no better success. In April 1754, he was appointed Treasurer of Greenwich hospital, an office which on his farther promotion he resigned; and in the parliament that met at Westminster, May 31, he was returned for Heyden in Yorkshire, by the interest of his great and constant friend Lord Anson. In March, 1755, a war being apprehended, Mr. Saunders was appointed Captain of the Prince, a new 90 gun ship; and in June he treated with the utmost magnificence, on board his ship at Spithead, the nobility who came to see the firings of the fleet on the anniversary of the King's accession. This command he resigned in December following, on being appointed Comptroller of the Navy; and on this occassion his seat in parliament being vacated, he was re-elected. About the same time he was chosen an Elder Brother of the Trinity-House. In June, 1756, on advice being received of the misconduct of Admiral Byng off Minorca, a large promotion of flag-officers was made purposely to include Mr. Saunders; and he was sent immediately to the Mediterranean as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with Sir Edward Hawke, to take the

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the command of the fleet: and on Admiral Hawke's return to England, in Jan. 1757, the sole command devolved on him. In Feb. 1759, Mr. Saunders was appointed Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and sailed from Spithead on board the Neptune, of 90 guns, Feb. 17, (with General Wolfe on board) as chief naval commander on the expedition to Quebec, the success of which is too well known to need any farther mention. Returning from that glorious conquest, in November, with General Townshend, they were informed, in the chops of the channel, of the Brest squadron being sailed, on which the Admiral took the gallant resolution of going to join Sir Edward Hawke, though without orders. But that affair was decided before his arrival. Landing at Corke, he arrived at Dublin, Dec. 15, where, going to the play, he was saluted by the audience with the highest demonstrations of applause. Dec. 26, he arrived in London. For this great service Mr. Saunders was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Marines; and on his taking his seat in the house of Commons, January 23, 1760, the thanks of that House were given to him by the Speaker. May 21, he sailed from St. Helen's, with the Neptune, &c. to take the command in the Mediterranean. On May 26, 1761, he was installed a knight of the Bath in K. Henry the Seventh's chapel; and in the parliament, which met Nov. 3, was re-elected for Heydon. In Oct. 1762, Sir Charles Saunders was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White; and on Sept. 16, 1766, having some time had a seat at the Admiralty-Board, he was sworn of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and appointed First Lord of the Admiralty: but this post he held only about two months. In the funeral procession of the Duke of York, Nov. 3, 1767, he was one of the Admirals who supported the canopy. In the new parliament, which met May 10, 1768, he was again chosen for Heydon. In Oct. 1770, he was appointed Admiral of the Blue. In the present parliament, which met Nov. 29, 1774, Sir Charles Saunders was a fourth time chosen for the borough of Heydon; and remarkable it is, and much to his honour, that five hours after his lamented death, which happened at his house in Spring-Garden, on Dec. 7, 1775, (of the gout in his stomach) a just eulogium was paid him in that House by two members * distinguished for their virtues and abilities. His corpse was privately interred in Westminster Abbey on the 12th, near the monument † of Gen. Wolfe, "his brother of the war." To Admiral Keppel (who had been Lieutenant with him in the Centurion) he has left (we hear) 5000l. and 1200l. per ann.; to Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser 5000l.; to Timothy Brett, Esq; 5000l.; to his nephew 200l. per ann.; to a young lady that lived with him 400l. per ann. and all his houshold furniture, except plate and pictures, which are given to his niece, together with the bulk of his fortune.

* Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke.

† Not near his remains, as expressed in the papers, Gen. Wolfe being buried at Greenwich.

A short

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A short Account of Dr. Hartley, *Author of "The Theory of the* Human Mind, *on the Principles of the Association of Ideas."*

DAvid Hartley, M. A. was born at Ilingworth. His father was curate there, and married, May 25, 1707, a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Edward Wilkinson, his predecessor. This curacy Mr. Hartley afterwards resigned for the chapel of Armley, in the parish of Leeds, where he died, and left behind him eight children. His son David was brought up by one Mrs. Brooksbank, near Hallifax, and received his academical education at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow. He first began to practise physic at Newark, in Nottinghamshire, from whence he removed to St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk. After this, he settled for some time in London, and lastly went to live at Bath, where he died Sep. 30, 1757, aged 53. He left two sons and a daughter. His elder son got a travelling fellowship, and his younger was entered at Oxford in Michaelmas term, 1757. He published "A View of the present Evidence for and against Mrs. Stevens's Medicines as a Solvent for the Stone, containing 155 Cases, with some Experiments and Observations, London, 1739. This book which contains 204 pages in 8vo. is dedicated to the President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians, London; wherein the author informs that body, that, about a year before, he published some cases and experiments, which seemed to him sufficient evidences of a dissolving power in the urine of such persons as take Mrs. Stephens's medicines, though he did not then enter into the discussion of that point, but left the facts to speak for themselves; finding, however, that a quite contrary conclusion had been drawn from those instances, and others of a like nature, as if the medicines did not dissolve, but generate stones; he therefore re-published the same cases and experiments, with all cases favourable or unfavourable, perfect or imperfect, which he had been able to procure, hoping that he had obviated all objections, and even proved a dissolving power in the medicated urine. At p. 175 of this book are proposals for making Mrs. Stephens's medicines public, and a list is annexed of the contributions for this purpose, from April 11, 1738, to Feb. 24 following, the amount of which was 1387 l. 13 s. He was the chief instrument in procuring for Mrs. Stephens the 5000 L. granted by parliament. His own case is the 123d in the above book. He is said to have died of the stone, after having taken above two hundred pounds weight of soap. Mrs. Stephens's medicines were made public in the Gazette, from Saturday, June 16, to Tuesday, June 19, 1739.

James Parsons, M. D. F. R. S. published an 8vo. printed in London, 1742, containing (inter alia) Animadversions on Lithontriptic Medicines, particularly those of Mrs. Stephens, and an account of the dissections of some bodies of persons who died after the use of them. In this book are several cases laid down in Dr. Hartley's own words, and afterwards critically examined, in order to shew (particularly from those in whose bladders stones were found after death) that that celebrated medicine

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cine had no power of dissolving stones in the kidneys or bladder. And it must be owned, though with regret, that this writer has succeeded in his proofs.

Dr. Hartley is said to have written against Dr. Warren, of St. Edmund's Bury, in defence of inoculation; and some letters of his are to be met with in the Philosophical Transactions. He was certainly a man of learning, and a reputed good physician; but too fond of nostrums.

The Doctor's most considerable literary production is a work, intitled, "Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations, in two parts." London, 1749, 2 vols. 8vo. The first part contains observations on the frame of the human body and mind, and on their mutual connexions and influences. The work, it seems, took its rise from the Rev. Mr. Gray's asserting the possibility of deducing all our intellectual pleasures and pains from association, in a dissertation on the fundamental principle of virtue, prefixed to Law's translation of King's Origin of Evil. The sentiments in this piece led our author to enquire into the power of association, and to examine its consequences in respect of morality and religion, and also its physical cause, when by degrees many disquisitions foreign to the doctrine of association, or at least not immediately connected with it, intermixed themselves; for this reason he has added thereto vibrations, and endeavoured to establish a connexion between these; and has taken a great deal of pains to shew the general use of these two in explaining the nature of our sensations. The second part contains observations on the duty and expectations of mankind, before which is an introduction, in which he says, that the contemplation of our frame and constitution appeared to him to have a peculiar tendency to lessen the difficulties attending natural and revealed religion; and to improve their evidences, as well as to concur with them in their determination of man's duty and expectations; with which view he drew up the foregoing observations on the frame and connexion of the body and mind; and, in prosecution of the same design, he goes on in this part, from this foundation, and upon the other phænomena of nature, to deduce the evidences for the general truths of natural religion. Secondly, laying down all these as a new foundation whereon to build the evidences for revealed religion. Thirdly, to enquire into the rule of life, and particular applications of it which result from the frame of our natures, the dictates of natural religion, and the precepts of the scriptures taken together, compared with and casting light upon each other. Fourthly, to enquire into the genuine doctrines of natural and revealed religion, thus illustrated, concerning the expectations of mankind here and hereafter, in consequence of their observance, or violation of, the rule of life.

An authentic Account of the very curious Researches, and valuable Discoveries, in the Natural History, and Manufactures of China, *and other Parts of* Asia, *made by the late*

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late John Bradby Blake, *Esq; one of the* English East-India *Company's Resident Supercargoe at* Canton *in* China, *and of the third Rank in Council there; as likewise of his great and successful Endeavours to render his Discoveries useful to Mankind in general, and his Fellow-subjects in particular. By a Gentleman who had the happiness of being well acquainted with Mr.* Blake, *and seeing several amazing specimens of his uncommon ingenuity, knowledge, and application.*

MR. Blake's plan was great and noble; and he had not only a head, but a heart, to execute it. He spared no pains or expence to attain what he aimed at; so that his loss must prove irreparable, unless some other gentleman, who may hereafter happen to reside in China, that great empire of the arts, should have sufficient abilities and courage to tread in Mr. Blake's steps, and continue what he had so successfully begun. It is with a view of contributing thereto, as much as that of paying a just and lasting tribute to the memory of so dear a friend, and so valuable a member of the community, that the writer now requests a place for these lines in the Annual Register.

But to the point. Mr. Blake's plan was to procure the seeds of all the vegetables produced in China, which are used in medicine, manufactures, or food; or are in any shape serviceable to mankind; and forward to Europe not only such seeds, but the plants producing them; in order to be propagated either in Great Britain and Ireland, or in our colonies of America, whose soil and climate might best suit them; which colonies on the continent, by stretching from Cape Florida southward, to Nova Scotia northward, as well as the West India islands, by lying in similar latitudes with the respective provinces of China, &c. gave him reason to hope they would all succeed either in one or other of them, if got thither in a vegetable state. Nor did he confine himself to the produce of that empire only; he likewise established an intercourse (by means of the junks) with Japan and Cochin China, and success has attended his endeavours; for the seeds, which three or four years ago he sent to John Ellis, Esq; of Gray's Inn, of the fine Cochin China rice, which in that country grows on the hills and uplands, have already been propagated in Jamaica, by Henry Ellis, Esq; of that island, and on General Melvill's estate in Dominica; as also by Dr. Garden, of Charles Town, South Carolina, who informed his correspondent in London, that it not only flourished in his own garden, but likewise in those of many other gentlemen, to whom he distributed a part of the seeds that were sent him; and that, by getting into fresh seeds, it promised to be a valuable grain to that province, especially in the hilly back parts of it. The tallow tree, likewise, the seeds of which Mr. Blake sent home some years past, flourished not only in Carolina, but also in Jamaica, and many other of our colonies. In short, both these articles bid fair to be of as much utility to our colonists as they are to the Chinese, and may in time

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with many other things, become considerable articles of commerce.

In the South Carolina and American General Gazette, No. 743, from Monday, December 21, to Monday, December 28, 1772, mention is made of both these articles in the following words, after taking notice of a treatise on the culture of different kinds of rice, intitled, *Travels of a Philosopher, by Mons. le Poivre:* "We have the pleasure to inform the public, that, by the indefatigable industry of a very curious gentleman at Canton, a sufficient quantity for experiment of the upland rice from Cochin China, mentioned above, so long wished for, has been sent by the Thames Indiaman, to his friend in Gray's Inn, who will take proper care that it is distributed to such persons in our southern colonies as will make a fair trial of this most useful grain. We are further indebted to this curious gentleman for a parcel of the seeds of the croton sebiferum of Linnæus, or the tallow tree of China, preserved in a most excellent manner. This tree seems to afford a substance between wax and tallow, and which bids fair to be of as great use to our Southern American colonies, as it is in China." Dr. Garden, in a letter to his correspondent, written in the year 1773, acquaints him of his having received from Mr. Blake, of Parliament-street, father to the young gentleman whose memory we are commemorating, seeds of two sorts of China indigo, the one of a deep, and the other of a sky, blue; the lacquer tree; the oil tree, used to mix up the lacquer for cabinets; the alcea, described in Kempher's history of Japan, which is an article of vegetable food; and many other seeds from Peking, and other more northerly provinces of China; particularly several from Corea, a country between China and Tartary, above 300 leagues from Canton; and the doctor observes, that himself and many others were sensible such an intercourse between the East Indies and America, having for its object the propagating the seeds of such trees and plants as are useful either in medicine or commerce, would be very beneficial to the latter: his words are, "When gentlemen of such benevolent dispositions, and public spirit, as Mr. Blake and his father, engage in such attempts, much advantage must soon flow from a plan of this kind; at least ought to flow from it, if as well seconded on this side the Atlantic."

All the before-mentioned plants, with a variety of others from seeds sent to England by Mr. Blake of Canton, and distributed by his father with a liberal and impartial hand, are likewise flourishing in his majesty's garden at Kew, under that ingenious and skilful botanic gardener, Mrs. Aiton; at Chelsea, in the apothecaries company's gardens, under the care of Mr. Forsyth; as also at Dr. Fothergill's, near Stratford; Dr. Pitcairn's, near Islington; Mr. Malcombe, at Kennington Common; Mr. Basington, at Hoxton; and particularly at Mile-end, in the garden of that well known practical botanic gardener, Mr. Gordon, who moreover has the care of several plants sent, in pots, from China by Mr. Blake, to his friend Mr. John Ellis, of Gray's Inn, whose botanic knowledge and correspondence in some degree excited Mr. Blake in his

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his pursuit. Among those plants are the lichees, a very fine fruit of China of several sorts; as also the gardenia, a fine yellow dye; both which the writer saw there in the summer 1773 in a flourishing state, with many others, the names of which he does not at present recollect: and he finds that Mr. Ellis, and also Mr. Blake, have each of them a fine flourishing plant of the tea tree, propagated and multiplied by Mr. Gordon; both which, he is told, stood the open air all the winter of the last months of 1773, and the first months of 1774, by advice of Mr. Blake, who some time ago wrote from Canton, that this valuable shrub was under snow in some of the northern provinces of China, for many weeks together in the winter season, and therefore recommended it to be no longer treated in England altogether as a hot-house plant.

It would require too much room to particularize the various seeds Mr. Blake has from time to time sent to England, since he first set out for China, the latter end of the year 1766; or to enumerate the many plants of his sending that are now flourishing in several botanic gardens in and about this metropolis; as also in some of our most southerly counties in the west parts of England. There is among them a variety of new species, the seeds whereof, I am informed, were put up by Mr. Blake's own hand in so peculiar a manner, as to bring with them their vegetative qualities not only to England, but likewise, for the second season of sowing, to America.

He also sent home, at various times, above fifty drawings of choice plants, most curiously delineated from nature, with all their parts of fructification dissected by himself, and coloured. Those drawings, in the possession of his father, have been shewn to many of the curious, particularly to that ingenious and learned botanist, Dr. Solander, who has declared them to be exquisite performances, and has classed and arranged the plants they represent according to the great Linnæus's system, from their parts of fructification: so accurately were these parts described in the drawings.

Had it pleased God to have spared Mr. Blake's life, he intended in like manner to have gone through the whole botanic system of China; for which purpose, and to forward his work, he had engaged to his assistance one of the most ingenious draughtsmen in China, who, under Mr. Blake's directions, followed nature as close as pencil and paint could enable him. This person, I am told, Mr. Blake at no small expence had retained solely in his service, and even bound him by a formal contract to continue with him as long as he should remain in China. This assistant was in Mr. Blake's apartments in the factory every day, from nine in the morning till six in the evening for the three or four years previous to Mr. Blake's death; and in the leisure time afforded by the shipping being dispatched for Europe, Mr. Blake sat at the same table with him eight or nine hours a day, laying out the natural specimens as they were from time to time gathered; dissecting the parts of fructification, which the Chinese know nothing of; and drawing the outlines for his assistant to colour and finish; and, indeed, they are

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all so elegantly and scientifically disposed, as to appear like the natural plants themselves to every one who has viewed them.

Mr. Blake's genius was not confined to botanic subjects: he had begun to collect fossils and ores, or rather to procure them; for Europeans are literally imprisoned when at Canton, in a less space of ground than is allowed to many prisoners for debt in England; although, when they retire to the island of Macao, in the absence of the shipping, they have a range of larger extent. This island is deemed the European country recess; and, though so desirable, particularly during the hot season, yet Mr. Blake, the writer is informed, denied himself that satisfaction one year. When a ship who had lost her passage, remained in Canton river, and some of the supercargoes were allowed to continue at the factory there, he chose to be confined to it the whole year, in order to view the progress of some particular plants through the various seasons; by which, and a too sedentary life, he brought on a gravelly complaint, and once had a most severe fit of the stone, which endangered his life. It is believed a return of this disorder brought on the fever, of which after a short illness he died at Canton the 16th of November, 1773, greatly lamented by all the gentlemen of our factory, and all the other Europeans in that place; as likewise by the Chinese themselves, who, we hear, held him in great esteem.

But to proceed. Mineralogy was likewise a branch of his researches; and, some time before his death, he sent Mr. Ellis before mentioned a specimen of lead ore from a mine the Chinese had of late discovered in the interior parts of China; and, by one of the ships arrived in England last summer, he forwarded a specimen of the ore *paaktong*, or *white copper*, from the mines in the province of Yunnan, together with zink, or spelter, and other materials; as also the processes by which this beautiful metal is made in China into utensils of various sorts for the table, sideboard, &c. in order for experiments to be made thereby, in England, under the direction of his friend Mr. Samuel More, Secretary to the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and this gentleman, from these materials and processes, has produced a metal equally white and pure, but more ductile than the Chinese make it themselves; his specimen having been flatted in a mill to the thinness of common paper. What is more, from the appearances of the Chinese copper ore Mr. Blake has sent, and the writer has seen, there is reason to hope a similar one may be found in this country in our copper mines; and this ore, before it is divested of its arsenical qualities, and other matters with which it is mixed in the mine, and rendered too pure for this operation, may probably by the same processes whiten with zink and the other materials, which are obtainable in England.

Mr. Blake likewise sent to Mr. More specimens of the earths, clays, sand, stones, and other materials used in making the true Nankin Porcelaine: all which Mr. More put into the hands of Mr. Wedgewood, the most celebrated potter in this country. This ingenious artist has from these materials

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rials produced some pieces of excellent porcelaine, and has declared the earths, &c. were so compleat a set of specimens, and yet so simple, as beyond a doubt to be the true porcelaine materials; desiring nothing more than a larger quantity, to distribute it among the different counties in England, in order that they may search for the like materials; and to be farther favoured by Mr. Blake with a description of the nature of the land these materials were found upon in China, or what mines or minerals accompanied them, to lead to a farther discovery here; with plans and sections of their kilns; all which Mr. Blake would doubtless have procured; for he was endeavouring to collect models of machines used in every art practised, and manufacture carried on, by the Chinese, in order that his native country might equally benefit by the ingenuity of their invention. Of all this we have many proofs in the various specimens of wrought gold, silver, enamel, and ivory; colours; paintings on glass; insects, and moths, several of them *non descript*, which Mr. Blake has forwarded to his father in England, all which the writer has seen, but must not pretend to describe, lest he should exceed all bounds in such a publication as the present. Therefore, having indulged himself with the heart-felt satisfaction of paying this tribute to so meritorious a youth, snatched from us in the prime of life, for he had but just entered the twenty-ninth year of his year, he concludes with assurances from his own knowledge of his (Mr. Blake's father's) public spirit, and of his having so zealously hitherto seconded his son's endeavours, that no part of what his son has already sent to England, or may be preserved among the remains of his labours in China, will be lost to his country. And for this reason, in particular, he hopes (as his subject is so interesting to the public) that the proprietor of the Annual Register will excuse his taking up so large a portion of his useful and entertaining work.

While Mr. Blake's father was deploring the loss of so dear a child, his friends were taking the proper steps to procure him that honour he so richly deserved, the honour of being numbered among the learned and ingenious men who compose the Royal Society. What must therefore have been their grief and surprise, when, on their presenting the certificate required for that purpose, they were informed by the president, that the object of their kind offices was no more? It was however no small comfort to them, that the president seized this occasion of lamenting the death of Mr. Blake as a public misfortune; and he did it in the most pathetic terms. He insisted on the many marks of attention, which Mr. Blake, though so young, had already shewn to the sciences in general, and that of natural history in particular; declaring that, in the opinion of the best naturalists, there never had been in that part of the world, in which Mr. Blake had spent the last years of his life, a person of more real knowledge; and that he did not doubt but every member of the society would sympathize with him in regretting so great and so general a loss.

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Memoirs of the celebrated Mr. Gray.

MR. Gray was descended of a reputable family in the city of London. His grandfather was a considerable merchant. His father was what was then called a money-scrivener*; but, being of an unsocial and inactive disposition, he rather diminished than increased his paternal fortune. He had many children; but all of them died in their infancy, except Thomas, the subject of these memoirs.

Mr. Gray was born in Cornhill, Dec. 26, 1716; and was educated at Eton school, under the care of Mr. Antrobus, his mother's brother, who was at that time one of the assistant masters. At this place he contracted a friendship with the celebrated Mr. Horace Walpole, and Mr. West, son of the Right Hon. Richard West, Esq. Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a young gentleman of extraordinary talents. In 1734, he removed from Eton to St. Peter's College, Cambridge; and his friend, Mr. West, to Christ-church, Oxford; where they commenced a correspondence; part of which is concluded in this collection of letters published by Mr. Mason.

In April 1738, Mr. West left Christ-church for the Inner Temple; and, in September following, Mr. Gray returned to London, intending likewise to apply himself to the study of the law in the same society; for which purpose, his father had either hired or bought him a set of chambers. But, upon an invitation, which Mr. Walpole gave him to be his companion in his travels, this intention was laid aside for the present; and never afterwards put in execution.

Accordingly, about the end of March 1739, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Gray set out for France, visiting, in the course of their travels through that country, Paris, Chantilly, Rheims, Dijon, Lyons, and other places. In November, they arrived at Turin; from thence they proceeded to Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, &c. In July 1740, they returned to Florence, where they staid till towards the end of April 1741; and then set out for Venice.

About this time we find an unfortunate disagreement subsisting between the two travellers; arising, we are told, from the difference of their tempers. Mr. Gray being, even from his earliest years, curious, pensive, and philosophical; Mr. Walpole, gay, lively, and consequently inconsiderate. The latter, however, in justice to the memory of his respectable friend, has, we find, enjoined Mr. Mason to charge him with the chief blame in their quarrel; confessing that more attention, complaisance, and deference to a warm friendship, superior judgment, and prudence, might have prevented a rupture, which gave much uneasiness to both, and a lasting concern to the survivor; though, in the year 1744, a reconciliation was effected between them, by a lady, who wished well to both parties.

This incident occasioned their separation at Reggio. Mr. Gray therefore went directly to Venice; and having continued there till

* Milton's father was of the same profession.

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about the middle of July, he returned home through Padua, Verona, Milan, and Turin, and repassing the Alps, pursued almost the same route through France, by which he had before gone to Italy.

When he came to London, he found his father's constitution almost entirely worn out by the very severe attacks of the gout, to which he had been subject for many years. And indeed the next return of that distemper was fatal to him; for he died in November 1741, about two months after his son's return.

Mr. Philip Gray, as we have before observed, rather diminished than increased his paternal fortune. Our author, therefore, upon the death of his father, found his patrimony so small, that it would by no means enable him to prosecute the study of the law, without his becoming burdensome to his mother and aunt. These two sisters had, for many years, kept an India warehouse in Cornhill, and carried on a trade, under the joint names of Gray and Antrobus. But, upon this event, having acquired what would support them decently for the rest of their lives, they retired to Stoke, near Windsor, to the house of their other sister, Mrs. Rogers, lately become the widow of a clergyman of that name. Both of them wished Mr. Gray to follow the profession for which he had been originally intended, and would undoubtedly have contributed all in their power to enable him to do it with ease and conveniency. He, on his part, though he had taken his resolution of declining it, was too delicate to hurt two persons, for whom he had the tenderest affection, by peremptorily declaring his real intentions; and therefore changed, or pretended to change, the line of that study: And, accordingly, towards the end of the subsequent year, went to Cambridge to take his bachelor's degree in civil law.

But the narrowness of his circumstances was not the only thing which distressed him at this period. He had, as we have seen, lost the friendship of Mr. Walpole abroad. He had also lost much time in his travels; a loss which application could not easily retrieve, when so severe and laborious a study, as that of the common law, was to be the object of it; and he well knew, that, whatever improvement he might have made in this interval, either in taste or science, such improvement would be of little use to him in his present situation and exigencies. This was not all. His other friend, Mr. West, he found, on his return, oppressed by sickness and a load of family misfortunes. These, the sympathizing heart of Mr. Gray made his own. He did all in his power, for he was now with him in London, to soothe the sorrows of his friend; he endeavoured to alleviate them by every office of the purest and most cordial affection. But his cares were vain. The distresses of Mr. West's mind had already too far affected a body, from the first weak and delicate. His health declined daily; and therefore he left town in March 1742; and, for the benefit of the air, went to David Mitchell's, Esq. at Pope's, near Hatfield, in Hertfordshire.

During an interval of something more than two months, Mr. West and Mr. Gray maintained a constant correspondence on subjects of literature, and their classical stu-

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dies. The last letter from Mr. West is dated May 11, 1742. Mr. Gray returned an answer, May 27. Immediately afterwards, he went upon a visit to his relations at Stoke; where he wrote that beautiful little ode on the spring, which begins:

'Lo! where the rosy-bosom'd hours,
Fair Venus' train, appears, &c.'

He sent it, as soon as written, to his beloved friend; but he was dead before it reached Hertfordshire, about three weeks after he had written the letter abovementioned to Mr. Gray, which concluded with, 'Vale, et vive paulisper cum vivis;' so little was the amiable youth then aware of the short time, that he himself would be numbered among the living. But this, it has been frequently remarked, is almost constantly the case with such persons as die of that most remediless, yet most flattering of all distempers, a consumption. 'Shall humanity,' says Mr. Mason, the biographer of Mr. Gray, 'be thankful or sorry, that it is so? Thankful surely. For, as this malady generally attacks the young and the innocent, it seems the merciful intention of heaven that to these death should come unperceived, and as it were by stealth; divested of one of its sharpest stings, the lingering expectation of their dissolution.' Mr. West, when he died, was in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

As to Mr. Gray, we may assure ourselves, that he felt much more than his dying friend, when the letter, which inclosed the Ode, was returned unopened. There seems to be a kind of presentiment in that pathetic piece, which readers of taste will feel, when they learn this anecdote. The lines here alluded to are:

—'The insect youth are on the wing,
Eager to taste the honied spring,
And float amid the liquid noon:
Some lightly o'er the current skim,
Some shew their gaily gilded trim
Quick glancing to the sun.
'To Contemplation's sober eye
Such is the race of man:
And they that creep, and they that fly,
Shall end where they began.
Alike the busy and the gay
But flutter thro' life's little day,
In fortune's varying colours drest:
Brush'd by the hand of rough mischance,
Or chill'd by age, their airy dance
They leave, in dust to rest.
'Methinks I hear, in accents low,
The sportive kind reply:
Poor moralist! and what art thou?
A solitary fly!
Thy joys no glittering female meets,
No hive hast thou of hoarded sweets,
No painted plumage to display:
On hasty wings thy youth is flown;
Thy sun is set, thy spring is gone——
We frolick, while, 'tis May.'

This observation must we presume make one peruse these beautiful lines with double pleasure; and throw a melancholy grace (to borrow one of his own expressions) on the Ode on a distant prospect of Eton, and on that to Adversity; both of them written within three months after the death of Mr. West. For, as these poems abound with pathos, they who have feeling hearts will feel this excellence the more strongly, when they know the cause from whence it arose; and the unfeeling will perhaps learn to respect what they cannot taste, when they are prevented from imputing to a splenetic melancholy what, in fact, springs from the most benevolent of all sensations. It is probable, that the elegy in a Country Church Yard, was begun, if not finished, at this time; though the conclusion, as it stands at present,

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sent, is certainly different from what it was in the first manuscript copy.

The first impulse of his sorrow for the death of his friend, gave birth to a very tender sonnet in English, on the Petrarchian model; and also to a sublime apostrophe in hexameters, written in the genuine strain of classical majesty, with which he intended to begin one of his books, De Principiis cogitandi. The sonnet is as follows:

'In vain to me the smiling mornings shine,
And redd'ning Phœbus lifts his golden fire;
The birds in vain their amorous descant join;
Or chearful fields resume their green attire:
These ears, alas! for other notes repine,
A different object do these eyes require.
My lovely anguish melts no heart but mine;
And in my breast the imperfect joys expire.
Yet morning smiles the busy race to chear,
And new-born pleasure brings to happier men:
The fields to all their wonted tribute bear:
To warm their little loves the birds complain:
I fruitless mourn to him, that cannot hear,
And weep the more, because I weep in vain.'

From the winter of the year 1742, to the day of his death, Mr. Gray's principal residence was at Cambridge. He spent, indeed, during the lives of his mother and aunts, his summer vacations at Stoke, and, after they died, in making little tours, or visits to his friends in different parts of the country. But he was seldom absent from college any considerable time, except between the years 1759 and 1762; when, on the opening of the British Museum, he took lodgings in Southampton-Row, in order to have recourse to the Harleian and other manuscripts there deposited, from which he made several curious extracts, amounting in all to a tolerably-sized folio, at present in the hands of Mr. Walpole. This gentleman has already printed the speech of Sir Thomas Wyat, from them, in the second number of his Miscellaneous Antiquities. The public must impute it to their own want of curiosity, if more of them do not appear in print.

Mr. Gray had conceived so early and strong a dislike to Cambridge, that in one of his letters to Mr. West, dated 1736, he sent him this humorous and picturesque description of the university:

"Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said, 'The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and the owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there: their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses; there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest.' You see here is a pretty collection of desolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle, and perhaps it may also allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles; however, I defy your owls to match mine."

It may, therefore, seem strange, especially as he now returned to that university with his prejudices rather augmented, that he should, when free to chuse, make it his prin-

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cipal abode for near thirty years. But this perhaps may be accounted for from his love of books (ever his ruling passion) and the straitness of his circumstances, which prevented the gratification of it. For to a man, who could not conveniently purchase even a small library, what situation so eligible, as that which affords free access to a number of large ones? This reason also accounts for another singular fact. During his residence at Stoke, in the spring and summer of the same year 1742, he wrote a considerable part of his more finished poems. Hence one would be naturally led to conclude, that, on his return to Cambridge, when the ceremony of taking his degree was over, the quiet of the place would have prompted him to continue the cultivation of his poetical talents; and that immediately, as the muse seems in this year to have peculiarly inspired him; but this was not the case. Reading was much more agreeable to him than writing. He therefore now laid aside composition almost entirely, and applied himself with intense assiduity to the study of the best Greek authors; insomuch that, in the space of about six years, there were hardly any writers of note, in that language, which he had not only read, but digested; remarking, by the mode of common-place, their contents, their difficult and corrupt passages: and all this with the accuracy of a critic, added to the diligence of a student.

About the year 1747, Mr. Mason, the editor of Mr. Gray's poems, was introduced to him. The former had written, a year or two before, some imitations of Milton's juvenile poems, viz. A Monody on the death of Mr. Pope, and two pieces, entitled, Il Bellicoso, and Il Pacifico, on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the latter revised them, at the request of a friend. This laid the foundation of an intimacy, which continued without interruption to the death of Mr. Gray.

About the year 1750, Mr. Gray had put his last hand to his celebrated elegy, written in a country church-yard, and had communicated it to his friend, Mr. Walpole, whose good taste was too much charmed with it to suffer him to with-hold the sight of it from his acquaintance. Accordingly it was shewn about for some time in manuscript, and received with all the applause it so justly merited. Among the rest of the fashionable world, for to these only it was at present communicated, Lady Cobham, who now lived at the mansion-house at Stoke Pogis, had read and admired it. She wished to be acquainted with the author. Accordingly, her relation, Miss Speed, and Lady Schaub, then at her house, undertook to bring this about, by making him the first visit. He happened to be from home, when the ladies arrived at his aunt's solitary mansion; and, when he returned, was surprized to find, written on one of his papers in the parlour, where he usually read, the following note: "Lady Schaub's compliments to Mr. Gray; she is sorry not to have found him at home, to tell him that Lady Brown is very well." This necessarily obliged him to return the visit, and soon after induced him to compose a ludicrous account of this little adventure, for the amusement of the ladies in question. He wrote it in ballad-measure, and entitled,

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entitled it, A Long Story. When it was handed about in manuscript, nothing could be more various than the opinions concerning it. By some it was thought a master-piece of original humour; by others, a wild and fantastic farrago. And, when it was published, the sentiments of good judges were equally divided about it.

To return to the Elegy. Mr. Gray, in Feb. 1751, having been informed, that the publisher of one of the magazines had obtained a surreptitious copy of it, wrote to Mr. Walpole, desiring him, that he would put his own manuscript into the hands of Mr. Dodsley, and order him to print it immediately.

This was the most popular of all our author's publications. It ran through eleven editions in a very short space of time; was finely translated into Latin by Messrs. Ansty and Roberts; and, in the same year, by Mr. Lloyd. The author, in his original manuscript, gave it only the simple title of, Stanzas written in a Country Church-yard. Mr. Mason persuaded him to call it, An Elegy; because the subject authorized him so to do: and the alternate measure, in which it was written, seemed peculiarly fit for that species of composition.

In March, 1753, Mr. Gray lost his mother; which must have deeply affected him, as he had always expressed for her the tenderest regard.

She was buried at Stoke-Pogis, in the same vault, in which the remains of her sister Antrobus had been deposited, about three years before. The inscription on the tomb-stone is supposed to have been written by Mr. Gray, and is as follows:

In the same pious confidence,
Beside her friend and sister,
Here sleep the remains of
Dorothy Gray,
Widow, the careful tender mother
Of many children, one of whom alone
Had the misfortune to survive her.
She died, March 11, 1753,
Aged 67.

Mr. Mason observes, that this inscription has a peculiar pathos to recommend it; and, at the same time, a true inscriptive simplicity.—Perhaps therefore it may be thought fastidious criticism to make an exception to any part of it; yet we will venture to ask, Whether, according to the course of nature, and in the estimation of a Christian philosopher, it can be accounted a misfortune, that a young man of 37 should survive his mother, an old woman of 67?

But to return to Mr. Gray. About the beginning of the year 1756, while he resided at Peter-House, two or three young men of fortune, who lived in the same staircase, frequently and intentionally disturbed him with their riots. He complained to the governing part of the society; but not thinking that his remonstrance was sufficiently attended to, he quitted the college, and removed to Pembroke-Hall.

From July, 1759, to the year 1762, he generally resided in London, with a view, as we have already observed, of having recourse to the British Museum.

In July, 1768, his Grace the Duke of Grafton wrote him a polite letter, informing him, that his Majesty had been pleased to offer to him the Professorship of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, then vacant by the death of Mr. Laurence Brocket.

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This place was valuable in itself, the salary being 400l. a year; but what rendered it particularly acceptable to Mr. Gray was its being given him without any solicitation. He was indeed remarkably disinterested in all his pursuits. Though his income, before this addition, was very small, he never read or wrote with a view of making his labours useful to himself. He may be said to have been one of those few personages in the annals of literature, especially in the poetical class, who are devoid of self-interest, and at the same time attentive to œconomy; and also was, among mankind in general, one of those very few œconomists, who possessed that talent, untinctured with the slightest stain of avarice. When his circumstances were at the lowest, he gave away such sums in private charity, as would have done credit to an ampler purse. But what chiefly deterred him from seeking any advantage by his literary pursuits, was a certain degree of pride, which led him to despise the idea of being thought an author by profession.

However, it is probable, that early in life he had an intention of publishing an edition of Strabo; for his papers contain a great number of notes and geographical disquisitions on that author, particularly with respect to that part of Asia which comprehends Persia and India. The indefatigable pains which he took with the writings of Plato, and the quantity of critical, as well as explanatory observations, which he has left upon almost every part of his works, plainly indicate, that no man in Europe was better prepared to re-publish and illustrate that philosopher, than Mr. Gray. Another work, on which he bestowed uncommon labour, was the Anthologia. In an interleaved copy of that collection of Greek epigrams, he has transcribed several additional ones, which he selected in his extensive reading; has inserted a great number of critical notes and emendations, and subjoined a copious index. But, whether he intended this performance for the press or not, is uncertain. The only work, which he meditated upon, with this direct view from the beginning, was a history of English poetry, upon a plan sketched out by Mr. Pope, and since published in Ruff head's Life of Pope. He has mentioned this himself in an advertisement to those three fine imitations of Norse and Welch poetry, which he gave the world in the last edition of his poems. But, after he had made some considerable preparations for the execution of this design, and Mr. Mason had offered him his assistance, he was informed, that Mr. Warton, of Trinity-College, Oxford, was engaged in a work of the same kind. The undertaking was therefore relinquished, by mutual consent; and, soon after, on that gentleman's desiring a sight of the plan, our author readily sent him a copy of it.

Among other sciences, Mr. Gray had acquired a great knowledge of Gothic architecture. He had seen, and accurately studied in his youth, while abroad, the Roman proportions on the spot, both in ancient times, and in the works of Palladio. In his later years, he applied himself to consider those stupendous structures of more modern date, that adorn our own country; which, if they have not the same grace, have undoubtedly equal dignity. He endea-

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endeavoured to trace this mode of building, from the time it commenced, thro' its various changes, till it arrived at its perfection in the reign of Henry VIII. and ended in that of Elizabeth. For this purpose, he did not so much depend upon written accounts, as that internal evidence, which the buildings themselves give of their respective antiquity; since they constantly furnish to the well-informed eye, arms, ornaments, and other marks, by which their several ages may be ascertained. On this account he applied himself to the study of heraldry, as a preparatory science, and has left behind him a number of genealogical papers, more than sufficient to prove him a complete master of it. By these means he arrived at so very extraordinary a pitch of sagacity, as to be enabled to pronounce, at first sight, on the precise time, when every particular part of any of our cathedrals was erected.

But the favourite study of Mr. Gray, for the last ten years of his life, was natural history, which he then rather resumed than began; as by the instructions of his uncle Antrobus he was a considerable botanist at fifteen. The marginal notes, which he has left on Linnæus, and other writers on the vegetable, animal, and fossile kingdoms, are very numerous: but the most considerable are on Hudson's Flora Anglica, and the tenth edition of the Systema Naturæ; which latter he interleaved and filled almost entirely. While employed on zoology, he read Aristotle's treatise on that subject with great care, and explained many obscure passages in the ancient, by the lights he had received from modern naturalists. In a word, excepting pure mathematics, and the studies dependant on that science, there was hardly any part of human learning in which he had not acquired a competent skill; and, in most of them, a consummate mastery.

To this account of his literary character we may add, that he had a fine taste in painting, prints, gardening, and music; and was moreover a man of good-breeding, virtue, and humanity.

His health, especially in the latter part of his life, was precarious. The gout, which he always believed hereditary in his constitution, (for both his parents died of that distemper) had for several years attacked him in a weakly and unfixed manner; the great temperance which he observed, particularly in regard to drinking, served perhaps to prevent any severe paroxysm, but by no means eradicated the constitutional malady. About the end of May, 1771, he removed to London, where he became feverish; and his dejection of spirits increased. The weather being then very sultry, his friend, Dr. Gisborne, advised him, for an opener and freer air, to remove from his lodgings in Jermyn-street to Kensington, where he frequently attended him, and where Mr. Gray so far got the better of his disorder, as to be able to return to Cambridge; meaning from thence to set out very soon for Old-Park, near Durham, the residence of his intimate friend and correspondent, Dr. Wharton; in hopes that travelling, from which he usually received great benefit, would complete his cure. But, on the 24th of July, while at dinner in the college hall, he felt a sudden nausea, which obliged him to rise from table,

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table, and retire to his chamber. This continued to increase; and nothing staying on his stomach, he sent for his friend, Dr. Glyn, who finding it to be the gout in that part, thought his case dangerous, and called in Dr. Plumtree, the physical professor. They prescribed to him the usual cordials given in that distemper, but without any good effect; for, on the 29th, he was seized with a strong convulsion fit, which, on the 30th, returned with encreased violence; and the next evening he expired. He was sensible at times almost to the last, and from the first aware of his extreme danger; but expressed no visible concern at the thoughts of his approaching dissolution. He was buried in the vault in which his aunt and his mother were interred, in the church-yard of Stoke, according to the direction in his will.

Mr. Mason, instead of employing his own pen in drawing Mr. Gray's character, has adopted one drawn by the Rev. Mr. Temple, rector of Mamhead in Devonshire, in a letter to Mr. Boswell; to whom the public is indebted for communicating it.

Mr. Mason introduces it thus: "I might here lay down my pen, yet if any reader should still want his character, I will give him one which was published very soon after Mr. Gray's decease*. It appears to be well written; and, as it comes from an anonymous pen, I chuse the rather to insert it, as it will, on that account, be less suspected of partiality.

"Perhaps he was the most learned man in Europe. He was equally acquainted with the elegant and profound parts of science, and that not superficially but thoroughly. He knew every branch of history, both natural† and civil; had read all the original historians of England, France, and Italy; and was a great antiquarian. Criticism, metaphysics, morals, politics, made a principal part of his plan of study; voyages and travels of all sorts were his favourite amusement; and he had a fine taste in painting,

* It appeared in the London Magazine a month or two after his decease, (March 1772) and was prefaced with an eulogy on his poetical merit.

† I have given, in the beginning of this section, an account of the great pains which Mr. Gray bestowed on natural history. I have since been favoured with a letter from a gentleman well skilled in that science, who, after carefully perusing his interleaved *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus, gives me this character of it: "In the class of animals (the Mammalia) he has concentrated (if I may use the expression) what the old writers and the diffuse Buffon have said upon the subject; he has universally adopted the concise language of Linnæus, and has given it an elegance which the Swede has no idea of; but there is little of his own in this class, and it served him only as a common-place: but it is such a common-place that few men but Mr. Gray could form. In the birds and fishes, he has most accurately described all that he had an opportunity of examining; but the volume of insects is the most perfect: on the English insects, there is certainly nothing so perfect. In regard to the plants, there is little else than the English names and their native soils, extracted from the *Species Plantarum* of Linnæus. I suppose no man was so complete a master of his system; he has selected the distinguishing marks of each animal, &c. with the greatest judgment, and, what no man else probably could have done, he has made the German Latin of Linnæus purely classical."

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prints, architecture, and gardening*. With such a fund of knowledge, his conversation must have been equally instructing and entertaining; but he was also a good man, a well-bred man, a man of virtue and humanity. There is no character without some speck, some imperfection; and I think the greatest defect in his was an affectation in delicacy, or rather effeminacy†, and a visible fastidiousness, or contempt and disdain of his inferiors in science. He also had, in some degree, that weakness which disgusted Voltaire so much in Mr. Congreve‡: though he seemed to value others, chiefly according to the progress they had made in knowledge||, yet he could not bear to be considered himself merely as a man of letters: and though without birth, or fortune, or station, his desire was to be looked upon as a private independent gentleman, who read for his amusement. Perhaps it may be said, What signifies so much knowledge, when it produces so little? Is it worth taking so much pains to leave no memorial but a few poems? But let it be considered, that Mr. Gray was, to others, at least innocently employed; to himself, certainly beneficially. His time passed agreeably; he was every day making some new acquisition in science; his mind was enlarged, his heart softened, and his virtue strengthened; the world and mankind were shewn to him without a mask; and he was taught to consider every thing as trifling, and unworthy the attention of a wise man, except the pursuit of knowledge, and the practice of virtue, in that state wherein God hath placed us." The notes to this character are by Mr. Mason.

Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Dr. Smollett.

IT is generally said, that the lives of literary men can be little

* He has disclaimed any skill in this art in the 36th letter of the 4th section, and usually held it in less estimation than I think it deserves, declaring himself to be only charmed with the bolder features of unadorned nature.

† This is rightly put; it was rather an affectation in delicacy and effeminacy than the things themselves; and he chose to put on this appearance chiefly before persons whom he did not wish to please.

‡ I have often thought that Mr. Congreve might very well be vindicated on this head. It seldom happens that the vanity of authorship continues to the end of a man's days; it usually soon leaves him where it found him; and, if he has not something better to build his self-approbation upon than that of being a popular writer, he generally finds himself ill at ease, if respected only on that account. Mr. Congreve was much advanced in years when the young French poet paid him this visit; and, though a man of the world, he might now feel that indifference to literary fame which Mr. Gray, who always led a more retired and philosophic life, certainly felt much earlier. Both of them therefore might reasonably, at times, express some disgust, if their quiet was intruded upon by persons who thought they flattered them by such intrusion.

|| It was not on account of their knowledge that he valued mankind. He contemned indeed all pretenders to literature, but he did not select his friends from the literary class, merely because they were literate. To be his friend, it was always either necessary that a man should have something better than an improved understanding, or at least that Mr. Gray should believe he had.

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tle more than an enumeration and account of their works. There have been few men of real genius who have written more voluminously than Dr. Smollet; yet the foregoing observation will by no means apply to him. On the contrary, he has himself wrought up the incidents of his own life, at least the earliest part of it, in one of the most entertaining novels that ever appeared in any language. Every body knows I must mean Roderick Random; a book which still continues to have a most extensive sale, and first established the Doctor's reputation. All the first volume, and the beginning of the second, appears to consist of real incident and character, though certainly a good deal heightened and disguised. The Judge, his grandfather; Crab and Potion, the two apothecaries; and 'Squire Gawkey, were characters well known in that part of the kingdom where the scene was laid. Captains Oakhum and Whiffle, Doctors Mackshane and Morgan, were also said to be real personages; but their names we have either never learnt, or have now forgotten. A bookbinder and barber long eagerly contended for being shadowed under the name of Strap. The Doctor seems to have enjoyed a peculiar felicity in describing sea characters, particularly the officers and sailors of the navy. His Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes, are highly-finished originals; but what exceeds them all, and perhaps equals any character that has yet been painted by the happiest genius of ancient or modern times, is his Lieutenant Bowling. This is indeed nature itself; original, *unique*, and *sui generis*. As well as the ladder of promotion, his very name has long become proverbial for an honest blunt seaman, unacquainted with mankind and the ways of the world.

It is pretty surprising that, notwithstanding Dr. Smollet was so very successful in hitting off original characters in narration, he could never succeed in the drama. Very early in life he wrote a tragedy, entitled, The Regicide, founded on the story of the assassination of James I. of Scotland; which, with all his interest and address, he never could get represented on the stage. He afterwards published it by subscription; with what success we cannot now recollect; but we are much mistaken, if he has not alluded to some of his own theatrical occurrences, in the story of Melopoyne, in Roderick Random.

By the publication of that work, the Doctor had acquired so great a reputation, that henceforth a certain degree of success was insured to every thing known or suspected to proceed from his hand. In the course of a few years, The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle appeared; a work of great ingenuity and contrivance in the composition, and in which an uncommon degree of erudition is displayed, particularly in the description of the entertainment given by the Republican Doctor, after the manner of the ancients. Under this personage, the late Dr. Akenside, author of a famous poem, entitled, The Pleasures of the Imagination, is supposed to be typified; and it would be difficult to determine, whether profound learning or genuine humour predominate most in this episode. Butler and Smollett seem to be the only two who have united things, seemingly so discordant, happily together; for Hudibras is one of the

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the most learned works in any language; and it requires no common share of reading, assisted with a good memory, thoroughly to relish and understand it. Another episode of The Adventures of a Lady of Quality, likewise inserted in this work, contributed greatly to its success, and is indeed admirably well executed. Yet, after giving all due praise to the merit and invention displayed in Peregrine Pickle, we cannot help thinking it is inferior, in what may be called *naïveté*, a thing better conceived than expressed, to Roderick Random.

These were not the only original compositions of this stamp, with which the Doctor has favoured the public. Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Lancelot Greaves are still in the list of what may be called reading novels, and have gone through several editions; but there is no injustice in placing them in a rank far below the former. No doubt invention, character, composition, and contrivance, are to be found in both; but then situations are described, which are hardly possible, and characters are painted, which, if not altogether unexampled, are at least incompatible with modern manners; and which ought not to be, as the scenes are laid in modern times.

The last work which we believe the Doctor published, was of much the same species, but cast into a different form—The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. It consists of a series of letters, written by different persons to their respective correspondents. He has here carefully avoided the faults which may be justly charged to his two former productions. Here are no extravagant characters, nor unnatural situations. On the contrary, an admirable knowledge of life and manners is displayed; and most useful lessons are given applicable to interesting, but to very common situations.

We know not that ever the remark has been made, but there is certainly a very obvious similitude between the characters of the three heroes of the Doctor's chief productions. Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Matthew Bramble, are all brothers of the same family. The same satyrical, cynical disposition, the same generosity and benevolence, are the distinguishing and characteristical features of all three; but they are far from being servile copies or imitations of each other. They differ as much as the Ajax, Diomed, and Achilles of Homer. This was undoubtedly a great effort of genius; and the Doctor seems to have described his own character at the different stages and situations of his life.

He was bred to physic, and in the early part of his life served as surgeon's mate in the navy. It appears from Roderick Random, that he was at the siege of Carthagena; of which expedition he gives a faithful, tho' no very pleasing account. Soon after his return, he must have taken his degree of Doctor of Physic, though we have not been able to learn at what time and at what place. It is said that, before he took a house at Chelsea, he attempted to settle as practitioner of physic at Bath; and, with that view, wrote a treatise on the waters—but was unsuccessful, chiefly because he could not render himself agreeable to the women, whose favour is certainly of great consequence to all candidates for eminence, whether in

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in medicine or divinity. This, however, was a little extraordinary; for those who remembered Dr. Smollet at that time, cannot but acknowledge that he was as graceful and handsome a man as any of the age he lived in; besides, there was a certain dignity in his air and manner, which could not but inspire respect wherever he appeared. Perhaps he was too soon discouraged: in all probability, had he persevered, a man of his great learning, profound sagacity, and intense application, besides being endued with every other external as well as internal accomplishment, must have at last succeeded, and, had he attained to common old age, been at the head of his profession.

Abandoning physic altogether as a profession, he fixed his residence at Chelsea, and turned his thoughts entirely to writing. Yet, as an author, he was not near so successful as his happy genius and acknowledged merit certainly deserved. He never acquired a patron among the great, who by his favour and beneficence relieved him from the necessity of writing for a subsistence. The truth is, Dr. Smollett possessed a loftiness and elevation of sentiment and character which appears to have disqualified him from currying favour among those who were able to confer favours. It would be wrong to call this disposition of his, pride or haughtiness; for to his equals and inferiors he was ever polite, friendly, and generous. Booksellers may therefore be said to have been his only patrons; and from them he had constant employment in translating, compiling, and reviewing. He translated Gil Blas and Don Quixote, both so happily, that all the former translations of these excellent productions of genius are in a fair way of being superseded by his. His name likewise appears to a translation of Voltaire's Prose Works, but little of it was done by his own hand; he only revised it, and added a few notes. He was concerned in a great variety of compilations. His History of England was the principal work of that kind. It has in itself real intrinsic merit; but, considering the time and circumstances in which it was written, it is indeed a prodigy of genius, and a great effort of application. It had a most extensive sale, and the doctor is said to have received 2000l. for writing it and the continuation. He was employed, during the last years of his life, in abridging the Modern Universal History, great part of which he had originally written himself, particularly the Histories of France, Italy, and Germany. He lived nearly to compleat this work, and it is said it will soon be published.

In the year 1755, he set on foot the Critical Review, and continued the principal manager of it, till he went abroad for the first time in the year 1763. To speak impartially, he was, perhaps, too acrimonious sometimes in the conduct of that work, and at the same time too sore, and displayed too much sensibility, when any of the unfortunate authors, whose works he had, it may be, justly censured, attempted to retaliate. He had made some very severe strictures on a pamphlet, published by admiral Knowles, as well as on the writer's character, who commenced a prosecution against the printer, declaring, it was said, he only wanted,

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to know the author, that, if a gentleman, he might obtain the satisfaction of a gentleman from him. In this affair the doctor behaved with great spirit. Just as sentence was going to be pronounced against the printer, he came into court, avowed himself the author of the strictures in question, and declared himself ready to give the admiral any satisfaction he chose. Upon this, the admiral began a fresh action against the doctor, who was found guilty, fined 100 l. and condemned to three months imprisonment in the King's-Bench. It is there he is said to have written the Adventures of Sir Lancelot Greaves; in which he has described some remarkable characters, then his fellow-prisoners.

When lord Bute was called to the chief administration of affairs, he was prevailed upon to write in defence of that nobleman's measures; which he did in a weekly paper, called the Briton. This gave rise to the famous North-Briton; wherein, according to the opinion of the public, he was rather baffled. The truth is, the doctor did not seem to possess the talents necessary for political altercation. He wanted temper and coolness; and his friends accused his patron of having denied him the necessary information, and even neglected the fulfiling of some of his other engagements with him. Be that as it will, the doctor is said not to have forgotten him in his subsequent performances.

His constitution being at last greatly impaired by a sedentary life, and assiduous application to study, he went abroad for his health in the year 1763. He wrote an account of his travels in a Series of Letters to some friends, which were afterwards published in two volumes, octavo. During all that time he appears to have laboured under a constant fit of chagrin. But the state of his mind will be best learnt from himself. Thus he writes in his first letter: "In gratifying your curiosity I shall find some amusement to beguile the tedious hours; which without some such employment would be rendered insupportable by distemper and disquiet. You knew and pitied my situation, traduced by malice, persecuted by faction, abandoned by false patrons, and overwhelmed by the sense of a domestic calamity, which it was not in the power of fortune to repair." By this domestic calamity he means, the loss of his only child, a daughter, whom he loved with the tenderest affection. The doctor lived to return to his native country: but his health continuing to decline, and meeting with fresh mortifications and disappointments, he went back to Italy, where he died on October the 21st, 1771, having been born in the year 1720.

It would be needless to expatiate on the character of a man so well known as Dr. Smollet, who has besides given so many strictures of his own character and manner of living in his writings, particularly in Humphry Clinker; where he appears under the appellation of Mr. Serle, and has an interview with Mr. Bramble; and his manner of living is described in another letter, where young Melford is supposed to dine with him at his house in Chelsea. No doubt he made a great deal of money by his connexions with booksellers; and,

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had he been a rigid œconomist, or endued with the gift of retention, (an expression of his own) he might have lived and died very independent. However, to do justice to his memory, his difficulties, whatever they were, proceeded not from extravagance, or want of œconomy. He was hospitable, but not ostentatiously so; and his table was plentiful, but not extravagant. No doubt he had his failings; but still it would be difficult to name a man who was so respectable for the qualities of his head, or amiable for the virtues of his heart.

Memoirs of the Life and Family of the late Rev. Mr. Laurence Sterne. *Written by himself, and addressed to his Daughter, Miss* Lydia Sterne, *now Mrs.* Medalle, *being married to a* French *Gentleman of that Name.*

ROGER STERNE, (grandson to Archbishop Sterne) Lieutenant in Handaside's regiment, was married to Agnes Herbert, widow of a Captain of a good family: her family name was (I believe) Nuttle—though, upon recollection, that was the name of her father-in-law, who was a noted sutler in Flanders, in Queen Anne's wars, where my father married his wife's daughter. (N. B. he was in debt to him) which was in September 25, 1711, Old Stile.—This Nuttle had a son by my grandmother——a fine person of a man, but a graceless whelp—what became of him I know not.—The family (if any left) live now at Clonmel, in the south of Ireland, at which town I was born, November 24, 1713, a few days after my mother arrived from Dunkirk.—My birth-day was ominous to my poor father, who was, the day after our arrival, with many other brave officers, broke, and sent a-drift into the wide world with a wife and two children—the elder of which was Mary; she was born at Lisle in French Flanders, July the tenth, one thousand seven hundred and twelve, New Stile.—This child was most unfortunate—she married one Weemans in Dublin—who used her most unmercifully—spent his substance, became a bankrupt, and left my poor sister to shift for herself,—which she was able to do but for a few months, for she went to a friend's house in the country, and died of a broken heart. She was a most beautiful woman—of a fine figure, and deserved a better fate. —The regiment, in which my father served, being broke, he left Ireland as soon as I was able to be carried, with the rest of his family, and came to the family-seat at Elvington, near York, where his mother lived. She was daughter to Sir Roger Jaques, and an heiress. There we sojourned for about ten months, when the regiment was established, and our houshold decamped with bag and baggage for Dublin.—Within a month of our arrival, my father left us, being ordered to Exeter, where, in a sad winter, my mother and her two children followed him, travelling from Liverpool by land to Plymouth. (Melancholy description of this journey not necessary to be transmitted here). In twelve months we were all sent back to Dublin.—My mother, with three of us (for she lay in at Plymouth of a boy, Joram) took ship at Bristol, for Ireland, and had a narrow escape from being cast away, by a leak spring-

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springing up in the vessel.——At length, after many perils and struggles, we got to Dublin.—There my father took a large house, furnished it, and in a year and a half's time spent a great deal of money.——In the year one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, all unhinged again; the regiment was ordered, with many others, to the isle of Wight, in order to embark for Spain in the Vigo expedition. We accompanied the regiment, and were driven into Milford Haven, but landed at Bristol, from thence by land to Plymouth again, and to the isle of Wight—where I remember we staid incamped some time before the embarkation of the troops—(in this expedition from Bristol to Hampshire we lost poor Joram—a pretty boy, four years old, of the small-pox) my mother, sister, and myself, remained at the isle of Wight during the Vigo expedition, and until the regiment had got back to Wicklow in Ireland, from whence my father sent for us.—We had poor Joram's loss supplied during our stay in the isle of Wight, by the birth of a girl, Anne, borne September the twenty-third, one thousand seven hundred and nineteen.—This pretty blossom fell at the age of three years, in the barracks of Dublin—she was, as I well remember, of a fine delicate frame, not made to last long, as were most of my father's babes.—We embarked for Dublin, and had all been cast away by a most violent storm, but, through the intercessions of my mother, the captain was prevailed upon to turn back into Wales, where we stayed a month, and at length got into Dublin, and travelled by land to Wicklow, where my father had for some weeks given us over for lost. We lived in the barracks at Wicklow, one year, (one thousand seven hundred and twenty) when Devijeher (so called after Colonel Devijeher) was born; from thence we decamped to stay half a year with Mr. Fetherston, a clergyman, about seven miles from Wicklow, who, being a relation of my mother's, invited us to his parsonage at Animo.—It was in this parish, during our stay, that I had that wonderful escape in falling through a mill-race whilst the mill was going, and of being taken up unhurt.—The story is incredible, but known for truth in all that part of Ireland—where hundreds of the common people flocked to see me.—From hence we followed the regiment to Dublin, where we lay in the barracks a year.—In this year, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, I learned to write, &c.—The regiment, ordered in twenty-two, to Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland, we all decamped, but got no further than Drogheda, thence ordered to Mullengar, forty miles west, where by Providence we stumbled upon a kind relation, a collateral descendant from Archbishop Sterne, who took us all to his castle, and kindly entertained us for a year—and sent us to the regiment at Carrickfergus, loaded with kindnesses, &c.——a most rueful and tedious journey had we all, in March, to Carrickfergus, where we arrived in six or seven days.—Little Devijeher here died; he was three years old.—He had been left behind at nurse, at a farm-house near Wicklow, but was fetched to us by my father the summer after—another child sent to fill his place, Susan; this babe too left us behind in this weary journey.——

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The autumn of that year, or the spring afterwards, (I forget which) my father got leave of his Colonel to fix me at school—which he did near Halifax, with an able master, with whom I staid some time, till by God's care of me my cousin Sterne, of Elvington, became a father to me, and sent me to the university, &c. &c. To pursue the thread of our story, my father's regiment was the year after ordered to Londonderry, where another sister was brought forth, Catharine, still living, but most unhappily estranged from me by my uncle's wickedness, and her own folly.—From this station the regiment was sent to defend Gibraltar, at the siege, where my father was run through the body by Capt. Phillips, in a duel, (the quarrel begun about a goose) with much difficulty he survived—though with an impaired constitution, which was not able to withstand the hardships it was put to—for he was sent to Jamaica, where he soon fell by the country fever, which took away his senses first, and made a child of him, and then, in a month or two, walking about continually without complaining, till the moment he sat down in an arm-chair, and breathed his last—which was at Port Antonio, on the north of the island.—My father was a little smart man—active to the last degree, in all exercises—most patient of fatigue and disappointment, of which it pleased God to give him full measure.—He was in his temper somewhat rapid and hasty—but of a kindly, sweet disposition, void of all design, and so innocent in his own intentions, that he suspected no one; so that you might have cheated him ten times in a day, if nine had not been sufficient for your purpose.—My poor father died in March, 1731.—I remained at Halifax till about the latter end of that year, and cannot omit mentioning this anecdote of myself and schoolmaster. He had the ceiling of the school-room new white-washed—the ladder remained there—I one unlucky day mounted it, and wrote with a brush, in large capital letters, LAU. STERNE, for which the usher severely whipped me. My master was very much hurt at this, and said, before me, that never should that name be effaced, for I was a boy of genius, and he was sure I should come to preferment.—This expression made me forget the stripes I had received.—In the year 1732 my cousin sent me to the university, where I staid some time. 'Twas there that I commenced a friendship with Mr. H....., which has been most lasting on both sides.—I then came to York, and my uncle got me the living of Sutton—and at York I became acquainted with your mother, and courted her for two years.——She owned she liked me, but thought herself not rich enough, or me too poor to be joined together.—She went to her sister's in S———, and I wrote to her often.——I believe then she was partly determined to have me, but would not say so.—At her return she fell into a consumption—and, one evening that I was sitting by her with an almost broken heart to see her so ill, she said, "My dear Laurey, I can never be yours, for I very believe I have not long to live—but I have left you every shilling of my fortune."—Upon that she shewed me her will:—this generosity overpowered me.—It pleased God that she

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she recovered, and I married her in the year 1741. My uncle and myself were then upon very good terms, for he soon got me the prebendary of York—but he quarrelled with me afterwards, because I would not write paragraphs in the newspapers.—Though he was a party-man, I was not, and detested such dirty work, thinking it beneath me.—From that period, he became my bitterest enemy.—By my wife's means I got the living of Stillington—a friend of her's in the south had promised her, that if she married a clergyman in Yorkshire, when the living became vacant, he would make her a compliment of it. I remained near twenty years at Sutton, doing duty at both places.—I had then very good health.—— Books, painting, fiddling, and shooting, were my amusements.—As to the Squire of the parish, I cannot say we were upon a very friendly footing—but at Stillington the family of the C———s shewed us every kindness—'twas most truly agreeable to be within a mile and a half of an amiable family, who were ever cordial friends.—In the year 1760 I took a house at York for your mother and yourself, and went up to London to publish my two first volumes of Shandy.—In that year Lord F——— presented me with the curacy of Coxwold—a sweet retirement in comparison of Sutton. In 1762 I went to France before the peace was concluded, and you both followed me.—I left you both in France, and in two years after I went to Italy for the recovery of my health—and when I called upon you, I tried to engage your mother to return to England with me—she and yourself are at length come—and I have had the inexpressible joy of seeing my girl every thing I wished her.

I have set down these particulars relating to my family, and self, for my Lydia, in case hereafter she might have a curiosity, or a kinder motive to know them.

Sketch of the Character of the late Dr. Hawkesworth.

NAture had endowed him with an uncommonly fine understanding, which had been improved not only by long study, but by converse with mankind. His fertile mind teemed with ideas, which he delivered in so clear, and yet concise, a manner, that no one could be at a loss perfectly to comprehend his meaning, or ever tired by hearing him speak; especially as his diction was so unaffectedly pure, and his language so simply elegant, that the learned and unlearned attended with equal pleasure to that unstudied flow of eloquence, which, without seeming to look for them, always adapted those words which were most suitable to the subject, as well as most pleasing to his hearers.

It has been objected to this gentleman, that he suffered his passions to hold too strong a dominion over him: it must be confessed, a too keen sensibility seemed to him, as, indeed it ever is to all who possess it, a pleasing but unfortunate gift. Alive to every tender sentiment of friendship, his heart dilated with joy whenever heaven put it in his power to be beneficial to those he loved; but this feeling disposition was the means of leading him into such frequent though transient gusts of passion, as were too much for his

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delicate constitution to bear, without feeling the effects of them. Yet, with all these quick sensations, he was incapable of lasting resentment, or revenge; and had he never found an enemy till he had done an injury, he would, we may venture to pronounce, have left the world without having known one.

Dr. Hawkesworth was certainly of a serious turn of mind, and his *fort* in writing was on subjects of the graver kind; yet his Edgar and Emmeline, several little detached pieces scattered in the Gentleman's Magazine, as well as many of his papers in the Adventurer, abound with a strain of wit and humour, which affords sufficient proof to any one of his sportive powers of fancy, whenever he gave it play. All who have enjoyed his society, when mirth circulated round the convivial board, will acknowledge the pleasure they have often felt at those inoffensive sallies of imagination, which were never employed to ridicule religion, or expose the infirmities of his fellow-creatures. To sum up the whole in a few words: He was the scholar and the gentleman joined—two characters which seldom meet in one; and, if we add to this the good man, surely it is all that humanity can arrive at. Such was Dr. Hawkesworth. While remembrance remains in the minds of those who knew and loved him, he will ever be lamented.

He was born in the year 1719, and died in the year 1774.

Anecdotes of the Life, with observations on the Character and Writings of the late Paul Whitehead, *Esq.*

MR. Paul Whitehead was the son of a reputable tradesman in Westminster *, where he was born in 1710. Having received an education suitable to his birth and circumstances, he was apprenticed to a woollen-draper: in which situation he became acquainted with Mr. Lowth, as well known for his deserving character as a man, as for the confidential distinction it obtained him, in being appointed executor to the celebrated tragedian Mr. Quin.

Mr. Lowth being apprenticed to the same master, an intimacy naturally arose between two fellow-servants of congenial dispositions, if not of equal talents. Their acquaintances and friendships of course became in a great degree reciprocal; so that it was probably owing to Mr. Lowth's intimacy with Quin, that Mr. Whitehead first became acquainted with Fleetwood, the manager of Drury-Lane theatre, an acquaintance which proved fatal to Mr. Whitehead's affairs in the early part of his life.

Mr. Fleetwood, it seems, whose dissipated character and necessitous circumstances were as well known, as the desperate means he frequently employed to extricate himself from them; had influence enough over his friend Paul to induce him to enter into a joint security with him for the payment of three thousand pounds. "Not, says Fleetwood, "that the obligation will be binding on *you* at all, but another "name is wanting as a matter of "course." How Mr. Whitehead, who, in the latter part of his life, wanted not for prudence or caution, came to be so egregiously over-

* Mr. Whitehead's father was by profession a taylor, and lived in the parish of St. Martin's.

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reached in this matter-of-course, is hard to account, unless we may suppose his latter shrewdness the artificial effect of dear-bought experience, as suspicion is the natural consequence of disappointed credulity. On the other hand, it is but doing justice to Mr. Fleetwood to observe, that, though he must be allowed to have greatly deviated from the truth on this occasion, he might flatter himself with hopes, and even have some kind of assurance, that things would take such a turn in his favour, as in the end not to prove so injurious to his too credulous and good-natured friend.

Fleetwood, indeed, to a real carelessness and extreme inattention to his affairs, added an affected openness and unconcern, that, joined to his natural, easy, and insinuating behaviour, would impose the most designing mask of duplicity for the genuine countenance of simplicity and security. It were otherwise difficult to account for a man of Mr. Whitehead's understanding and knowledge of the world, (for he was then no boy) becoming so great a dupe. Be this, however, as it may, Fleetwood's failure to discharge the obligation subjected Mr. Whitehead to the penalty of the bond; and he was accordingly reduced to the necessity of residing in the rules of the Fleet for a considerable time. This circumstance happened about the year 1742, some years before which he had distinguished himself in the career of political party by conversation and action, and in the world of letters by his writings.

It was principally to Mr. Whitehead the town was indebted for that hearty laugh it enjoyed many years ago from the mock procession, whose just and timely ridicule put the anniversary parade of the free-masons so much out of countenance, that it has been ever since discontinued *.

In the famous contested election between Trentham and Vandeput, for Westminster, Mr. Whitehead exerted all his activity, frequently heading numerous bodies of the electors in person, and supplying the press with daily advertisements and electioneering squibs in favour of Sir George Vandeput †.

As to his political principles in general, if we may judge of them by his writings, he appears to have been animated with that laudable zeal for liberty, which usually displays its greatest warmth in the breast of men of genius. His apostrophe to the *Patriot* on this subject is animated and beautiful.

Thrice happy *Patriot*, whom no courts debase,
No titles lessen, and no stars disgrace!
Still nod the plumage o'er the brainless head;
Still o'er the faithless heart the riband spread,
Such toys may serve to signalize the tool,
To shield the knave, or garnish out the fool;
While you, with *Roman* virtue arm'd, disdain
The tinsel trappings of the gilt'ring chain:
Fond of your freedom, spurn the venal fee,
And prove he's only *great*—who dares be *free*.

MANNERS. A *Satire.*

It is much to be doubted, however, whether in his attachment to

* In this he was assisted by the well-known Mr. Squire Carey.

† Mr. Whitehead is said to have been the author of the famous *Case of Alexander Murray*, Esq; which owed its origin to the same election.

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parties in particular, he either acted or wrote from any other principle than personal views or attachments, motives that have actuated political partizans from the days of Sallust to the present. *Bonum publicum sic certabat.* Mr. Whitehead, indeed, was generally supposed to be what they call a rank Tory, with a strong tincture of the Jacobite, for which supposition he gave no little reason. Among other frequent sneers at the royal house of Hanover, he has the following, in a note to a passage in one of his poems, celebrating the rowing-match for the prize given by Dogget to be annually contested for on the first of August: "As among "the ancients, *games* and *sports* "were celebrated on mournful as "well as joyful events, there has "been some controversy, whether "our *loyal comedian* meant the "compliment to the setting or "rising monarch of *that day*; but, "as the plate has a *horse* for its de-"vice, I am induced to impute it "to the latter: and, doubtless, he "prudently considered, that, as a "living *dog* is better than a dead "*lion*, the living *horse* had, at least, "an equal title to the same pre-"ference."

From so gross a sneer might be inferred a rooted dislike to the reigning family on the throne, and a grounded partiality to the line of Stuarts; but if we pay any regard to the warmth with which this writer breathes the spirit of independence, the enthusiasm with which he speaks of public virtue, and the severity with which he lashes private vice, we may justly call in question his having any attachment to a race of tyrants from principle,

I cannot truckle to a slave in state,
And praise a blockhead's, wit, because he's great;
Down, down, ye hungry garetteers, descend,
'Call *Walpole Burleigh*,' call him *Britain's* friend;
Behold the genial ray of gold appear,
And rouse the swarms of *Grub-street* and *Rag-Fair*.
See with what zeal yon tiny insect burns,
And follows Queens from palaces to urns:
Tho' cruel Death has clos'd the royal ear,
The flattering fly still buzzes round the bier:
But what avails, since Queens no longer live?
Why, Kings can read, and Kings, you know, may give.
A Mitre may repay his heav'nly crown;
And while he decks her brow, adorn his own.
Let Laureat Cibber birth-day sonnets sing,
Or Fanny crawl, an ear-wig on the King;
While one is void of wit, and one of grace,
Why should I envy either song or place?
I could not flatter, the rich butt to gain,
Nor sink a slave, to rise Vice-chamberlain.
Perish my verse, whene'er one venal line
Bedaubs a Duke, or makes a King divine!

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

Again, in his Honour, a Satire:

Great in her laurel'd Sages *Athens* see;
Free flow'd her satire while her sons were free;
Then purpled guilt was dragg'd to public shame,
And each offence stood flagrant with a name;
Polluted ermine no respect could win,
No hallow'd lawn could sanctify a sin;
'Till tyrant Power usurp'd a lawless rule:
Then sacred grew the titled knave and fool; [song,
Then penal statutes aw'd the poignant
And slaves were taught that *Kings could do no wrong*, [king,
Guilt still is guilt, to me, in slave or
Better'd in cells, or garter'd in the ring:
And yet behold how various the reward,
WILD falls a felon, *Walpole* mounts a lord.
The *little* knave the law's last tribute pays,
While crowns around the *great* one's chaplet blaze,

Blaze,

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Blaze, meteors, blaze! to me is still the same
The cart of Justice and the coach of Shame.
Say what's Nobility, ye gilded train?
Does Nature give it, or can guilt sustain?
Blooms the form fairer, if the birth be high;
Or takes the vital stream a richer dye?
What! tho' a long patrician line ye claim,
Are noble souls entail'd upon a name?
Austis may ermin out the lordly earth,
Virtue's the herald that proclaims its worth.
Vice levels all, however high or low,
And all the difference but consists in show.
Who asks an alms, or supplicates a place,
Alike is beggar, tho' in rags or lace:
Alike his country's scandal and its curse,
Who vends a vote, or who purloins a purse;
Thy gamblers, *Bridewell*, and St. *J—s*'s bites,
The rooks of *Mortlington*'s and sharks at *White's*.

The truth perhaps, is, that the party Mr. Whitehead first embraced, and to which he afterwards consistently enough adhered, was as much an object of accident as choice. His disposition, indeed, appears to have had an original turn to sarcasm and satire; but to this may be added, that he came into life at a time when the reputation and success of Mr. Pope had raised the character of a satirist much beyond its true standard. Mr. Pope, therefore, was chosen as the model, of which our author gloried in the imitation. It must be confessed, however, that he followed his adopted guide *haud passibus æquis;* at least in his poetical career, and the success attending it; of which he pathetically complains:

Pope writes unhurt—but know, 'tis diff'rent quite
To beard the Lion, and to crush the Mite:
Safe may he dash the Statesman in each line,
Those dread his satire, who dare punish mine.

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

The great, and particularly courtiers, are always the object of the spirited satirist: hence, as the people *then* in power were Whigs, our enterprising bard of course took the side of the Tories.—Hence also his terrible aversion *at that time* to courts and drawing-rooms.

Well—of all plagues which make mankind their sport,
Guard me, ye heavens! from that worst plague—a court.
Midst the mad mansions of *Moorfields* I'd be
A straw-crown'd monarch, in mock majesty;
Rather than sov'reign rule Britannia's fate,
Curs'd with the follies and the farce of state.
Rather in *Newgate-walls*, O let me dwell
A doleful tenant of the darkling cell,
Then swell in palaces the mighty store
Of Fortune's fools and parasites of pow'r.
Than crowns, ye gods! be any state my doom;
Or any dungeon, but—a drawing room;

MANNERS. *A Satire.*

What a horrid antipathy, one would think, the author of the above lines must have to courts and courtiers! And yet when the patrons, to whom a congeniality of sentiment had recommended him, had by a similar congeniality recommended themselves to royal patronage, it was not found that either the secondary patron or the poet entertained any such antipathy to courts or courtiers any longer.

Sir Francis Dashwood, now lord Le Despencer, was Mr. Whitehead's patron, and, when he rose to

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to power himself, did not ungratefully neglect the merit or interest of his dependent friend. His lordship, however, was but a short time in so elevated a station in government as to

——————swell the store
Of Fortune's fools and parasites of power.

Not that we would insinuate honest Paul to have been either the *fool* of fortune or the *parasite* of power. It might happen to him, with fortune, as Falstaff says of Worcester's unsought rebellion, "It lay in his way, and he found it." Like a shrewd game-keeper, therefore he dropped without reluctance the ostentatious badge of office, to take up, like the snug poacher, with the silent emoluments of a sinecure *.

Thus provided against the reverses of fortune, he retired, to spend the evening of his days, in an agreeable and convenient retreat on Twickenham Common; where he frequently entertained his friends with that species of humour which was peculiar to him, and a conviviality of disposition, for which his company was ever agreeable to his acquaintance †.

The ease, if not affluence, of his circumstances in this situation, is thus poetically depicted by himself in his epistle to Dr. Thompson:

E'er wants my table the health-cheering meal,
With *Banstead* mutton crown'd, or *Essex* veal?
Smokes not from *Lincoln* meads the stately loin,
Or rosy gammon of *Hantonian* swine?
From *Dorking*'s roosts the feather'd victims bleed,
And *Themes* still wafts me Ocean's scaly breed.
Tho' *Gallia*'s vines their costly juice deny,
Still *Tajo*'s banks the jocund glass supply;
Still distant worlds nectarious treasures roll,
And either *India* sparkles in my bowl;
Or *Devon*'s boughs, or *Dorset*'s bearded fields,
To *Britain*'s arms a *British* beverage yields.

Nor do the pleasures of the table and exhilarating conveniencies of good cheer appear to have been superior to the complacency and tranquillity of mind with which Mr. Whitehead spent the latter part of his days; as he has described it at the close of the same epistle, in a translation of the conclusion of Dr. King's Apology, which he poetically applies to himself:

My ease and freedom, if for aught I vend,
Would not you cry? To Bedlam, Bedlam, friend!
But to speak out:—shall what could ne'er engage
My frailer youth, now captivate in age?
What cares can vex, what terrors frightful be,
To him whose shield is hoary sixty-three;

* When Lord Le Despencer came into office with Lord Bute's party, he procured a patent place of 800l. a year for his favourite bard, which he enjoyed to his death.

† Mr. Whitehead was a facetious companion, and possessed the epithets of ingenious and ingenuous to their utmost extent. He belonged for some years to that jovial association of Choice Spirits denominated the Beef-steak Club, held in Covent-Garden Theatre, and consisting of an heterogeneous mixture of Peers, Poets, and Players.

When

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When life itself so little worth appears,
That ministers can give no hopes, or fears?
Although grown grey within my humble gate,
I ne'er kiss'd hands, nor trod the rooms of state;
Yet not unhonour'd have I liv'd, and blest
With rich convenience, careless of the rest;
What boon more grateful can the gods bestow
On those avow'd, their favourite sons below?

From the above quotations the reader may see, that Mr. Whitehead possessed a manly strength of expression, and a flowing vein of poetry. So little tenacious, however, was he of literary reputation, that he could never be prevailed on to collect and publish his productions*; altho' such a circumstance could not fail of being acceptable to the public; who may hope nevertheless to see a collection of them, if we are rightly informed, by an ingenious gentleman who is favoured with the approbation and communications of all his friends and relations.

Mr. Whitehead departed this life on the 30th of December 1774, at the age of sixty-four, bestowing among other bequests the very singular one of his heart on his noble friend and patron, lord Le Despencer, who deposited it in a solemn manner, on the 16th of August of this year, in a Mausoleum erected for that purpose, in his garden at High Wycomb, in Buckinghamshire, as a monument due to so acceptable a present as that of the *heart of an honest man*.

The following account of this ceremonial appeared in a letter printed in the *Whitehall Evening-Post* of Aug. 19.

"Dear Sir,

"I was a little disappointed in not having the pleasure to see you at West Wycomb on Wednesday, when the heart of Paul Whitehead, Esq; was deposited in the Mausoleum. I will therefore attempt to give you a description of it:

"There was a numerous appearance of ladies and gentlemen assembled upon this occasion. The country people came from various quarters big with the expectations of the grandeur and solemnity of this unusual sight: and, if you will rely upon my imperfect judgment, I think it equalled and exceeded all the ideas which had been framed of it.

"The day was very fine, and all nature seemed to approve the honour which was shewn to the memory of the deceased. The procession began at half past eleven. It consisted of a company of the Buckinghamshire militia with their officers; lord Despencer at their head, as lord-lieutenant of the county; the officers in their regimentals, with crape round their left arm; seven vocal performers habited as a choir, in surplices, attended with fifes, flutes, horns, and a drum covered with crape. A certain spot, adjacent to the

* The principal are Manners, a Satire; the State Dunces, a Satire; Honour, a Satire; the Gymnasiad, or Boxing Match, a mock-heroic Poem; and an epistle to Dr. Thompson. His lesser pieces both in prose and verse are numerous.——He employed three days before he died in burning his manuscript works.

house,

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house, was marked out for the persons engaged in the procession. Here they assembled. The procession began with the soldiers, &c. (as above-mentioned) marching round this spot three several times, the choir singing select pieces of music suitable to the occasion, and accompanied with fifes, flutes, horns, and drums, conducted by Mr. Atterbury and Mr. Mulso. This being done, six grenadiers went into the grand hall of his lordship's house, and brought out the very elegant urn in curious and variegated marble, which contained the heart.

"The epitaph upon the urn was as follows:

PAUL WHITEHEAD,
of Twickenham,
Obiit December 30, 1774.
Unhallowed hands, this Urn forbear:
No gems, nor orient spoil,
Lie here conceal'd—but, what's more rare,
A Heart that knows no guile!

"On one side of the urn was a medallion of white marble, of elegant workmanship, with the following curious device: three several figures, highly finished, appeared in the medallion. I could not learn the history of the first of them. The second was the image of Æsculapius, the god of physic, attending the deceased in his last illness—but in vain. The third represented the deceased at his departure—pourtrayed by the soul leaving the body, and ascending into the air. This seems to allude to the Pythagorean notion of the soul ascending into the air, and hovering in it for some time round the body of the deceased

"The urn was carried on a bier, supported by six grenadiers; who were attended by six more, who walked as a corps de reserve to relieve the others. The urn, thus carried on the bier, was preceded by a part of the soldiers, by the vocal and instrumental performers, and by the Rev. Mr. Powell, curate of High Wycomb; and it was followed by lord Despencer, walking alone by the officers of the militia, two and two; and the procession was closed by a number of private men in the militia.

"The procession, thus formed and conducted, passed in the most solemn manner from the house through the gardens, up the hill to the Mausoleum; the music, vocal and instrumental, accompanying it almost all the time. I have read of Elysian fields, but never find any tolerable idea of them before this day, when the solemnity of the procession through the groves, and the pleasing effect of the music upon this occasion, gave a degree of probability to the description I have read of them. Near two hours passed in marching from the house to the Mausoleum. Being arrived here, a procession was made round the inside of the Mausoleum three several times, with the music accompanying it. At length arrived the time for depositing the urn in one of the niches. Immediately before this, the following incantation, set to music by Dr. Arnold, was sung, as follows:

From earth to Heaven Whitehead's soul is fled!
Immortal glories beam around his head!
This Muse, concording with the sounding strings,
Gives Angels words to praise the King of Kings.

"The urn was then placed on a very elegant pedestal of white marble. After this, the soldiers fired a triple salute with great exactness and precision. The whole procession

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procession was conducted with great propriety, and gave general satisfaction. I had almost forgot to tell you that minute guns were fired upon this occasion.

"To make this celebrity as complete as possible, a new Oratorio was performed yesterday in West Wycomb church. The words were selected by Mr. Arnold, and the music composed by Mr. Atterbury. The name of the Oratorio was Goliah. The choruses were grand, most of the airs very pleasing and sweet, particularly the following, *Help us now, O Lord: O Lord, send us now prosperity.* All the music was very well chosen and adapted to the words. The performers were too few to do justice to the music. A charming Concerto was performed on the Hautboy, between the first and second parts of the Oratorio, by Mr. Foster. The performance began at half past twelve, and continued till three. No tickets were required for admission: but every person genteely dressed was admitted into the church on giving something to the poor's Box."

A short Account of the Life, Writings, and Genius of the late Sir John Hill.

EXtraordinary characters have been considered to hold up useful views of human nature; and that the late Sir John Hill was an extraordinary one, we believe, is not what his enemies deny.

This gentleman was originally bred an apothecary, but marrying early, and without a fortune, made him very soon look round for other resources than his profession. Having therefore, in his apprenticeship, attended the botanical lectures, which are periodically given under the patronage of the company, and being possessed of quick natural parts, he soon made himself acquainted with the theoretical, as well as practical parts of botany; from whence being recommended by the late D. of Richmond and Lord Petre, he was by them employed in the inspection and arrangement of their botanic gardens.

Assisted by the liberality of these noblemen, he executed a scheme of travelling over several parts of this kingdom, to gather certain of the most rare and uncommon plants, which he afterwards published by subscription; but after great researches and uncommon industry, which he possessed in a peculiar degree, this undertaking turned out by no means either adequate to his merits or expectations.

The stage next presented itself, as a soil in which genius might stand a chance of flourishing; but this plan (after two or three unsuccessful attempts at the Little Theatre, Hay-market, and the Theatre Royal, Covent-garden, at which last place he played the second Spirit in Comus) became abortive; it was found he had no pretensions either to the sock or buskin, which once more reduced him to his botanical advantages, and his business as an apothecary.

In the course of these pursuits, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Martin Folkes and Henry Baker, Esqrs. both of the Royal Society, the former the late president, and thro' them to the literary world, where he was received, and entertained on every occasion with much candour and warmth of friendship; in short, he was considered by them as a young man of great natural and acquired knowledge, struggling with

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with a laudable assiduity to stem the tide of misfortune, and in this view was pitied and encouraged.

At length about the year 1746 (at which time he had the trifling appointment of being apothecary to a regiment or two in the Savoy), he translated from the Greek a small tract, written by Theophrastus, on Gems, which he published by subscription; and, being well executed, gave him friends, reputation, and money. Encouraged by this, he engaged in works of greater extent and importance. The first he undertook was a General Natural History, in three volumes folio. He next engaged, in conjunction with George Lewis Scott, Esq; for a Supplement to Chambers's Dictionary. He at the same time started the British Magazine; and, at the time when he was engaged in a great number of these and other works, some of which seemed to claim the unique attention of a whole life, he carried on a *daily* essay under the title of *Inspector*. Amidst this hurry of business, where much enquiry and great attention were necessary, it may be thought to engross the whole of his time; but Mr. Hill was so laborious and ready in all the parts of his undertakings, and was at the same time so exact an œconomist of his time, that he scarcely ever missed a public amusement for many years. Here, indeed, he mixed the *utile dulci*, as, while he relaxed from the severer pursuits of study, he gleaned up many articles of information for his periodical works.

There are not wanting many men, and some of them of eminence, who have pronounced Sir John Hill to be little better than a *quack* in his literary, as well as physical knowledge; but this judgment, we must suppose, is inferred from the perusal of some of his publications, which are decided on as pieces of writing, without considering the embarrassed situation of the author. As for those who knew, and will make allowances for the various literary engagements he has been embarked in, *all at one time*, many of them sufficient for the labour of a long life, they will be astonished at the depth of his judgment, and the quickness and variety of his parts, and will be fully justified in drawing this general conclusion, that was he early in life possessed of a fortune sufficient to chuse his *favourite science*, and had steadiness enough not to be diverted from it by pleasures, there can be little doubt of Sir John Hill holding a respectable rank in the annals of British literature.

It would be an historical folio, instead of a newspaper essay, were we to trace Mr. Hill, now Dr. Hill (for he had taken his diploma from the college of St. Andrews) through all his various pursuits in life. In such a collection, the limits of a sketch will only point to select the most leading. Be it sufficient then to know, that from this successful period he started a man of fashion, kept his equipage, dressed, went into all polite companies, laughed at the drier studies, and in every respect claimed the character of the man of *bon ton*. His writings supported him for a while in all this; and notwithstanding the graver part of them were only compilations, and the lighter part what the copy-money could not be extraordinary, yet there is no doubt he made for several years, *communibus annis*, not less than 1500l.

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A quarrel, however, he had had with the Royal Society, for being refused as a member, and the sterility of his genius, merely from being over exercised, after some time made him sink in the reputation of the public nearly in the same pace as he ascended. He found as usual, however, resources in his own invention. He applied himself to the preparation of certain simple medicines, such as the essence of water-dock, tincture of valerian, balsam of honey, &c. &c. The well-known simplicity of these medicines made the public judge favourably of their effects, (which we really believe are serviceable in many cases, inoffensive in all) insomuch that they had a rapid sale, and once more enabled the Doctor to figure away in that stile of life ever so congenial to his inclination.

Soon after the publication of the first of these medicines, he obtained the patronage of the Earl of Bute, through whose interest he acquired the management of the Royal Gardens at Kew, with an handsome salary; and to wind up the whole of so extraordinary a life, having a little before his death, presented an elegant set of his botanical works to the present king of Sweden; that Monarch, in return, invested him with one of the orders of his court, which title he had not the happiness of enjoying above two years.

Anecdotes of Signiora Gabrieli, *the celebrated Opera Singer. By Mr.* Brydone *and Mr.* Wraxhall.

MR. Brydone saw this lady at Palermo a few years since. She is, says he, certainly the greatest singer in the world; and those that sing, on the same theatre with her, must be capital, otherwise they never can be attended to. This indeed has been the fate of all the other performers here, except Pacherotti; and he too gave himself up for lost, on hearing her first performance. It happened to be an air of execution, exactly adapted to her voice, which she exerted in so astonishing a manner, that, before it was half done, poor Pacherotti burst out a crying, and ran in behind the scenes; lamenting that he had been prevailed on to appear on the same stage with so wonderful a singer, where his small talents must not only be totally lost, but where he must ever be accused of a presumption, which he hoped was foreign to his character.

It was with some difficulty they could prevail on him to appear again, but, from an applause well merited, both from his talents and his modesty, he soon began to pluck up a little courage; and, in the singing of a tender air, addressed to Gabrieli in the character of a lover, even she herself, as well as the audience, is said to have been moved.

The performance of Gabrieli is so generally known and admired, that it is almost needless to say any thing to you on that subject. Her wonderful execution and volubility of voice have long been the admiration of Italy, and have even obliged them to invent a new term to express it; and, would she exert herself as much to please as to astonish, she might almost perform the wonders that have been ascribed to Orpheus and Timotheus; but it happens, luckily perhaps for the repose of mankind, that her caprice

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price is, if possible, even greater than her talents, and has made her still more contemptible than these have made her celebrated. By this means, her character has often proved a sufficient antidote both to the charms of her voice and those of her person, which are indeed almost equally powerful; but, if these had been united to the qualities of a modest and an amiable mind, she must have made dreadful havock in the world. However, with all her faults, she is certainly the most dangerous Syren of modern times, and has made more conquests, I suppose, than any one woman breathing.

It is but justice to add, that, contrary to the generality of her profession, she is by no means selfish or mercenary; but, on the contrary, has given many singular proofs of generosity and disinterestedness. She is very rich; from the bounty, as is supposed, of the last emperor, who was fond of having her at Vienna; but she was at last banished that city, as she has likewise been most of those in Italy, from the broils and squabbles that her intriguing spirit, perhaps still more than her beauty, had excited.

There is a variety of Anecdotes concerning her, that would not make an unentertaining volume: and, I am told, either are, or will soon be published.

Although she is considerably upwards of thirty, on the stage she scarcely appears to be eighteen; and this art of appearing young is none of the most contemptible that she possesses. When she is in good humour, and really chuses to exert herself, there is nothing in music, that I have ever heard, at all to be compared to her performance; for she sings to the heart, as well as the fancy, when she pleases; and she then commands every passion with unbounded sway. But she is seldom capable of exercising these wonderful powers; and her caprice and her talents, exerting themselves by turns, have given her, all her life, the singular fate of becoming alternately an object of admiration and of contempt.

Her powers, in acting and reciting, are scarcely inferior to those of her singing; sometimes a few words in the recitative, with a simple accompaniment only, produced an effect, that I have never been sensible of from any other performer; and inclines me to believe what Rousseau advances on this branch of music, which with us is so much despised. She owes much of her merit to the instructions she received from Metastasio, particularly in acting and reciting; and he has ever said, that she does more justice to his operas than any other actress that ever attempted them.

Her caprice is so fixed and so stubborn, that neither interest, nor flattery, nor threats, nor punishments, have the least power over it; and it appears, that treating her with respect or contempt have an equal tendency to increase it.

It is seldom that she condescends to exert these wonderful talents; but most particularly if she imagines that such an exertion is expected. And, instead of singing her airs as other actresses do, for the most part she only hums them over, a mezza voice. And no art whatever is capable of making her sing, when she does not chuse it.

The most successful expedient has ever been found to prevail on her favourite lover, for she always has

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has one, to place himself in the centre of the pit, or the front box; and if they are on good terms, which is seldom the case, she will address all her tender airs to him, and exert herself to the utmost.—Her present inamorato promised to give us this specimen of his power over her; he took his place accordingly; but Gabrieli, probably suspecting the contrivance, would take no notice of him: so that even this expedient does not always succeed.

The Viceroy, who is fond of music, has tried every method with her to no purpose. Some time ago he gave a great dinner to the principal nobility of Palermo, and sent an invitation to Gabrieli to be of the party. Every other person arrived precisely at the hour of invitation. The Viceroy ordered dinner to be kept back for some time, and sent to let her know that the company waited her. The messenger found her reading in bed; she said she was sorry for having made the company wait, and begged he would make her apology, but that really she had entirely forgotten her engagement.

The Viceroy would have forgiven this piece of insolence; but, when the company came to the opera, Gabrieli repeated her part with the most perfect negligence and indifference, and sung all her airs in what they call *sotto voce*, that is, so low, that they can scarcely be heard. The Viceroy was offended, but, as he is a good-tempered man, he was loth to make use of authority: but at last, by a perseverance in this insolent stubbornness, she obliged him to threaten her with punishment, in case she any longer refused to sing.

On this she grew more obstinate than ever, declaring that force and authority should never succeed with her; that he might make her cry, but that he never could make her sing. The Viceroy then sent her to prison, where she remained twelve days; during which time she gave magnificent entertainments every day, paid the debts of all the poor prisoners, and distributed large sums in charity. The Viceroy was obliged to give up struggling with her, and she was at last set at liberty amidst the acclamations of the poor. Luckily for us she is at present in very good humour, and sometimes exerts herself to the utmost of her power.

She says she has several times been on terms with the managers of our opera, but she thinks she shall never be able to pluck up resolution enough to go to England. What do you think is her reason? It is by no means a bad one. She says she cannot command her caprice; but, for the most part, that it commands her; and that there she could have no opportunity of indulging it: for, says she, were I to take it into my head not to sing, I am told the people there would certainly mob me, and perhaps break my bones;—now I like to sleep in a sound skin, although it should even be in a prison.—She alleges too that it is not always caprice that prevents her from singing, but that it often depends upon physical causes; and this indeed I can readily believe: for that wonderful flexibility of voice, that runs with such rapidity and neatness thro' the most minute divisions, and produces almost instantaneously so great a variety of modulation, must surely

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depend on the very nicest tone of the fibres. And if these are in the smallest degree relaxed, or their elasticity diminished, how is it possible that their contractions and expansions can so readily obey the will, as to produce these effects?—The opening of the glottis which forms the voice is extremely small, and, in every variety of tone, its diameter must suffer a sensible change; for the same diameter must ever produce the same tone.—So wonderfully minute are its contractions and dilatations, that Dr. Keil, I think, computes, that, in some voices, its opening, not more than the tenth of an inch, is divided into upwards of 1200 parts, the different sound of every one of which is perceptible to an exact ear. Now, what a nice tension of fibres must this require! I should imagine every the most minute change in the air must cause a sensible difference, and that in our foggy climate the fibres would be in danger of losing this wonderful sensibility; or at least that they would very often be put out of tune. It is not the same case with an ordinary voice, where the variety of divisions run through, and the volubility with which they are executed, bear no proportion to those of Gabrieli." Thus far Mr. Brydone.

Mr. Wraxall saw this wonderful singer at the court of Petersburgh, in the month of July, 1774. He was introduced to her by Count Ruewzsky, a Polish nobleman. "She rose up, says Mr. Wraxall, with great politeness on the Count's introducing me to her, as an English gentleman who was lately arrived; and I did not lose the opportunity to enter into a conversation with her. She was perfectly free and unreserved in her replies to a number of little questions which I put to her. She said, that though used to the warmer climates of Italy and Sicily, her constitution was not impaired or injured by the severity of that here; that the Empress was a bounteous mistress, and she had no reason to be dissatisfied with her present situation; but that, notwithstanding, she had a passionate desire to visit England, a journey she had been many times on the point of executing, but had never yet accomplished. I assured her how happy the English nation would be to see among them a woman of such pre-eminent merit, and how generous their patronage was to all the performers in the fine arts. I mentioned Mademoiselle Heinel to her, as a proof of the justice of my assertion; and told her, that the name of La belle Gabrieli was already too well known among us, not to insure her the most welcome reception. I seized this moment to ask her, if she had never heard of or known a Mr. Brydone, who was at Palermo a very few years since, and had given us a description of her person and voice, as far as they admitted of it? She said she had not the pleasure to know him, nor recollected to have heard his name; but mentioned Sir William Hamilton and Lord Cowper, as persons with whom she was well acquainted. Our conversation was most agreeably interrupted by her standing up to sing. I must own, I never heard any voice so perfectly sweet, melting, and absolute in its command over the soul; nor can any thing exceed the negligent carelessness apparent in her whole manner, while employed in this occupation, as if she despised the appearance of exertion, or any labour to please. I

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am assured, however, her powers are somewhat impaired since her arrival here, and that she does not possess that compass or extent at present, which she had two years ago. The character of caprice, which she maintained in the southern parts of Europe, she has not lost here, as they universally ascribe this quality to her in the highest degree. She was at Milan, when the Empress engaged her to sing in her court. The price she demanded was 7000 rubles (or about 1500l. sterling) a year, besides a house and carriage; nor would she relax the least article of the sum. They remonstrated with her on the unreasonableness of so enormous a salary, and, to induce her to diminish it, informed her, that a field-marshal had no more. "If that be the case, (said she) I would advise her Majesty to make one of her marshals sing." Her person, strictly considered in itself, is by no means irresistible; she does not exceed, if she reaches, the middle size; her features are small, and her eyes blue; but her neck is exquisitely white; and, as her dress usually discloses more than can strictly be confined to that part of the human body, it cannot be gazed on with impunity. Her attractions have not failed to procure her many admirers during her stay here, and she has had her favourite Muscovite, as well as her Sicilian lover. Though her salary is so ample, it is only on peculiar occasions and great festivals that she usually sings."

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NATURAL HISTORY.

The supposed Effect of boiling upon Water, in disposing it to freeze more readily, ascertained by Experiments, by Joseph Black, *M. D. Professor of Chemistry at* Edinburgh, *in a Letter to Sir* John Pringle, *Bart. P. R. S.*

From the Philosophical Transactions.

To Sir John Pringle Bart. P. R. S.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, Feb. 11, 1775.

WE had lately one day of a calm and clear frost; and I immediately seized the opportunity, which I missed before, to make some experiments relating to the freezing of boiled water, in comparison with that of water not boiled. I ordered some water to be boiled in the tea-kettle four hours. I then filled with it a Florentine flask, and immediately applied snow to the flask until I cooled it to 48° of FAHRENHEIT, the temperature of some unboiled water, which stood in my study in a bottle; then putting four ounces of boiled, and four of the unboiled water, separately, into two equal tea-cups, I exposed them on the outside of a north window, where a thermometer pointed to 29°. The consequence was, that ice appeared first upon the boiled water; and this, in several repetitions of the experiment, with the same boiled water, some of which were made nine hours after it was poured out of the tea-kettle. The length of time which intervened between the first appearance of ice upon the two waters was different in the different experiments. One cause of this variety was plainly a variation of the temperature of the air, which became colder in the afternoon, and made the thermometer descend gradually to 25°. Another cause was the disturbance of the water; when the unboiled water was disturbed now and then by stirring it gently with a quill tooth-pick, the ice was formed upon it as soon, or very nearly as soon, as upon the other; and, from what I saw, I have reason to think, that were it to be stirred incessantly, provided at the same time the experiment were made with quantities of water, not much larger or deeper than these, it would begin to freeze full as soon. In one of these trials, having inspected my tea-cups when they had been an hour exposed, and finding ice upon the boiled water, and none upon the other, I gently stirred the unboiled water with my tooth-pick, and saw immediately, under my eye, fine feathers of ice formed upon its surface, which quickly increased in size and number, until there was as much ice in this cup as in the other, and all of it

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it formed in one minute of time, or two at most. And in the rest of the trials, though the congelation began in general later in the unboiled water than in the other; when it did begin in the former, the ice quickly increased so as, in a very short time, to equal, or nearly equal in quantity, that which had been formed more gradually in the boiled water. The opinion, therefore, which I have formed from what I have hitherto seen is, that the boiled and common water differ from one another in this respect; that whereas the common water when exposed in a state of tranquillity to air that is a few degrees colder than the freezing point, may easily be cooled to the degree of such air, and still continue perfectly fluid, provided it still remain undisturbed: the boiled water, on the contrary, cannot be preserved fluid in these circumstances; but when cooled down to the freezing point, if we attempt to make it in the least colder, a part of it is immediately changed into ice; after which, by the continued action of the cold air upon it, more ice is formed in it every moment, until the whole of it be gradually congealed before it can become as cold as the air that surrounds it. From this discovery it is easy to understand, why they find it necessary to boil the water in India, in order to obtain ice. The utmost intensity of the cold which they can obtain by all the means they employ, is probably not greater than 31° or 30° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Common water, left undisturbed, will easily descend to this degree without freezing; and, if they have not the means of making it colder, may continue fluid for any time, provided it be not disturbed: the refrigerating causes of that part of the world when they have done so much, have done their utmost, and can act no further upon the water. But this cannot happen to the boiled water; when the refrigerating causes have cooled it to 32°, the next effect they produce is to occasion in it the beginning of congelation; while the water is afterwards gradually assuming the form of ice, we know, by experience, that the temperature of it must remain at 32°; it cannot be made colder, so long as any considerable part of it remains unfrozen*. The refrigerating causes continue, therefore, to have power over it, and to act upon it, and will gradually change the whole into ice, if their action be continued sufficiently long.

The next object of investigation may be the cause of this difference between the boiled and the common water. In considering this point, the following idea was suggested: as we know from experience, that, by disturbing common water, we hasten the beginning of its congelation, or render it incapable of being cooled below 32°, without being congealed; may not the only difference between it and boiling water, when they are exposed together to a calm frosty air, consist in this circumstance: that the boiled water is necessarily subjected to the action of a disturbing cause, during the whole time of its

* Common water, when cooled in a state of tranquillity to several degrees below the freezing point, will suddenly rise up to it again, if disturbed in such a manner as to occasion in it a beginning of congelation.

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exposure, which the other is not? One effect of boiling water long, is to expel the air which it naturally contains; as soon as it cools, it begins to attract and absorb air again, until it hath recovered its former quantity; but this probably requires a considerable time. During the whole of this time, the air entering into it must occasion an agitation or disturbance in the water, which, though not sensible to the eye, may be very effectual in preventing it to become, in the least, colder than the freezing point, without beginning to freeze, in consequence of which its congelation must begin immediately after it is cooled to that point. When I reflect upon this idea, I remember a fact which appears to me to support it strongly. Fahrenheit was the first person who discovered that water, when preserved in tranquillity, may be cooled some degrees below the freezing point without freezing. He made the discovery while he was endeavouring to obtain ice from water that had been purged of its air: with this intention he had put some water into little glass globes, and having purged it of air, by boiling and the air-pump, he suddenly sealed up the globes, and then exposed them to the frosty air. He was surprized to find the water remain unfrozen much longer than he expected, when at last he opened some of his globes, in order to apply a thermometer to the water, or otherwise examine what state it was in. The immediate consequence of the admission of the air was a sudden congelation which happened in the water; and in the rest of his globes a similar production of ice was occasioned by shaking them. The inference that may be drawn from these experiments of Fahrenheit's is sufficiently obvious; it appears to me to remove all doubt with regard to the above supposition. Before these experiments of Fahrenheit occurred to my memory, I had planned a few, suggested by the above supposition, that might have led to the same conclusion; but the short duration of the frost, for one day only, did not give me time to put them in execution.

Of the stilling of Waves by means of Oil. Extracted from sundry Letters between Benjamin Franklin, *LL.D F.R.S.* William Brownrigg, *M. D. F. R. S. and the Rev. Mr.* Farish*.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

Extract of a Letter from Doctor Brownrigg, *to Dr.* Franklin, *dated* Ormathwait, *January* 27, 1773.

BY the inclosed from an old friend, a worthy clergyman at Carlisle, whose great learning and

* This property, in oil and other greasy substances, of smoothing the surface of water, nay and of stilling waves, has been more or less observed, and even taken advantage of, in several distant parts of the world, down to the present times. The inhabitants of St. Kilda themselves have been acquainted with it, as appears by the following passage, in Martin's Description of the western islands of Scotland:

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and extensive knowledge in most sciences would have more distinguished him, had he been placed in a more conspicuous point of view, you will find that he had heard of your experiment on Derwent lake, and has thrown together what he could collect on that subject; to which I have subjoined one experiment from the relation of another gentleman.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Farish, to Dr. Brownrigg.

I some time ago met with Mr. Dun, who surprized me with an account of an experiment you had tried upon the Derwent water, in company with Sir John Pringle and Dr. Franklin. According to his representation, the water, which had been in great agitation before, was instantly calmed, upon pouring in only a very small quantity of oil, and that to so great a distance round the boat as seems a little incredible. I have since had the same accounts from others, but I suspect all of a little exaggeration. Pliny mentions this property of oil, as known particularly to the divers, who made use of it in his days, in order to have a more steady light at the bottom*. The sailors, I have been told, have observed something of the same kind in our days, that the water is always remarkably smoother in the wake of a ship that hath been newly tallowed, than it is in one that is foul.—Mr. Pennant also mentions an observation of the like nature made by the seal-catchers in Scotland, *Brit. Zool.* vol. iv. *Article* Seal. When these animals are devouring a very oily fish, which they always do under water, the waves above are observed to be remarkably smooth, and by this mark the fishermen know where to look for them.——Old Pliny does not usually meet with all the credit I am inclined to think he deserves. I shall be glad to have an authentic account of the Keswick experiment, and, if it comes up to the representations that have been made of it, I shall not much hesitate to believe the old gentleman in another more wonderful phænomenon, he relates, of stilling a tempest only by throwing up a little vinegar into the air.

Extract of a Letter to Dr. Brownrigg, from Dr Franklin.

London, Nov. 7, 1773.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the remarks of your learned friend at Carlisle.—I

" The steward of Kilda, who lives in Pabbay, is accustomed, in the time of a storm, to tie a bundle of puddings, made of the fat of sea fowl, to the end of his cable, and lets it fall into the sea, behind the rudder. This, he says, hinders the waves from breaking, and calms the sea; but the scent of the grease attracts the whales, which puts the vessel in danger."

Does not the conclusion of this passage afford an useful hint to the whale-fishers?

* Sir Gilfred Lawson, who served long in the army at Gibraltar, assures me that the fishermen in that place are accustomed to pour a little oil on the sea, in order to still its motion, that they may be enabled to see the oysters lying at its bottom; which are there very large, and which they take up with a proper instrument. This Sir Gilfred had often seen there performed, and said the same was practised on other parts of the Spanish coast.

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had, when a youth, read and smiled at Pliny's account of a practice among the seamen of his time, to still the waves in a storm by pouring oil into the sea; which he mentions, as well as the use made of oil by the divers; but the stilling a tempest by throwing vinegar into the air had escaped me. I think with your friend, that it has been of late too much the mode to slight the learning of the antients. The learned, too, are apt to slight too much the knowledge of the vulgar. The cooling by evaporation was long an instance of the latter. This art of smoothing the waves with oil is an instance of both.

Perhaps you may not dislike to have an account of all I have heard, and learnt, and done in this way. Take it, if you please, as follows:

In 1757, being at sea in a fleet of 96 sail, bound against Louisbourg, I observed the wakes of two of the ships to be remarkably smooth, while all the others were ruffled by the wind, which blew fresh. Being puzzled with the differing appearance, I at last pointed it out to our captain, and asked him the meaning of it? "The cooks," says he, "have, I suppose, been just emptying their greasy water through the scuppers, which has greased the sides of those ships a little;" and this answer he gave me with an air of some little contempt, as to a person ignorant of what every body else knew. In my own mind I at first slighted his solution, tho' I was not able to think of another; but, recollecting what I had formerly read in Pliny, I resolved to make some experiment of the effect of oil on water, when I should have opportunity.

Afterwards being again at sea in 1762, I first observed the wonderful quietness of oil on agitated water, in the swinging glass lamp I made to hang up in the cabin, as described in my printed papers, page 438 of the fourth edition. This I was continually looking at and considering, as an appearance to me inexplicable. An old sea captain, then a passenger with me, thought little of it, supposing it an effect of the same kind with that of oil put on water to smooth it, which he said was a practice of the Bermudians when they would strike fish, which they could not see, if the surface of the water was ruffled by the wind. This practice I had never before heard of, and was obliged to him for the information; tho' I thought him mistaken as to the sameness of the experiment, the operations being different, as well as the effects. In one case, the water is smooth till the oil is put on, and then becomes agitated. In the other it is agitated before the oil is applied, and then becomes smooth.—The same gentleman told me he had heard it was a practice with the fishermen of Lisbon, when about to return into the river, (if they saw before them too great a surf upon the bar, which they apprehended might fill their boats in passing) to empty a bottle or two of oil into the sea, which would suppress the breakers, and allow them to pass safely: a confirmation of this I have not since had an opportunity of obtaining; but discoursing of it with another person, who had often been in the Mediterranean, I was informed that the divers there, who when under water in their business need light, which the curling of the surface interrupts by the refractions of so many

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many little waves, let a small quantity of oil now and then out of their mouths, which rising to the surface smooths it, and permits the light to come down to them.—All these informations I at times revolved in my mind, and wondered to find no mention of them in our books of experimental philosophy.

At length being at Clapham, where there is on the common a large pond, which I observed to be one day very rough with the wind, I fetched out a cruet of oil, and dropt a little of it on the water. I saw it spread itself with surprising swiftness upon the surface; but the effect of smoothing the waves was not produced; for I had applied it first on the leeward side of the pond where the waves were largest, and the wind drove my oil back upon the shore. I then went to the windward side, where they began to form; and there the oil, though not more than a tea spoonful, produced an instant calm over a space several yards square, which spread amazingly, and extended itself gradually till it reached the lee-side, making all that quarter of the pond, perhaps half an acre, as smooth as a looking-glass.

After this, I contrived to take with me, whenever I went into the country, a little oil in the upper hollow joint of my bamboo cane, with which I might repeat the experiment as opportunity should offer; and I found it constantly to succeed.

In these experiments one circumstance struck me with particular surprize. This was the sudden, wide, and forcible spreading of a drop of oil on the face of the water, which I do not know that any body has hitherto considered. If a drop of oil is put on a polished marble table, or on a looking-glass that lies horizontally, the drop remains in its place, spreading very little. But, when put on water, it spreads instantly many feet round, becoming so thin as to produce the prismatic colours, for a considerable space, and beyond them so much thinner as to be invisible, except in its effect of smoothing the waves at a much greater distance. It seems as if a mutual repulsion between its particles took place as soon as it touched the water, and a repulsion so strong as to act on other bodies swimming on the surface, as straws, leaves, chips, &c. forcing them to recede every way from the drop, as from a centre, leaving a large clear space. The quantity of this force, and the distance to which it will operate, I have not yet ascertained; but I think it a curious enquiry, and I wish to understand whence it arises.

In our journey to the north, when we had the pleasure of seeing you at Ormathwaite, we visited the celebrated Mr. Smeaton, near Leeds. Being about to shew him the smoothing experiment on a little pond near his house, an ingenious pupil of his, Mr. Jessop, then present, told us of an odd appearance on that pond, which had lately occurred to him. He was about to clean a little cup in which he kept oil, and he threw upon the water some flies that had been drowned in the oil. These flies presently began to move, and turned round on the water very rapidly, as if they were vigorously alive, though on examination he found they were not so. I immediately concluded that the motion was occasioned by the power of the repulsion above mentioned,

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mentioned, and that the oil issuing gradually from the spungy body of the fly continued the motion. He found some more flies drowned in oil with which the experiment was repeated before us. To shew that it was not any effect of life recovered by the flies, I imitated it by little bits of oiled chips and paper cut in the form of a comma, of the size of a common fly; when the stream of repelling particles issuing from the point made the comma turn round the contrary way. This is not a chamber experiment; for it cannot well be repeated in a bowl or dish of water on a table. A considerable surface of water is necessary to give room for the expansion of a small quantity of oil. In a dish of water, if the smallest drop of oil be let fall in the middle, the whole surface is presently covered with a thin greasy film proceeding from the drop; but as soon as that film has reached the sides of the dish, no more will issue from the drop, but it remains in the form of oil, the sides of the dish putting a stop to its dissipation by prohibiting the farther expansion of the film.

Our friend Sir John Pringle, being soon after in Scotland, learnt there that those employed in the herring fishery, could at a distance see where the shoals of herrings were, by the smoothness of the water over them, which might possibly be occasioned, he thought, by some oiliness proceeding from their bodies.

A gentleman from Rhode-island told me, it had been remarked that the harbour of Newport was ever smooth while any whaling-vessels were in it: which probably arose from hence, that the blubber which they sometimes bring loose in the hold, or the leakage of their barrels, might afford some oil to mix with that water, which from time to time they pump out to keep the vessel free; and that same oil might spread over the surface of the water in the harbour, and prevent the forming of any waves.

This prevention I would thus endeavour to explain.

There seems to be no natural repulsion between water and air, such as to keep them from coming into contact with each other. Hence we find a quantity of air in water; and, if we extract it by means of the air-pump, the same water again exposed to the air will soon imbibe an equal quantity.

Therefore air in motion, which is wind, in passing over the smooth surface of water, may rub, as it were, upon that surface, and raise it into wrinkles, which, if the wind continues, are the elements of future waves.

The smallest wave once raised does not immediately subside, and leave the neighbouring water quiet; but in subsiding raises nearly as much of the water next to it, the friction of the parts making little difference. Thus a stone dropt in a pool raises first a single wave round itself; and leaves it, by sinking to the bottom; but that first wave subsiding raises a second, the second a third, and so on in circles to a great extent.

A small power continually operating will produce a great action. A finger applied to a weighty suspended bell can at first move it but little; if repeatedly applied, though with no greater strength, the motion increases till the bell swings to its utmost height, and with

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with a force that cannot be resisted by the whole strength of the arm and body. Thus the small first-raised waves, being continually acted upon by the wind, are, though the wind does not increase in strength, continually increased in magnitude, rising higher and extending their bases, so as to include a vast mass of water in each wave, which in its motion acts with great violence.

But if there be a mutual repulsion between the particles of oil, and no attraction between oil and water, oil dropt on water will not be held together by adhesion to the spot whereon it falls; it will not be imbibed by the water; it will be at liberty to expand itself; and it will spread on a surface that, besides being smooth to the most perfect degree of polish, prevents, perhaps by repelling the oil, all immediate contact, keeping it at a minute distance from itself; and the expansion will continue, till the mutual repulsion between the particles of the oil is weakened and reduced to nothing by their distance.

Now I imagine, that the wind blowing over water thus covered with a film of oil, cannot easily *catch* upon it, so as to raise the first wrinkles, but slides over it, and leaves it smooth as it finds it. It moves a little the oil indeed, which, being between it and the water, serves it to slide with, and prevents friction, as oil does between those parts of a machine, that would otherwise rub hard together. Hence the oil dropt on the windward side of a pond proceeds gradually to leeward, as may be seen by the smoothness it carries with it, quite to the opposite side. For the wind, being thus prevented from raising the first wrinkles that I call the elements of waves, cannot produce waves, which are to be made by continually acting upon and enlarging those elements, and thus the whole pond is calmed.

Totally therefore we might suppress the waves in any required place, if we could come at the windward place where they take their rise. This in the ocean can seldom, if ever, be done. But perhaps something may be done on particular occasions, to moderate the violence of the waves, when we are in the midst of them, and prevent their breaking, where that would be inconvenient.

For, when the wind blows fresh, there are continually rising on the back of every great wave a number of small ones, which roughen its surface, and give the wind hold, as it were, to push it with greater force. This hold is diminished by preventing the generation of those small ones. And possibly too, when a wave's surface is oiled, the wind, in passing over it, may rather in some degree press it down, and contribute to prevent its rising again, instead of promoting it.

This as mere conjecture would have little weight, if the apparent effects of pouring oil into the midst of waves were not considerable, and as yet not otherwise accounted for.

When the wind blows so fresh, as that the waves are not sufficiently quick in obeying its impulse, their tops being thinner and lighter are pushed forward, broken, and turned over in a white foam. Common waves lift a vessel, without entering it; but these when large sometimes

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sometimes break above and pour over it, doing great damage.

That this effect might in any degree be prevented, or the height and violence of waves in the sea moderated, we had no certain account; Pliny's authority for the practice of seamen in his time being slighted. But discoursing lately on this subject with his excellency Count Bentinck of Holland, his son the honourable Captain Bentinck, and the learned Professor Allemand (to all whom I shewed the experiment of smoothing in a windy day the large piece of water at the head of the Green Park;) a letter was mentioned which had been received by the Count from Batavia, relative to the saving of a Dutch ship in a storm, by pouring oil into the sea. I much desired to see that letter, and a copy of it was promised me, which I afterwards received*.

" *Extract of a Letter from Mr.* " Tengnagel *to Count* Bentinck, " *dated at* Batavia *the* 15*th of* " *January* 1770.

" Near the islands Paul and " Amsterdam, we met with a " storm, which had nothing par- " ticular in it worthy of being " communicated to you, except " that the captain found himself " obliged, for greater safety in " wearing the ship, to pour oil into " the sea, to prevent the waves " breaking over her, which had an " excellent effect, and succeeded in " preserving us.—As he poured out " but a little at a time, the East- " India company owes perhaps its " ship to only six demi-aumes of " oil-olive. I was present upon " deck when this was done; and " I should not have mentioned this " circumstance to you, but that we " have found people here so preju- " diced against the experiment, as " to make it necessary for the offi- " cers on board and myself to give " a certificate of the truth on this " head, of which we made no " difficulty."

On this occasion, I mentioned to Captain Bentinck a thought which had occurred to me in reading the voyages of our late circumnavigators, particularly where accounts are given of pleasant and fertile islands which they much desired to land upon, when sickness made it more necessary, but could not effect a landing through a violent surf breaking on the shore, which rendered it impracticable. My idea was, that possibly by sailing to and fro at some distance from such lee shore, continually pouring oil into

* *Extrait d'une Lettre de Mr.* Tengnagel *à Mr. le Comte* de Bentinck, *écrite de* Batavia *le* 15 *Janvier*, 1770.

Près des isles Paulus & Amsterdam nous essuiames un orage, qui n'eut rien d'assez particulier pour vous être marqué, si non qui notre capitaine se trouva obligé, en tournant sous le vent, de verser de l'huile contre la haute mer, pour empecher les vagues de se briser contre le navire, ce qui réussit à nous conserver, & a été d'un très bon effet: comme il n'en versa qu'une petite quantité á la fois, le compagnie doit peut-être son vaisseau à six demi aumes d'huile d'olive: j'ai été présent quand cela s'est fait, et je ne vous aurois pas entretenu de cette circonstance, si ce n'étoit que nous avons trouvé les gens ici si prévenus contre l'expérience, que les officiers du bord ni moi n'avons fait aucune difficulté de donner un certificat de la vérité sur ce chapitre.

the

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the sea, the waves might be so much depressed and lessened before they reached the shore, as to abate the height and violence of the surf, and permit a landing; which, in such circumstances, was a point of sufficient importance to justify the expence of the oil that might be requisite for the purpose. That gentleman, who is ever ready to promote what may be of public utility, though his own ingenious inventions have not always met with the countenance they merited, was so obliging as to invite me to Portsmouth, where an opportunity would probably offer, in the course of a few days, of making the experiment on some of the shores about Spithead, in which he kindly proposed to accompany me, and to give assistance with such boats as might be necessary. Accordingly, about the middle of October last, I went with some friends to Portsmouth; and a day of wind happening, which made a lee-shore between Haslar Hospital and the point near Jillkecker, we went from the Centaur with the long-boat and barge towards that shore. Our disposition was this: the long-boat was anchored about a quarter of a mile from the shore; part of the company were landed behind the point (a place more sheltered from the sea) who came round and placed themselves opposite to the long-boat, where they might observe the surf, and note if any change occurred in it, upon using the oil. Another party in the barge, plied to windward of the long-boat, as far from her as she was from the shore, making trips of about half a mile each, pouring oil continually out of a large stone-bottle, through a hole in the cork, somewhat bigger than a goose-quill. The experiment had not, in the main point, the success we wished; for no material difference was observed in the height or force of the surf upon the shore; but those who were in the long-boat could observe a tract of smoothed water, the whole length of the distance in which the barge poured the oil, and gradually spreading in breadth towards the long-boat. I call it smoothed, not that it was laid level, but because, though the swell continued, its surface was not roughened by the wrinkles, or smaller waves, before mentioned; and none, or very few white caps (or waves whose tops turn over in foam) appeared in that whole space, though to windward and leeward of it there were plenty; and a wherry, that came round the point under sail, in her way to Portsmouth, seemed to turn into that tract of choice, and to use it from end to end, as a piece of turnpike-road.

It may be of use to relate the circumstances even of an experiment that does not succeed, since they may give hints of amendment in future trials: it is therefore I have been thus particular. I shall only add what I apprehend may have been the reason of our disappointment.

I conceive, that the operation of oil on water is, first, to prevent the raising of new waves by the wind; and, secondly, to prevent its pushing those before raised with such force, and consequently their continuance of the same repeated height, as they would have done, if their surface were not oiled. But oil will not prevent waves being raised by another power, by a stone, for

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for instance, falling into a still pool; for they then rise by the mechanical impulse of the stone, which the greasiness on the surrounding water cannot lessen or prevent, as it can prevent the wind's catching the surface, and raising it into waves. Now waves once raised, whether by the wind or any other power, have the same mechanical operation, by which they continue to rise and fall, as a *pendulum* will continue to swing a long time after the force ceases to act, by which the motion was first produced: that motion will, however, cease in time; but time is necessary. Therefore, though oil, spread on an agitated sea, may weaken the push of the wind on those waves whose surfaces are covered by it, and so, by receiving less fresh impulse, they may gradually subside; yet a considerable time, or a distance through which they will take time to move, may be necessary to make the effect sensible on any shore in a diminution of the surf: for we know, that, when wind ceases suddenly, the waves it has raised do not as suddenly subside, but settle gradually, and are not quite down till long after the wind has ceased. So though we should, by oiling them, take off the effect of wind on waves already raised, it is not to be expected that those waves should be instantly levelled. The motion they have received will, for some time, continue; and, if the shore is not far distant, they arrive there so soon, that their effect upon it will not be visibly diminished. Possibly, therefore, if we had begun our operations at a greater distance, the effect might have been more sensible. And perhaps we did not pour oil in sufficient quantity. Future experiments may determine this.

I was, however, greatly obliged to Captain Bentinck, for the chearful and ready aids he gave me: and I ought not to omit mentioning Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, General Carnac, and Dr. Blagden, who all assisted at the experiment, during that blustering unpleasant day, with a patience and activity that could only be inspired by a zeal for the improvement of knowledge, such especially as might possibly be of use to men in situations of distress.

I would wish you to communicate this to your ingenious friend, Mr. Farish, with my respects; and believe me to be, with sincere esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

An Account of a Woman accidentally burnt to death at Coventry. *By* B. Wilmer, *Surgeon, at* Coventry. *In a Letter to Mr.* William Sharpe.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

SIR,

THE following case, which has lately engaged the attention of every one in this part of the world, appears to me so very extraordinary, that I was determined to give you a minute account of its circumstances; which will be the more

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more agreeable to you, as you may depend upon the truth of every thing that I shall relate to you concerning it.

Mary Clues, of Gosford-street, in this city, aged 52 years, was of an indifferent character, and much addicted to drinking. Since the death of her husband, which happened about a year and a half ago, her propensity to this vice increased to such a degree, that, as I have been informed by several of her neighbours, she has drank the quantity of four half-pints of rum, undiluted with any other liquor, in a day. This practice was so familiar to her, that scarce a day has passed this last twelvemonth, but she has swallowed from half a pint to a quart of rum or anniseed-water. Her health gradually declined; and, from being a jolly, well-looking woman, she grew thinner, her complexion altered, and her skin became dry. About the beginning of February last, she was attacked with the jaundice, and took to her bed. Though she was now so helpless, as hardly to be able to do any thing for herself, she continued her old custom of dram-drinking, and generally smoked a pipe every night. No one lived with her in the house. Her neighbours used, in the day, frequently to come in, to see after her; and in the night, commonly, though not always, a person sat up with her; to whom she has often cried out, that she saw the devil in some part of the room, who was come to take her away.

Her bed-room was next the street, on the ground-floor, the walls of which were plaistered, and the floor made of bricks. The chimney is small, and there was a grate in it, which, from its size, could contain but a very small quantity of fire. Her bedstead stood parallel to, and at the distance of about three feet from the chimney. The bed's head was close to the wall. On the other side the bed, opposite the chimney, was a window opening to the street. One curtain only belonged to the bed, which was hung on the side next the window, to prevent the light being troublesome. She was accustomed to lie upon her side, close to the edge of the bedstead, next the fire; and on Sunday morning, March the 1st, tumbled upon the floor, where her helpless state obliged her to lie some time, till Mary Hollyer, her next neighbour, came accidentally to see her. With some difficulty she got her into bed. The same night, though she was advised to it, she refused to have any one to sit up with her; and, at half past eleven, one Brooks, who was an occasional attendant, left her as well as usual, locked up her door, and went home. He had placed two bits of coal quite backward upon the fire in the grate, and put a small rush-light in a candlestick, which was set in a chair, near the head of the bed; but not on the side where the curtain was. At half after five the next morning, a smoak was observed to come out of the window in the street; and, upon breaking open the door, some flames were perceived in the room, which, with five or six buckets of water, were easily extinguished. Betwixt the bed and fire-place lay the remains of Mrs. Clues. The legs and one thigh were untouched. Except these parts, there were not the least remains of any skin, muscles, or *viscera*. The bones of the skull, *thorax*, spine, and the upper extremities,

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extremities, were completely calcined, and covered with a whitish efflorescence. The skull lay near the head of the bed, the legs toward the bottom, and the spine in a curved direction, so that she appeared to have been burnt on her right side, with her back next the grate. The right *femur* was separated from the *acetabulum* of the *ischium*; the left was also separated, and broken off about three inches below the great *trochanter*. The connection of the *sacrum* with the *ossa innominata*, and the inferior *vertebræ* of the loins were destroyed. The intervening ligaments kept the *vertebræ* of the loins, back, and neck together, and the skull was still resting upon the *atlas*. When the flames were extinguished, it appeared that very little damage had been done to the furniture of the room, and that the side of the bed next the fire had suffered most. The bedstead was superficially burnt, but the feather-bed, sheets, blankets, &c. were not destroyed. The curtain on the other side of the bed was untouched, and a deal door, near the bed, not in the least injured. I was in the room about two hours after the mischief was discovered. I observed that the walls and every thing in the room were coloured black: there was a very disagreeable vapor; but I did not observe, that any thing was much burnt, except Mrs. Clues; whose remains I saw in the state I have just described. I took away one of the bones (the remains of the *sacrum*) which you have inclosed with this letter. The only way that I can account for it is, by supposing that she again tumbled out of bed on Monday morning, and that her shift was set fire to, either by the candle from the chair, or a coal falling from the grate; that her solids and fluids were rendered inflammable, by the immense quantity of spirituous liquors she had drank, and that when she was set fire to, she was probably soon reduced to ashes, for the room suffered very little.

B. WILMER.

Coventry, April 9, 1772.

Observations on the Poison of Copper and Brass, and the very great danger attending the use of utensils made of these metals, and other mixed metals, wherein copper and brass make a part, especially in the preparing and keeping of food and physick, &c. By William Falconer, *M. D. F. R. S.*

WE might imagine copper in its metallic form not very likely to find admission into the body; but I suspect it occurs oftener than is apprehended. Halfpence and farthings are frequently given to children to play with, and, as they generally put their toys into their mouths, they are often swallowed, or part of the copper abraded by their teeth. The last of the above circumstances is applicable to all toys whatever, for young children, made of brass or copper, or other mixed metals wherein copper makes a part of the composition. I likewise believe, that sometimes copper in this form gains admission into our food, by the scraping of the bottoms of brass or copper pans, &c. especially when they contain some viscid substance, as sweetmeats, or some other food dressed with thick sauces. The like may happen from some of the coarser kind of spoons made of a mixed metal called ockamy, (corruptly

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raptly for alchemy) which is a coarse kind of brass. These are in frequent use among servants and the lower kind of people, and I have often seen them greatly diminished in their substance by use. The dangerous custom of many, of putting pins into their mouths, deserves to be particularly noticed, as it is generally imagined all the danger lies in its mechanical action, if swallowed; but, by the aforementioned account of its effects, it appears to be likely to produce disagreeable consequences by its specific action as metal.

Great caution should be had in the use of copper vessels by those who inhabit a country where mines of coal especially, are frequent; as the springs in such situations are frequently impregnated with this acid.

Fermented liquors likewise (whether from an acid generated in the vinous fermentation, or from part of the liquor having gone on to the acetous, is not certain) are observed to corrode copper. On this account, we should be very cautious relative to the cocks by which wine and beer are drawn off, that they are kept as clean as possible, and not be suffered to remain longer in the wine casks than is necessary for bottling it. This caution is more especially necessary with respect to made wines, which are more acescent and imperfectly fermented, part of them being generally in a state of must, and part changed into vinegar, and more apt to corrode copper than the foreign wines. I suspect that an emetic quality, which I have several times observed in made wines, may sometimes be produced by some accident of this kind. For malt liquors which are drunk out of the cask, I think the common wooden spigot and faucet much cleaner and safer than brass cocks; and I think some contrivance of the same kind might be found out for wine, which is drunk out of the cask; or perhaps some compound metal of tin and bismuth, which is not affected by the vegetable acid, might answer very well.

All the above cautions are applicable, in a greater degree, to vinegar, which corrodes copper very powerfully, and even quicker than the native acid, in my opinion. I have observed the vapour of vinegar to be remarkably corrosive of this metal; and, on this account, the distillation of vinegar is a point of great importance to be attended to*. I have frequently found distilled vinegar to have gained an impregnation of copper, which was probably contracted from the head of the still in distillation. Indeed, I think no vessels but those of glass are proper for this operation.

The above mentioned quality of vinegar should make us very cautious in what vessel it is boiled, as it is frequently done for pickles. The preparation of these is a matter of great consequence, as they are so much used, especially by those of higher rank. The fine blue and green colour, for which several of them are so much valued,

* This caution is very necessary to be attended to in some pharmaceutical preparations, as in distilling the aqua alexeteria spirituosa cum aceto, and all others where vinegar is directed to be distilled.

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had been esteemed by many a presumptive circumstance of their having gained some impregnation of this kind. As this fact is very material to be ascertained, I made the following experiments in order to determine it.

I took about an ounce of pickle from some cucumbers which were bought at a noted shop, and were remarkable for their colour in a high degree. It had a peculiar taste of the metallic kind, and smelled like the effluvia from copper that has been strongly rubbed, which was even so powerful as to produce a slight degree of nausea. Into this I put some bright iron wire, which in a short time was covered with a red rust, exactly resembling what iron acquires from a solution of copper in an acid. I tried the same experiment with some pickle of the same kind from cucumbers procured from another place, which were rather inferior in colour, but still shewed some, though less, signs of containing copper. Pickles, I have observed, which are prepared without any impregnation of this kind, are generally of a faint green, rather inclining to yellow; and I am persuaded that this colour, which is made so greatly a test of their goodness, is always owing to this cause.

It is a well known maxim among house-keepers, that pickles will never be green, unless a copper or brass pan be used, and, if the desired colour be not obtained thus in sufficient degree, it is common, I am informed, to throw in a few halfpence afterwards, which seldom fails to impart the tinge required. This is very probable, when we consider that copper is more acted on by the vegetable acid in the cold, than when heated. I have examined some books of modern cookery, and find that, whenever a green or blue colour * is desired, a brass, bell-metal, or copper pan, is directed to be used. It is not improbable that this often happens when such an adulteration is neither designed nor suspected, from using distilled vinegar, which is often employed for these purposes, and is frequently impregnated with copper from the head of the still. Vinegar likewise dissolves the copper alloy in silver, and even the vapour that exhales from it when cold will have the same effect. On this account I think the tops of vinegar-cruets are improperly made of silver, as is now frequently the fashion. I have seen these acquire a thick coat of verdigrease on their inside, especially when they are made hollow with a narrow opening, so as to be with difficulty cleaned. This objection holds still stronger when the spout itself, through which the vinegar is poured, is made of silver.

Extraordinary Instance of Maternal Affection in a savage Animal to which several of the Gentlemen and Seamen belonging to the Carcass

* Vide Art of Cookery made plain and easy, by H. Glasse. London printed, 1770. New edition. Receipts for pickling walnuts green; to pickle gerkins; large cucumbers; French beans; grapes and samphire, p. 260, 262, 263, 267, 270. Vide also the Universal Cook, by John Townsend, printed, 1773, and several others.—May not the false gilding on ginger-bread, &c. prove very detrimental to children, who make nothing of eating it as well as the ginger-bread itself.

Frigate,

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Frigate, which went out, a short Time since, to make Discoveries towards the North Pole, were Eye Witnesses.

WHILE the Carcass was locked in the ice, early one morning the man at the mast-head gave notice, that three bears were making their way very fast over the frozen ocean, and were directing their course towards the ship. They had, no doubt, been invited by the scent of some blubber of a sea-horse the crew had killed a few days before, which had been set on fire, and was burning on the ice at the time of their approach. They proved to be a she-bear and her two cubs; but the cubs were nearly as large as the dam. They ran eagerly to the fire, and drew out from the flames part of the flesh of the sea-horse that remained unconsumed, and eat it voraciously. The crew from the ship threw great lumps of the flesh of the sea-horse, which they had still left, upon the ice, which the old bear fetched away singly, laid every lump before her cubs as she brought it, and, dividing it, gave each a share, reserving but a small portion to herself. As she was fetching away the last piece, they levelled their muskets at the cubs, and shot them both dead, and, in her retreat, they wounded the dam, but not mortally. It would have drawn tears of pity, from any but unfeeling minds, to have marked the affectionate concern expressed by this poor beast in the dying moments of her expiring young. Though she was sorely wounded, and could but just crawl to the place were they lay, she carried the lump of flesh she had fetched away, as she had done others before; tore it in pieces, and laid it down before them; and, when she saw that they refused to eat, she laid her paws first upon one, and then upon the other, and endeavoured to raise them up: all this while, it was pitiful to hear her moan. When she found she could not stir them, she went off, and, when she had got at some distance, looked back and moaned; and, that not availing her to entice them away, she returned, and, smelling round them, began to lick their wounds. She went off a second time, as before; and, having crawled a few paces, looked again behind her, and for some time stood moaning. But still, her cubs, not rising to follow her, she returned to them again, and, with signs of inexpressible fondness, went round one, and round the other, pawing them and moaning. Finding at last that they were cold and lifeless, she raised her head towards the ship, and growled a curse upon the murderers, which they returned with a volley of musket balls. She fell between her cubs, and died licking their wounds.

I cannot dismiss this singular anecdote without observing, that the white bear of Greenland and Spitzbergen is considerably larger than the brown bear of Europe, or the black bear of North-America. This animal lives upon fish and seals, and is not only seen upon land in the countries bordering on the North Pole, but often on floats of ice several leagues at sea.

MARINUS.

A Letter from David Macbride, *M. D. to* John Walsh, *Esq*; *F. R. S.*

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F. R. S. accompanying two Letters from Mr. Simon *to Dr.* Macbride, *concerning the Reviviscence of some Snails preserved many Years in Mr.* Simon's *Cabinet.*

From the Philosophical Transactions.

To John Walsh, Esq;

DEAR SIR, Dublin, Jan. 22. 1774.

I Inclose to you two letters which I received from Mr. Stuckey Simon, concerning that extraordinary fact in natural history, which you seemed to regret had not been sufficiently authenticated to be communicated to the publick, in the Philosophical Transactions of last year.—The Royal Society are undoubtedly in the right to be extremely cautious of allowing any thing, so very much out of the hitherto observed course of nature, as this is, to appear in their publications, without the fullest evidence.

In Mr. Simon's letter of the 26th of November, you will please to observe, that he mentions a particular shell, whose snail had come out repeatedly four different times, in the presence of different people; each of whom have assured me that they saw it. That gentleman having done me the favour to dine with me, a day or two after the date of that letter, he brought the identical shell, (as he declared) in order that we might try if the snail would again make its appearance.

The company were not disappointed; for, after the shell had lain about ten minutes in a glass of water that had the cold barely taken off, the snail began to appear; and in five minutes more we perceived half the body fairly pushed out from the cavity of the shell. We then removed it into a basin, that the snail might have more scope than it had in the glass; and here in a very short time, we saw it get above the surface of the water, and crawl up towards the edge of the basin. While it was thus moving about, with its horns erect, a fly chanced to be hovering near, and, perceiving the snail, darted down upon it. The little animal instantly withdrew itself within the shell, but as quickly came forth again, when it found the enemy had gone off. We allowed it to wander about the basin for upwards of an hour, when we returned it into a wide-mouthed phial, wherein Mr. Simon had lately been used to keep it. He was so obliging as to present me with this remarkable shell; and I observed, at twelve o'clock, as I was going to bed, that the snail was still in motion; but, next morning, I found it in a torpid state, sticking to the side of the glass.

In a few weeks after the time above-mentioned, I took an opportunity of sending this shell to Sir John Pringle, who shewed it at a meeting of the Society; but, as he has been pleased to inform me, some of the members could not bring themselves to believe, but that Mr. Simon must have suffered himself to be imposed on by his son, who, as they imagined, substituted fresh shells for those which he had got out of the cabinet.

When Sir John Pringle acquainted me with this difficulty, I wrote to Mr. Simon, and that produced his letter of the 4th of February. I afterwards also examined the boy myself,

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myself, and could find no reason to believe, that he either did, or could impose on his father.

Mr. Simon is a merchant of this place, of a very reputable character, and undoubted veracity. He lives in the heart of the city, a circumstance which rendered it almost impossible for the son (if he had been so disposed) to collect fresh shells. The father of Mr. Stuckey Simon was Mr. James Simon, a Fellow of the Royal Society; who, being a lover of natural history, as well as an antiquarian, made a little collection of fossils, which is still in the son's possession, and contains some articles that are rather uncommon.

Should Mr. Simon's letters be inserted in the Transactions, they will no doubt be the means of exciting naturalists to enquire into the extent of vitality in the lower orders of animals. I am,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient,
And very humble Servant,
DAVID MACBRIDE.

Mr. Stuckey Simon *to Dr.* Macbride.

SIR, Dublin, Nov. 26, 1772.

AN accident having brought to light what some naturalists have not had an opportunity to examine into, and which has been a subject of some conversation amongst gentlemen to whom I have mentioned it, has made me commit to writing the simple facts, in order to put others on making further experiments on the subject.—About three months since, I was settling some shells in a drawer, amongst which were some snail-shells. I took them out, and gave them to my son, (a child about ten years old) who was then in the room with me. The Saturday following the child diverted himself with the shells, put them into a flower pot, which he filled with water, and next morning put them into a basin. Having occasion to use it, I observed the snails had come out of the shells. I examined the child. He assured me they were the same I gave him some days before; and said he had a few more, which he brought me. I put one of them in water, and in half an hour after, I observed him put out his horns and body, which he moved with a slow motion, I suppose from weakness. I then informed Major Vallancy and Dr. Span of this surprising discovery. They did me the favour to come to my house the Saturday following, to examine the snails; and, on putting them in water, found that only one had life, which was that I put in water, for he came out of his shell, and carried it on his back about the basin. The rest, I suppose, died by being kept too long in water; for, on the first discovery, I let them remain in the water until the Monday following, when I poured off the water, the snails being still out of their shells, and seemingly dead. They lay in that state until Tuesday night, when I found they had all withdrawn into their shells; and though I several times since put them into water, they shewed no signs of life. Dr. Quin and Dr. Rutty did me the favour, at different times, to examine the snail that is living; and were greatly pleased to see him come out of his solitary habitation, in which he has been confined upwards of fifteen years, for so long I can declare with truth he has been in my possession; as my father died

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in January 1758, in whose collection of fossils those snails were, and for what I know they might have been many years in his possession before they came into my hands. The shells are small and of one kind; white, striped with brown. Since this discovery, I have kept this snail in a small phial, with a cover with holes, to let in air; and he seems at present very strong, and in health. I shall be extremely glad, if this plain account I have given you would induce gentlemen to make some further experiments on this subject. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,
STUCKEY SIMON.

Mr. Stuckey Simon *to Dr.* Macbride.

DEAR SIR, Strand-str. 4 Feb. 1773.

I RECEIVED your letter; and see that Sir John Pringle received the snail safe. You say, that some gentlemen are inclined to think my son has imposed on me fresh shells, in the stead of those I gave him. He had no opportunity to get any other shells, being at the time, and for several days after, confined to the house with a cold. I am positive they are the same I gave him, having more of the same sort of shells in my cabinet, and nearly the same size.

The nine shells, which produced the snails, are of the same kind as the one you sent to Sir John Pringle; and I now send you one of them, with the snail in it, which I take to be dead. Having put it in water several times, it became soft; and a part of it pushed out of the shell, but shewed no other sign of life. I would have sent you a few more of the shells, but that the Bishop of Derry, and some other friends, have begged of me to give them a share. I am,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble Servant,
STUCKEY SIMON.

Extraordinary Instance of the Hardiness of Snails to resist Heat, which may serve, in some Degree, as a Confirmation of their Hardiness to resist Dryness, the Subject of the preceding Article. By Mr. T. Rowe.

SIR,

IN confirmation of Dr. Macbride's letter on the reviviscence of snails, I shall here transcribe an extract from a letter of an ingenious and curious lady, of undoubted veracity, whom yet I am not at liberty to name, as relative to the same subject. Her words are as follows.

"There is, in the last Magazine, an account (viz. the same with the preceding one) of the reviving of some snails, which had lain in a Mr. Simon's cabinet fifteen years. Is it not a most extraordinary story? And yet I am not faithless in that point, as many a reader probably is; for I once saw a very remarkable property in snails, which gave me such uneasiness as fixed the remembrance strongly in my mind to this minute, though it happened many years ago.

"I was at Wrotham, at Mr. Haddock's, in Kent, and was making a little shell-work tower, to stand on a cabinet, in a long gallery. After having repaired two small amber temples to grace the corners,

I was

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I was desirous of having some odd pretty ornament in front; and sea-shells running short before I had finished, I recollected the having seen some pretty little snails on the chalk-hills there; and we all went one evening to pick up some, and found variety of forms, and colours, and sizes. We returned home weary enough, and longed for tea, though it was latish; and a large boiler was brought in, as we were a round company. I was contriving how to kill the snails in the easiest and most merciful manner, when a wag said, "Stick them on alive;" at which I shuddered, and called him brute. At length I got a large China basin, and putting an handful or two of snails into it, I filled it up with boiling water; and, though my heart recoiled at the deed, yet my eagerness to finish my work next morning conquered my compassion. To make sure of giving my snails the *coup de grace*, I poured off the first water, and then filled the bowl again with more out of the hot boiling kettle. I carried the basin into a summer-house in the garden, where I loved to go to work early in a morning, before my friends were stirring, and the next morning I arose sooner than common, and went to the summer-house: but how great was my surprize, to find my poor snails crawling about, some on the edge of the basin, some tumbling over, some on the table, and one or two actually eating the paste that was to stick them on. I was perfectly shocked, and burst into tears; and, picking up every snail carefully, carried them into a field beyond the garden, where I make no doubt but they perfectly recovered their two scaldings in boiling water.

"I had an abundance of empty shells of the same kinds, but they had not the beauty of those which had snails in them. However, I used those only which I could apply without cruelty and compunction.

"This I thought then a very surprising event; but Mr. Simon's snails, I must confess, are far superior to mine."

So far my fair and observing correspondent. All the observations I shall make upon the fact here related, of which I have not the least doubt in respect of its truth, are, first, that snails inclosed in their shells receive no injury or bruises in their organs or limbs, but are intirely perfect in all their parts. Secondly, that their torpidity whilst in their quiescent state in a cabinet, or chalky hill, must be owing to a want of moisture, and that a liquid of some sort seems to be necessary to give them motion. And thirdly, that though it may not be improper to examine the extent of vitality in other small animals, yet little can be inferred or argued from snails to them, on account of the foregoing observations. The wasp, on the contrary, when seemingly drowned, and when quite senseless and motionless, will be brought to life, as I have often seen, by being laid for a short time in the sun.

I am, &c.

T. Row.

An Account of the Gymnotus Electricus, *or Electrical Eel. In a Letter from* Alexander Garden, *M. D. F. R. S. to* John Ellis, *Esq.; F. R. S.*

From the Philosophical Transactions.

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Charles-Town, South Carolina, Aug. 14, 1774.

SIR,

A FEW days since, I went to see some very curious fish, which were brought here about nine or ten weeks ago from Surinam; and I was both surprized and delighted to observe their strange shape, and experience their wonderful properties. I had before received some vague account of such a fish; but I always thought that much of what I heard was fabulous. There are five of these fishes now here, of different sizes, from two feet in length to three feet eight inches. The following description was made out from the longest and largest. It might have been much more accurate, if there had been a possibility of handling the fish, and examining it leisurely; or if I could have had a dead specimen, as many things relating to the internal and external structure could in that case have been more exactly ascertained. But this fish hath the amazing power of giving so sudden and so violent a shock to any person that touches it, that there is, I think, an absolute impossibility of ever examining accurately a living specimen; and the person who owns them rates them at too high a price (not less than fifty guineas for the smallest) for me to get a dead specimen, unless one should die by accident; if that should happen, you may depend on having a more exact and accurate account for the Society.

George Baker, mariner, who, brought them here, intends to carry them to England; but as it is very uncertain whether they will arrive in health and all alive, I have recommended to him to get a small cask of rum, with a large bung, into which he may put any of them that may die, and so preserve them for the inspection and examination of the curious when he arrives.

The largest of these fish was three feet eight inches in length, when extending itself most, and might have been from ten to fourteen inches in circumference about the thickest part of his body. The head is large, broad, flat, smooth, and impressed here and there with holes, as if perforated with a blunt needle, especially towards the sides, where they are more regularly ranged in a line on each side. The *rostrum* is obtuse and rounded. The upper and lower jaws are of an equal length, and the gape is large. The nostrils are two on each side; the first large, tubular, and elevated above the surface; and the others small, and level with the skin, placed immediately behind the verge of the *rostrum* at the distance of an inch asunder. The eyes are small, flattish, and of a blueish colour, placed about three quarters of an inch behind the nostrils, and more towards the sides of the head. The whole head seems to be well supported; but whether with bones or cartilages, I could not learn. The body is large, thick, and roundish, for a considerable distance from the head, and then gradually grows smaller, but at the same time deeper, or becomes of an *acinaciform* shape, to the point of the tail, which is rather blunt. There are many light coloured spots on the back and sides of the body, placed at considerable distances in irregular lines, but more numerous and distinct towards the tail. When the fish was swimming, it measured six inches in depth near the middle, from the upper

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upper part of the back to the lower edge of the fin, and it could not be more than two inches broad on the back at that place. The whole body, from about four inches below the head, seems to be clearly distinguished into four different longitudinal parts or divisions. The upper part or back is roundish, of a dark colour, and separated from the other parts on each side by the *lateral lines*; which, taking their rise at the base of the head, just above the pectoral fins, run down the sides, gradually converging, as the fish grows smaller, to the tail, and make so visible a depression or furrow in their course, as to distinguish this from the second part or division, which may be properly called the body, or at least appears to be the strong muscular part of the fish. This second division is of a lighter and more clear blueish colour than the upper or back part, and seems to swell out somewhat on each side, from the depression of the lateral lines; but towards the lower or under part, is again contracted, or sharpened into the third part, or *carina*. This *carina*, or heel, is very distinguishable from the other two divisions, by its thinness, its apparent laxness, and by the reticulated skin of a more grey and light colour, with which it is covered. When the animal swims gently in pretty deep water, the rhomboidal reticulations of the skin of this *carina* are very discernible; but when the water is shallow, or the depth of the *carina* is contracted, these reticulations appear like many irregular longitudinal *plicæ*. The *carina* begins about six or seven inches below the base of the head, and gradually widening or deepening as it goes along, reaches down to the tail, where it is thinnest. It seems to be of a strong muscular nature. Where it first takes its rise from the body of the fish, it seems to be about one inch or one inch and an half thick, and is gradually sharpened to a thin edge, where the fourth and last part is situated; *videlicet*, a long, deep, soft, wavy fin, which takes its rise about three or four inches at most below the head, and runs down along the sharp edge of the *carina* to the extremity of the tail. Where it first rises it is not deep, but gradually deepens or widens as it approaches to the tail. It is of a very pliable soft consistence, and seems rather longer than the body. The situation of the *anus* in this fish is very singular, being placed underneath, and being about an inch more forward than the pectoral fins, and consequently considerably nearer the *rostrum*. It is a pretty long *rima* in appearance; but the aperture must be very small, as the formed excrements are only about the size of a quill of a common dunghill fowl. There are two pectoral (if I may call them so) fins, placed one on each side, just behind the head, over the *foramina spiratoria*, which are small, and generally covered with a lax skin, situated in the *axilla* of these fins. These fins are small for the size of the fish, being scarcely an inch in length, of a very thin, delicate consistence, and orbicular shape. They seem to be chiefly useful in supporting and raising the head of the fish when he wants to breathe, which he does every four or five minutes, by raising his mouth out of the water. This shews that he has lungs and is amphibious, and the *foramina spiratoria* seem to indicate his having *branchiæ* likewise;

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wise; but this I only offer as a conjecture, not being certain of the fact. I must now mention the appearances of a number of small cross bands, annular divisions, or rather *rugæ* of the skin of the body. They reach across the body down to the base of the *carina* on each side; but those that cross the back seem to terminate at the lateral lines, where new rings take their rise, not exactly in the same line, and run down to the *carina*. This gives the fish somewhat of a worm-like appearance; and indeed it seems to have some of the properties of this tribe, for it has a power of lengthening or shortening its body to a certain degree, for its own conveniency, or agreeable to its own inclination. I have seen this specimen, which I have measured three feet eight inches, shorten himself to three feet two inches; but besides this power of lengthening or shortening his body, he can swim forwards or backwards with apparently equal ease to himself, which is another property of the vermicular tribe. When he swims forward, the undulation or wavy motion of the fin and *carina* begin from the upper part, and move downwards; but when he swims backwards, and the tail goes foremost, the undulations of the fins begin at the extremity of the tail or fin, and proceed in succession from that backwards to the upper part of the body; in either case he swims equally swift. Every now and then the fish lays himself on one side, as it were, to rest himself, and then the four several divisions of his body above-mentioned are very distinctly seen; *videlicet*, the vermiform appearance of the two upper divisions; the retiform appearance of the *carina*; and the last, or dark-coloured fin, whose rays seem to be exceedingly soft and flexible, and entirely at the command of the strong muscular *carina*. When he is taken out of the water, and laid on his belly, the *carina* and fin lye to one side, in the same manner as the ventral fin of the *tetraodon* does, when he creeps on the ground. I have been the longer and more particular in the description of the external structure of this animal's body, because I think, as it is of a most singular nature, and endowed with some amazing properties, even the most minute circumstance I was able to observe relating to it should be mentioned.

The person, to whom these animals belong, calls them *electrical fish*; and indeed the power they have of giving an electrical shock to any person, or to any number of persons who join hands together, the extreme person on each side touching the fish, is their most singular and astonishing property. All the five we have here are possessed of this power in a very great degree, and communicate the shock to one person, or to any number of persons, either by the immediate touch of the fish with the hand, or by the mediation of any metalline rod. The keeper says, that when they were first caught, they could give a much stronger shock by a metalline conductor than they can do at present. The person who is to receive the shock must take the fish with both hands at some considerable distance asunder, so as to form the communication, otherwise he will not receive it; at least I never saw any one shocked from taking hold of it with one hand only: though some have assured me, that

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that they were shocked by laying one hand on him. I myself have taken hold of the largest with one hand often, without ever receiving a shock; but I never touched it with both hands, at a little distance asunder, without feeling a smart shock. I have often remarked, that when it is taken hold of with one hand, and the other hand is put into the water over its body, without touching it, the person received a smart shock; and I have observed the same effect follow, when a number joined hands, and the person at one extremity of the circle took hold of, or touched the fish, and the person at the other extremity put his hand into the water, over the body of the fish. The shock was communicated through the whole circle, as smartly as if both the extreme persons had touched the fish. In this it seems to differ widely from the *torpedo*, or else we are much misinformed of the manner in which the benumbing effect of that fish is communicated. The shock which our Surinam fish gives, seems to be wholly electrial; and all the Phænomena or proprieties of it exactly resemble those of the electric *aura* of our atmosphere when collected, as far as they are discoverable from the several trials made on this fish. This stroke is communicated by the same conductors, and intercepted by the interposition of the same original electrics, or electrics *per se* as they used to be called. The keeper of this fish informs me, that he catched them in Surinam river, a great way up, beyond where the salt water reaches; and that they are a fresh-water fish only. He says, that they are eaten, and by some people esteemed a great delicacy. They live on fish, worms, or any animal food, if it is cut small, so that they can swallow it. When small live fishes are thrown into the water, they first give them a shock, which kills or so stupifies them, that they can swallow them easily, and without any trouble. If one of these small fishes after it is shocked, and to all appearance dead, be taken out of the vessel where the electrical fish is, and put into fresh water, it will soon revive again. If a larger fish than they can swallow be thrown into the water, at a time that they are hungry, they give him some smart shocks, till he is apparently dead, and then they try to swallow or suck him in; but, after several attempts, finding he is too large, they quit him. Upon the most careful inspection of such fish, I could never see any mark of teeth, or the least wound or scratch on them. When the electrical fish are hungry, they are pretty keen after their food; but they are soon satisfied, not being able to contain much at one time. An electrical fish of three feet and upwards in length cannot swallow a small fish above three or at most three inches and a half long. Since I wrote the above description and remarks, I have had Mr. Bancroft's Essay on the Natural History of Guiana put into my hands, in which I find an account of this animal; but, as I think that he has not been very particular in the description of it, I resolved still to send you the above account, that you might judge for yourself. I observed, that his account or description and mine differ in several things; and amongst others, where he says, that those fish were usually about three feet in length; but the one, of which I have sent a slight description, was three

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three feet eight inches. This small variation might indeed have happened without any error; but I am told, that some of them have been seen in Surinam river upwards of twenty feet long, whose stroke or shock proved instant death to any person that unluckily received it.

I shall be on the watch to procure a more accurate knowledge of, and acquaintance with, this animal; and if I can learn any thing farther about it, you may depend on my communicating it.

Some Account of a Tree growing in Spain, called the Algarroba, Garofero, Carrobe, *or Locust-Tree, which produces vast Quantities of Fruit, often eaten by Man, and constantly by the Cattle of that Country, to whom it is Physic, as well as Food.*

From Travels through Spain, *by* Richard Twiss, Esq;

THIS tree is an evergreen; the trunk of it is usually from one to two feet in diameter; the leaves are of a dark green, ten on a twig, five on each side; the fruit exactly resembles kidney-beans, and is an inch broad, and nine or ten inches long; they issue in clusters from the branches and body of the tree in a very singular manner; these pods are thick, mealy, and of a sweetish taste: when dry they are given to horses and cattle as provender. These trees are only found in this province, and those of Murcia, Granada, and Andalusia *.

I observed at Alicant, in the garden of el Senor Barnabeau, a very large garofero, or carrobe-tree; it produces annually one hundred and thirty arrobes of fruit (each arrobe is twenty-six pounds), which are sold for seventy dollars, about eleven pound fourteen shillings.

This tree may serve as companion to the great orange-tree, which Mr. Wood of Oporto shewed me in the garden of his country-house, and from which, he assured me, he had gathered in one season no less than sixteen thousand oranges.

* In the second volume of Mr. James's History of Gibralter, the author, describing the plains of Tetuan, says, "the next remarkable sort of wood is "the alcarobe, a tree of great curiosity, and merits much notice; the alcarobe bears a pod in quantity and likeness much resembling the English bean; "the inner substance thereof is sweet, and lodgeth hard small kernels. This "fruit is eaten by the Moors of inferior condition, and by all at the feast "Ashorah; but it is chiefly preserved for their horses, to whom it is both "physic and repast; for the fruit of the alcarobe hath two excellent properties, to drench and make their horses fat.

"Some have called the fruit locusta, and supposed it was the Baptist's "food in the wilderness, &c. &c. There is a great probability that the "fruit of the alcarobe is the same with the Prodigal's *ceratia*, or husks, "for it doth excellently accord with their description."

Mr. Armstrong, in his history of Minorca, p. 195, likewise mentions the opinion in regard to its having been the food of St. John, but he adds wild honey to it.

Miller calls it ceratonia, carouge, and St, John's bread.

Ceratonia Siliqua, Linn. Sp. pl. 1513.

A Description

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A Description of a newly discovered Sensitive Plant, called Dionæa Muscipula, *or* Venus's Fly-trap.

EVERY one skilled in Natural History, knows that the Mimosæ, or sensitive plants, close their leaves, and bend their joints upon the least touch: and this has astonished us; but no end or design of nature has yet appeared to us from these surprising motions: they soon recover themselves again, and their leaves are expanded as before. But the plant, which we are now going to describe, shews that nature may have some view towards its nourishment, in forming the upper joint of its leaf like a machine to catch food; upon the middle of this lies the bait for the unhappy insect that becomes its prey. Many minute red glands that cover its inner surface, and which perhaps discharge sweet liquor, tempt the poor animal to taste them; and, the instant these tender parts are irritated by its feet, the two lobes rise up, grasp it fast, lock the rows of spines together, and squeeze it to death. And further, lest the strong efforts of life in the creature thus taken, should serve to disengage it, three small erect spines are fixed near the middle of each lobe among the glands, that effectually put an end to all its struggles. Nor do the lobes ever open again, while the dead animal continues there. But it is nevertheless certain, that the plant cannot distinguish an animal from a vegetable or mineral substance; for, if we introduce a straw or a pin between the lobes, it will grasp it full as fast as if it was an insect.

A short time since, Mr. Peter Collinson sent Mr. Ellis a dried specimen of this curious plant, which he had received from Mr. John Bartram, of Philadelphia, Botanist to the King. The flower of this specimen, Dr. Solander dissected, found it to be a new genus; but, not suspecting then the extraordinary sensitive power of its leaves, as they were withered and contracted, he concluded they approached near to the Drosera or Rosa Solis, to which they have been supposed by many persons since to have a great affinity, as the leaves of the most common English species of the Rosa Solis are round, concave, beset with small hairs, and full of red viscid glands. But we are indebted to Mr. William Young, a native of Philadelphia, (to whom likewise the royal favour has been extended for his encouragement in his botanical researches in America) for the introduction of this curious plant alive, and in considerable quantities. He informs me, that they grow in shady wet places, and flower in July and August; that the largest leaves which he has seen were about three inches long, and an inch and a half across the lobes, and observes, that the glands of those that were exposed to the sun were of a beautiful red colour, but those in the shade were pale, and inclining to green. It is now likely to become an inhabitant of the curious gardens in this country, and merits the attention of the ingenious. The botanical characters of the Genus Dionæa, according to the Linnæan sexual system, where it came under the class of Decandria Monogynia, are these:

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The Calix or flower cup, consists of five small, equal, erect leaves of a concave oval form, pointed at the top.

The Corolla, or flower, has five concave petals of an oblong inverted oval form, blunt at the top; which curls in at each side, and is streaked from the bottom upwards with seven transparent lines.

The Stamina, or Chives, have ten equal filaments; shorter than the petals; and their tops, which contain the male dust, are roundish. This dust, or farina fœcundans, when highly magnified, appears like a tricoccous fruit.

The Pistil, or female organ, has a roundish germen, or embryo seed-vessel, placed above the receptacle of the flower; this is a little depressed and ribbed like a melon. The stile is of a threadlike form, something shorter than the filaments. The stigma or top of the stile is open, and fringed round the margin.

The Pericarpium, or seed-vessel, is a gibbous capsule, with one cell or apartment.

The Seeds are many, very small, of an oval shape, sitting on the bottom of the capsule.

This plant is herbaceous, and grows in the swamps of North-Carolina, near the confines of South-Carolina, about the latitude of 35 degrees north, where the winters are short, and the summers very hot. The roots are squamous, sending forth but few fibres, like those of some bulbs; and are perennial. The leaves are many, inclining to bend downwards, and are placed in a circular order; they are jointed and succulent; the lower joint, which is a kind of stalk, is flat, longish, two-edged, and inclining to heart-shaped. In some varieties they are serrated on the edges near the top. The upper joint consists of two lobes; each lobe is of a semi-oval form, with their margins furnished with stiff hairs like eye-brows, which embrace or lock in each other, when they close; this they do, when they are inwardly irritated.

The upper surfaces of these lobes are covered with small red glands, each of which appears when highly magnified, like a compressed Arbutus berry.

Among the glands about the middle of each lobe are three very small erect spines. When the lobes inclose any substance, they never open again, while it continues there. If it can be shoved out, so as not to strain the lobes, they expand again; but, if force is used to open them, so strong has nature formed the spring of their fibres, that one of the lobes generally snaps off rather than yield.

The stalk is about six inches high, round, smooth, and without leaves, ending in a spike of flowers. The flowers are milk-white, and stand on foot stalks, at the bottom of each of which is a little painted bractea or flower-leaf.

As to the culture of it, the soil it grows in (as appears from what comes about the roots of the plants, when they are brought over) is a black light mould, intermixed with white sand, such as is usually found in our moorish heaths.

Being a swamp plant, a north east aspect will be the properest situation at first to plant it in, to keep it from the direct rays of the meridian sun; and, in winter, till we are acquainted with what cold weather

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weather it can endure, it will be necessary to shelter it with a bell glass, such as is used for melons; which should be covered with straw or a mat in hard frosts: by this method several plants were preserved last winter in a very vigorous state. Its sensitive quality will be found in proportion to the heat of the weather, as well as the vigour of the plant.

Our summers are not warm enough to ripen the seed: or possibly we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the culture of this plant.

In order to try further experiments to shew the sensitive powers of this plant, some of them may be planted in pots of light moorish earth, and placed in pans of water in an airy stove in summer, where the heat of such a situation, being like that of its native country, will make it surprizingly active.

A Description of a petrified Stratum, *formed from the Waters of* Matlock, *in* Derbyshire. *By* Matthew Dobson, *M. D. Communicated by Dr.* Fothergill.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

DURING a short stay at Matlock, this summer, I made some observations on the petrifying quality of the waters, and examined a very singular Stratum, which has been formed in their course.

This Stratum I found about 500 yards in length; in several places, near 100 yards in breadth; and, where thickest, from 3 to 4 yards in depth. The manner, in which this body of stone has been produced, is easily ascertained.

Within the memory of some persons now alive, the waters of Matlock were not appropriated to the purposes either of bathing or drinking. They issued from near the bottom of the hill, which lies to the west, immediately behind the present houses, and ran at random, down a declivity of about 100 yards, to the river Derwent. In their course, they formed large petrified masses, intermingled with great quantities of petrified moss, nuts, leaves, acorns, pieces of wood, and even trunks of trees.

The waters were thus constantly raising obstacles to their own progress, and were frequently therefore forced into new channels; so as, by degrees, to be extended over a surface of at least 500 yards in length. And, by being repeatedly returned into the same channels, a Stratum, of considerable thickness, has been formed.

On examining this Stratum, some parts are discovered to be extremely hard, and others so soft, as easily to be cut. The soft parts, however, on exposure to the air, become as hard as flint; and on being struck, sound like metal. The reason of this difference in the hardness of different parts, appears to be this: as the waters frequently changed their channels, and repeatedly likewise returned again to the same channels, if, in the intervals, there were any parts considerably raised, and consequently longer before they were covered with fresh incrustations, these, from a longer exposure to the air, would acquire a greater degree of hardness.

Whole houses, in the neighbourhood, are built of this stone, which they find more durable, than any other

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other they meet with; and as it has the excellent property of growing harder, from being exposed, and has likewise many little cavities and interstices, good mortar so insinuates itself into these, as to form a wall as firm as one continued stone.

This Stratum affords very curious and beautifully varied petrifactions. Moss exhibits great varieties; for it is evident, that the moss has continued to vegetate, after the roots and lower parts had been penetrated by the stony particles; and thus, stretching itself to a considerable extent, it has, in some places, been mixed and interwoven with other substances. In some parts, snails have been arrested in their sluggish walk, and locked up in the stony concrete. In others, the petrifying matter has shot, in different directions, and formed an intricate kind of net work. And in others again, there are large masses, which, on being broken asunder, are found hollow; and their cavities ornamented with branches of petrifaction, somewhat resembling coral, but of a darkish white colour, and generally of a rough and granulated surface.

Under the Stratum there is, from a foot to a foot and a half, of good soil; and immediately under this lies the limestone rock. The soil is of the same nature with that of the adjoining fields, which form the slope of the hill, and is evidently a continuation of that soil.

Any further additions to this petrified Stratum are now inconsiderable, and in many places none at all; for the two principal springs are confined to their channels, covered from the day, through the greatest part of their course, and are rapid in their motion.

Had proper observations been made on the progress of this Stratum, a tolerably exact estimate might have been formed, with respect to the time, when these waters were first impregnated with their mineral ingredients. From these two considerations, however, that the Stratum is not very thick, and that the soil, immediately under it, is a continuation of that, which lies on the slope of the neighbouring hills, it is probable, that many centuries have not been requisite to its production; and, consequently, that these mineral waters are not of very ancient date.

And, if we may rely upon an observation, which I had from a plain, inquisitive, and intelligent man on the spot, the source, whence these waters derive their impregnation, is in some degree exhausted. This person assured me, from his own experience, that pieces of moss, and other substances, put in the course of the waters, and in the same circumstances as formerly, require more than double the time, for their petrifaction, that they did thirty years ago.

The stratum, therefore, from which the Matlock waters are impregnated must either be considerably exhausted; or the waters have deviated from their former course, and are now only partially distributed over this Stratum.

Liverpool, Oct. 15, 1773.

Glorious Prospect during the Passage of the Strait of Gibraltar, *in the Month of July*, 1764. *From the Reverend*

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Reverend Doctor Chandler's *Travels in* Asia Minor.

OUR passage through the strait of Gibraltar was amusing and delightful beyond imagination. The coast on each side is irregular, adorned with lofty grotesque mountains of various shapes, the majestic tops worn white with rain, and looking as crowned with snow. From one of the narrow vallies a thick smoke arose. The land is of a brown complexion, as sun-burnt and barren. On the Spanish shore are many watch-towers, ranging long to a great extent, designed to alarm the country by signals on the appearance of an enemy. We had Spanish and Moorish towns in view, with the rock and fortress of Gibraltar. Sea-birds were flying, and numerous small craft moving to and fro, on every quarter. We had a gentle breeze, and our sails all set, with the current from the western, or Atlantic Ocean in our favour. In this, the water was agitated and noisy, like a shallow brook running over pebbles; while in the contrary currents, it was smooth and calm as in a mill-pond, except where disturbed by albicores, porpoises and sea-monsters, which sported around us, innumerable. Their burnished sides reflected the rays of the sun, which then shone in a picturesque sky, of clear azure softened by thin fleecy clouds, imparting chearfulness to the waves, which seemed to smile on us.

Our entry into the Mediterranean here faintly described, as no words can convey the ideas excited by scenes of so much novelty, grandeur, and beauty. The vast assemblage of bulky monsters in particular was beyond measure amazing; some leaping up, as if aiming to divert us; some approaching the ship, as it were to be seen, floating together, abreast, and half out of the water. We counted in one company fourteen, of the species called by the sailors *The Bottle Nose*, each, as we guessed, about twelve feet long. These are almost shapeless, looking black and oily, with a large thick fin on the back, no eyes or mouth discernible, the head rounded at the extremity, and so joined with the body as to render it difficult to distinguish, where the one ends or the other begins; but on the upper part is a hole about an inch and a half in diameter, from which at regular intervals, the log-like Being blows out water accompanied with a puff audible at some distance.

To complete this wonderful day, the sun before its setting was exceedingly big, and assumed a variety of fantastic shapes. It was surrounded first with a golden glory, of great extent, and flamed upon the surface of the sea in a long column of fire. The lower half of the orb soon after immerged in the horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, with half of a smaller orb beneath it, and separate, but in the same direction, the circular rim approaching the line of its diameter. These two by degrees united, and then changed rapidly into different figures, until the resemblance was that of a capacious punch-bowl inverted. The rim of the bottom extending upward, and the body lengthening below, it became a mushroom on a stalk, with a round head. It was next metamorphosed into a flaming cauldron, of which the lid,

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rising up, swelled nearly into an orb, and vanished. The other portion put on several uncircular forms, and after many twinklings and faint glimmerings slowly disappeared, quite red; leaving the clouds, hanging over the dark rocks on the Barbary shore, finely tinged with a vivid bloody hue.

And here we may recollect, that the antients had various stories concerning the setting of the sun in the Atlantic Ocean; as for instance, that it was accompanied with a noise, as of the sea hissing, and that night immediately followed. That its magnitude in going down apparently increased, was a popular remark, but had been contradicted by an author, who observed thirty evenings at Gades, and never perceived any augmentation. One writer had affirmed that the orb became an hundred times bigger than its common size.

This phænomenon will vary, as it depends on the state of the atmosphere. It is likely to be most remarkable when westerly winds have prevailed for some time; these coming over the Atlantic Ocean, and bringing with them the gross vapours, which arise continually, or are exhaled, from that immense body of water.

PROJECTS.

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PROJECTS.

Plan, and Summary of the Reports, &c. &c. of the Society instituted at London, in the Year 1774, for the Recovery of Persons apparently drowned; containing plain Directions for the Recovery of such Persons; as also of those greatly injured, and even apparently dead, by hanging or any other kind of Strangulation; Suffocation, by Damps and noxious Vapours, whether proceeding from Coal or other Mines, the confined Air of Wells, Cisterns or Caves, or the Must of fermenting Liquors; and also by being frozen, seized with Syncopes, Apoplectic or other similar Fits, &c. struck with Lightning, stupified by Falls or Blows; as likewise to the Recovery of overlaid *and even* still-born *Children. Extracted from the Pieces published by the Society themselves, on this very curious and interesting Subject, and from authentic Informations kindly furnished by Mr.* William Hawes, *Apothecary in the Strand, one of the first, and still most active members of the Society; the whole contrived to form as compleat a little Code of Benevolence, or rather Duty, as the Bounds of this Publication will admit, to our Fellow-creatures, and eventually to ourselves, in the most dreadful and desperate Condition, next to that of being actually buried alive, in which any human Being can well be conceived at this side of eternity.*

INTRODUCTION.

MANY and undubitable are the instances of the possibility of restoring to life persons apparently struck with sudden death; whether the evil proceeded from a stroke of apoplexy, convulsive fits, suffocation by noxious vapours, strangulation by the cord, or drowning, although the party had remained senseless, and without any the least signs of life, for a considerable time. Cases of this nature have occasionally presented themselves in every country; but, although they could not fail to surprise for a season, they were, for a long time, considered merely as very singular and extraordinary phænomena, from which no salutary consequences could be drawn; and of course considered to very little or no purpose.

Providentially, however, these phænomena at length attracted the attention of some benevolent gentlemen in Holland; where, from the great abundance of canals and inland seas, the inhabitants are particularly exposed to accidents by

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water. These gentlemen perceived with deep regret, that numbers, and those principally among the most laborious and deserving part of the community, were annually drowned; and it was justly conjectured that some at least might have been saved, had they not been entirely abandoned as dead, or very superficially treated. They, therefore, sedulously set about collecting the hints that were dispersed through various publications, concerning the method of treating persons in such critical circumstances; made these hints public; and proposed rewards to those who should put them into execution. These humane attempts far exceeded their most sanguine expectations. They became instrumental in the restoration of several who must otherwise have perished inevitably. This surprising success engaged the general notice, and was so universally countenanced that they were at length enabled to form themselves into a respectable society, which extended their plan over the seven provinces. And it must afford real pleasure to every friend of the unfortunate to be informed, that about 150 persons, of whom the lives of many were very important to their families, and to the community, have been redeemed from death, by their means, in the space of a few years. In several of these cases the recovered patients had continued *upwards of an hour*, without any signs of life after they had been taken out of the water.

Such numerous and authentic testimonies of success, instigated some other countries to imitate their example. In the year 1768, the magistrates of health at Milan and Venice issued orders for the treatment of *drowned* persons. The city of Hamburgh appointed a similar ordinance to be read in all their churches, extending their succour not only to the *drowned*, but to the strangled, to those suffocated, by noxious vapours, and to the frozen. The first part of the Dutch Memoirs was presented to the Imperial academy at Petersburgh, and was translated into the Russian language, by command of the Empress. In the year 1769, the Empress of Germany published an edict, extending its directions and encouragement to every case of accident like death that afforded a possibility of relief. In the year 1771, the magistrates of the city of Paris founded an institution also in favour of the *drowned*. And the repeated instances of success in every country have abundantly confirmed the truth of the facts related in the Amsterdam Memoirs.

In the year 1773, Dr. Cogan of London, translated these Memoirs into English, in order to inform this part of the world of the practicability of recovering persons apparently *drowned**; and Mr. Wm. Hawes, Apothecary in the Strand, whom we have already mentioned in the title of this article, and shall have frequent occasion to mention in the sequel, exerted himself like-

* This piece, which may be had at all the booksellers, is earnestly recommended to the perusal of every one who wishes well to mankind. It contains such a variety of cases, minutely related and well authenticated, as would render it unpardonable, in the inhabitants of this country, not to attempt a similar institution. See likewise our vol. for 1765, p. 133, for 1770, p. 80, for 1773, p. 132, for 1774, p. 119.

wise

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who to excite the attention of the public to the same subject. These gentlemen then united, and proposed a plan for the introduction of a similar institution into these kingdoms. This plan was so well received, and met with so much encouragement from several gentlemen of influence, that they were soon enabled to form a society to promote its laudable designs. It is as follows:

THE PLAN.

I. THE society undertook to publish, in as extensive a manner as possible, the proper methods of treating persons in those unfortunate circumstances.

II. To distribute a premium of two Guineas among the first persons, not exceeding four in number, who should attempt to recover man, woman, or child, taken out of the water for dead, within the cities of London and Westminster, or the parts adjacent; provided they had not been longer than two hours under the water; and provided the assistants persevered in the use of the means recommended, and no others, unless under the direction of a regular practitioner, for the space of two hours: this reward to be given though they might not prove successful.

III. To distribute in like manner four Guineas wherever the patient should be restored to life.

IV. To give to any publican, or other person, who should admit the body into his house without delay, and furnish the necessary accommodations, the sum of one Guinea; and also to secure them from the charge of burial, in unsuccessful cases.

V. A certain number of medical gentlemen, stationed near to the places where disasters by water are most frequent, engaged to give their assistance gratis, these gentlemen were to have a fumigator, and other necessaries, always in readiness; and Mr. Hawes informs the writer, that the compleat apparatus, necessary in such unfortunate cases, may be had of Mr. Wrigglesworth, surgeon's instrument-maker in the Minories. The names of the gentlemen, who then and since had the humanity to offer themselves for this benevolent purpose, will be found at the end of this article, disposed in such order, that, wherever any accident happens, the reader may readily find out the address of the nearest medical assistant; though perhaps it might be prudent to send for two at least of those most within reach, lest the nearest might be out of the way.

The society likewise proposed, in case they should meet with due encouragement, to present an honorary medal to any medical gentleman or other, who might not chuse to accept of a pecuniary reward, in all those cases in which they might prove instrumental of success.

The society flattered themselves, that by these regulations many individuals, in and about this metropolis, would be secure of the best and speediest assistance in such critical cases: and where it should not prove successful, their relations might always have the satisfaction of reflecting, that the last efforts had not been neglected.

The Methods *of* Treatment, *recommended by the Society, in consequence of the first of the foregoing Resolutions, are as follows:*

I. In removing the body to a convenient place, great care must

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be taken that it be not bruised, nor shaken violently, nor roughly handled, nor carried over any one's shoulders with the head hanging downwards, nor rolled upon the ground, or over a barrel, nor lifted up by the heels; for, experience proves, that all these methods may be injurious, and often destroy the small remains of life. The unfortunate object should be cautiously conveyed by two or more persons, or in a carriage upon straw, lying as on a bed with the head a little raised, and kept in as natural and easy a position as possible.

II. The body being well dried with a cloth, should be placed in a moderate degree of heat, but not too near a large fire. The windows or door of the room should be left open, and no more persons be admitted into it than those who are absolutely necessary; as the life of the patient greatly depends upon their having the benefit of a pure air. The warmth most promising of success is that of a bed or blanket, properly warmed. Bottles of hot water should be laid at the bottoms of the feet, in the joints of the knees and under the armpits; and a warming-pan, moderately heated, or hot bricks wrapped in cloths, should be rubbed over the body, and particularly along the back. The natural and kindly warmth of a healthy person lying by the side of the body, has been found in many cases very efficacious. The shirt or clothes of an attendant, or the skin of a sheep fresh killed, may also be used with advantage. Should these accidents happen in the neighbourhood of a warm bath, brew-house, baker, glass-house, saltern, soap-boiler, or any fabrick where warm lees, ashes, embers, grains, sand, water, &c. are easily procured, it would be of the utmost service to place the body in any of these moderated to a degree of heat but very little exceeding that of a healthy person.

III. The subject being placed in one or other of these advantageous circumstances as speedily as possible, various stimulating methods should next be employed. The most efficacious are,—to blow with force into the lungs, by applying the mouth to that of the patient, closing his nostrils with one hand, and gently expelling the air again by pressing the chest with the other, imitating the strong breathing of a healthy person.——The medium of a handkerchief or cloth may be used to render the operation less indelicate.——Whilst one assistant is constantly employed in this operation, another should throw the smoke of tobacco up by the fundament into the bowels, by means of a pipe or fumigator, such as are used in administring tobacco clysters: a pair of bellows may be used until the others can be procured. A third attendant should, in the mean tide, rub the belly, chest, back and arms, with a coarse cloth or flannel dipped in brandy, rum, gin, or with dry salt, so as not to rub off the skin: spirits of hartshorn, volatile salts, or any other stimulating substance, must also be applied to the nostrils, and rubbed upon the temples very frequently. The body should at intervals be shaken also, and varied in its position.

IV. If there be any signs of returning life, such as sighing, gasping, twitching, or any convulsive motions, beating of the heart, the return

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return of the natural colour and warmth; opening a vein in the arm or neck may prove beneficial, but the quantity of blood taken away should not be large; nor should an *artery* ever be opened, as profuse bleeding has appeared prejudicial and even destructive to the small remains of life. The throat should be tickled with a feather, in order to excite a propensity to vomit; and the nostrils also with a feather, snuff, or any other stimulant, so as to provoke sneezings. A tea-spoonful of warm water, may be administered now and then, in order to learn whether the power of swallowing be returned: and if it be, a table-spoonful of warmed wine, or brandy and water, may be given with advantage; but not before, as the liquor might get into the lungs before the power of swallowing returns. The other methods should be continued with vigour, until the patient be gradually restored.

Where the patient has lain but a short time senseless, blowing into the lungs or bowels has been, in some cases, found sufficient; yet a *speedy* recovery is not to be expected in general. On the contrary, the above methods are to be continued with spirit for *two hours or upwards*, although there should not be the least symptoms of returning life. The vulgar notion that a person will recover in a few minutes, or not at all; and the ignorant foolish custom of ridiculing those who are willing to persevere, as if they were attempting impossibilities, has most certainly caused the death of many who might otherwise have been saved.

Most of the above rules are happily of such a nature, that they may be begun *immediately*, and that by persons who are not acquainted with the medical art; yet it is always advisable to seek the assistance of some regular practitioner as soon as possible; not only as bleeding is proper, and sometimes necessary; but as it is to be presumed that such a one will be more skilful and expert, and better able to vary the methods of procedure as circumstances may require.

The society think it proper to observe, that these means of restoration are applicable to various other cases of apparent deaths, (see the cases mentioned in the title of this article). And they hope that some persons of influence in the parts where such accidents mostly happen, will form a similar institution for the recovery of the unhappy victims.

The society have been as circumstantial as possible in the above directions, that if one convenience should be wanting, the attendants may not be at a loss for others.

Wherever any good has been produced by the means recommended, the person who has superintended the cure, is earnestly requested to write a circumstantial account of it to James Horsfall, Esq. Treasurer, Middle Temple, London.

Authentic List of the Persons either saved when in the most imminent Danger, or actually recovered when apparently dead, from the Society's first Establishment in May, 1774, to the End of 1775, in all those Cases in which the Society paid any Rewards.

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From the Society's first Establishment to the End of 1774.

1. *John Joseph*, Iron-foundery, Falcon-Stairs.
2. *Dederic Woolbert*, attended by Mr. *Hudson*, at Wapping.
3. *John Harrington*, attended by Mr. *Patten*, of Radcliffe-Cross.
4. Capt. *Scott*, attended by Mr. *Nelham*, of Limehouse.
5. *James Beckett*, attended by Mr. *Conway*, of St. John's.
6. *Nicholas Groome*, attended by Mr. *Smith*, of Limehouse.
7. *Robert Hoome*, attended by Mr. *Hales*, Limehouse.
8. *A young Woman*, attended by Mr. *Midford*.

During the Year 1775.

1. *Bernard Riley*, attended by Mr. *Waring*, Thames-street.
2. —— *Bailey*, attended by Mr. *Ayres*.
3. *Francis Pickup*, attended by Mr. *Cowley*.
4. *Francis Cambell*, attended by Mr. *Church*, Islington.
5. *Jacob Hill*, attended by Mr. *Cambell*.
6. *Thomas Patterson*, attended by Mr. *Church*, Islington.
7. *James Pike*, attended by Mr. *Powsey*, of Poplar.
8. *William Plunbett*, attended by Mr. *Pindegrass*.
9. *Anthony Sullivan*, attended by Mr. *Powell*, Chelsea.
10. *John Venables*, attended by Mr. *Evans*.
11. *James Johnson*, attended by Mr. *Johnson*, Wapping.
12. *James Norris*, attended by Mr. *Bennet*, Wapping.
13. *A Child*, aged four years, attended by Mr. *Thomas*, Wapping.
14. *William Gardiner*, attended by Mr. *Goodwin*, Shad-Thames.
15. *Thomas Williams*, attended by Mr. *Lee*, Black-Fryars.
16. *William Scotman*, attended by Mr. *Ansell*, Brentford.
17. *A Boy*, attended by Mr. *Stevens*, Radcliff Cross.
18. *A Boy*, aged seven years, attended by Mr. *Jones*, Islington.
19. *Deborah Green*, attended by Mr. *Clifton*, Islington.
20. *David Adamson*, attended by Mr. *Cotton*, Blackwall.
21. *A Child*, aged three years, attended by Mr. *Morrison*, Islington.
22. *Sarah Lambeth*, attended by Mr. *Ramsay*.
23. *James Bates*, attended by Mr. *Carter*, Islington.
24. *Mary Riley*, attended by Mr. *Haynes*, Islington.
25. *A Man*, taken out of an Ice-well, attended by Mr. *Billinghurst*.
26. *Thomas Garland*, attended by Mr. *Edwards*, Lambeth.
27. *George Posnett*, attended by Mr. *Waring*, Rotherhithe.
28. *Catharine Leveridge*, attended by Mr. *Roberts*, Islington.
29. *A Child*, aged five years, attended by Mr. *Palser*, Hammersmith.
30. *John Adam Falkenhagen*, attended by Mr. *Curtis*, Islington.

Within the above periods, the Society have likewise paid rewards for the treatment, prescribed by them, of sixty-four other subjects, who unhappily were too far gone to benefit by it. On the other hand, Mr. Hawes has assured the writer, that, in consequence of the Society's having taken every method in their power to make their mode

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made of treatment generally known, fifteen persons more, besides those mentioned in the foregoing list, have been restored to life by medical gentlemen, who have been so kind as to communicate the particulars to the Society; and that among such persons were some apparently dead by suffocation. The reason for these fifteen cases not being in the foregoing list, is the Society's not having paid any reward for the treatment of them; either, because no reward was required; or because the case lay, in point of place, or with regard to its nature, beyond the bounds to which the narrowness of their funds had unhappily obliged them to confine themselves. The particulars, however, of many of these cases have been already published by the Society, and the rest will probably appear before this volume. The title of the pamphlet containing them is, "Plan and Reports of the Society, &c." This pamphlet may be had at all the booksellers; the profits arising from the sale of it, are all applied to promote the benevolent designs of the Society; and moreover the price of it is exceedingly moderate, though it abounds with the most rational entertainment. Of this the reader will find a most convincing proof in the three following cases: the first of which is the sixth in the foregoing list, and the seventh in the Society's publication for the year 1774; the second is not in the list, as the Society paid no reward on the occasion; but it is in the said publication, No. IX. The third case is in none of the pieces yet published by the Society, but perfectly authentic, as being communicated by Mr. Hawes. The remarkable success of electricity in treating the second will, we apprehend, render it particularly agreeable to our philosophical readers. We shall give all these cases (with the society's reflections upon the two first) in the writer's own words.

CASE communicated to Mr. Rich, Secretary to the Society, by Mr. Smith, of Limehouse, one of the Medical Assistants.

'Sir, *Oct. 31, 1774.*

'I have the pleasure to inform you, that I was yesterday instrumental in saving the life of a person who was in a most critical situation, by falling into the river Thames. The case was as follows:

'Nicholas Groome, aged 25 years, whose mother keeps a public house (the sign of the Red Lion and Still) in Drury-lane, went yesterday with two of his acquaintances to see a friend on board the Ashley, Capt. Crisp, an homeward bound West Indiaman, lying off Limehouse-hole, a three-mast vessel. He insisted upon climbing up the fore-mast, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his friends. When he was up to the fore-top mast head, supposed to be at the height of sixty feet from the water, he fell, first upon the round top, from thence on the gunwale of the ship, and then into the river. It wanted about an hour and half to low water. The ship was on the outside of a tier; some lighters were also a-head of her. He sunk under one of these, and arose between two others on the side next to the adjacent ship, with his face under the water, and his back upwards. A Dane belonging to the ship which lay on the inside of the Ashley, and a Black, cook of the same

same ship, perceiving the accident, immediately slid down the cables to the assistance of the unfortunate man. The Dane first laid hold of the skirt of his coat, and the black soon after seized his hand. They held him in this manner until two watermen, William Blackett and Richard Arrowsmith, of St. Catharine's, passing that way, came to their assistance. They got him into a boat, and immediately conveyed him to land; there was neither sense or motion in him. He was six or eight minutes under the water.

'I was immediately sent for, and happened fortunately to be in the way. When I arrived they had already got the patient into a public-house at Limehouse, the sign of the Horns, kept by Mr. John Horsley, who received him with great humanity, and afforded him every assistance in his power, after admittance had been refused into another house. I found him placed before the fire, void of sense, or perceptible respiration. There was no pulse at the wrists or temples, nor any beating of the heart. The attendants were already rubbing him with dry salt; I continued the friction; and in a few minutes he shewed some signs of life. I ordered the remainder of his wet clothes to be immediately taken off, and the body to be placed in bed, and rubbed well with hot flannels. In about a quarter of an hour more he attempted to speak, and the pulse was plainly to be felt at the wrist. I bled him directly, taking away about eight ounces of blood. Soon after he was made to swallow, though with some difficulty, a little warm brandy and water.

'I then particularly examined his head, and found a large lacerated wound on the right side near three inches long, which I dressed. Covering him warm, and giving proper directions to the assistants, I left him. In two hours I returned, and found him much recovered.

'The next morning he was so well, as to be able to go home with his mother in a coach, who hearing of his misfortune had come down, and attended him the preceding night.

'I should observe that, in the night after the accident, he bled from the wound on the head through all the dressings and cloths. I did not sew up the wound, though large, the scalp being so much lacerated that, in all probability it would have inflamed.

'As soon as he became sensible, he complained of violent pains in his back, legs and arms: one leg was bruised in the fall, and was considerably swoln the next morning.

'The persons who took up the body, and assisted in the recovery, as also the publican who received him into his house, deserve great commendation for their behaviour; and I doubt not they will meet with the encouragement they merit for their diligence. With sincere respects, and with hearty wishes for the success of so respectable and deserving a Society, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

RICHARD SMITH.

Although this account, given us by Mr. Smith, is perfectly satisfactory as to the fact itself, and to the most material circumstances of which he was witness; yet curiosity prompted us to enquire into the par-

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particulars antecedent to his arrival; and from Mr. Joseph Curtis, a companion of Mr. Groome, who was with him on board the vessel, and of Mr. Horsley, the landlord, we learn the following circumstances; that four or five minutes had elasped after the fall, before the body became visible to them; that it was about eight minutes after the body appeared before it could be taken up, as the persons who first endeavoured could not succeed 'till the watermen came to their assistance; that it was twenty minutes at last from the time of the body's being taken out of the water to the arrival of Mr. Smith; that he sighed in about three minutes after the means were used by that gentleman, and became universally convulsed: that it was above an hour before the patient opened his eyes, and two hours before he could speak intelligibly; and that he threw no water up from his lungs or stomach.

Notwithstanding this providential escape from immediate death, the patient was afterwards in great danger from the wounds and bruises he had received in his fall; particularly that in his head, which at first gave some cause to apprehend a fracture or fissure of the skull, but fortunately these fears were groundless; and by the great care and skill of his surgeon, Mr. Sanderson, of Great Queen-street, who in conjunction with Dr. Cogan, Mr. John Hunter, and Mr. Wm. Hawes, gave him constant attendance, he is perfectly recovered, and has returned thanks to the Society, and the above gentlemen, in the public papers.

Richard Arrowsmith, George Smith, the Black, the Dane, and William Blackett, received one Guinea each in reward of their diligent attention.

CASE communicated to the Rev. Mr. Snowden, *and Mr.* Hawes, *Apothecary, in the* Strand, *by Mr.* Squires, *of* Wardour-street, Soho.

'Catherine Sophia Greenhill, aged three years, daughter of William Greenhill, on the 16th of July, 1774, fell out of a one pair of stairs window upon the paved stones. She was taken up to all appearance dead. An apothecary being sent for, he declared that nothing could be done for the child: Mr. Squires, who lives opposite to the place where the accident happened, finding the case hopeless, with the consent of the parents very humanely tried the effects of electricity. Twenty minutes, at least, had elasped before he could apply the shock, which he gave to various parts of the body without any apparent success; but at length, upon transmitting a few shocks through the thorax, he perceived a small pulsation: soon after the child began to sigh, and to breathe, though with great difficulty. In about ten minutes she vomited. A kind of stupor, occasioned by the depression of the cranium, remained for some days, but proper means being used, the child was restored to perfect health and spirits in about a week.'

Mr. Squires gave this astonishing case of recovery to the above gentlemen, from no other motive than a desire of promoting the good of mankind; and hopes for the future, that no person will be given up for dead, till various means have been used for their recovery.

Case

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Case communicated by Mr. Stebbing, *Surgeon at* Ipswich, *to Mr.* Hawes.

'DEAR SIR,

'About three months ago, John Sage, about 7 years of age, being with his father, upon a chamber that contained near 500 combs of barley, the man had occasion to go into the office below, to unstop a trunk leading from this barley into a cistern, to let the barley run into the cistern, for the conveniency of wetting it, to make malt of.—The child being alone in the chamber, seeing the hollow or well, made in the heap of corn by the current, had the curiosity to get upon the edge; when, the barley caving in with him, he descended to the top of the trunk at the floor, which he fell across; his arms went down the trunk, his chin and body resting upon the two opposite sides of the hole. The barley still kept the current, as it had got some force; and he was, in an instant, buried five feet deep, not a person knowing he was there. The man below heard a noise, which he supposes was the boy, when he first came down to the hole; but he then thought it was the child at play with a dog on the chamber, and so took no notice of it, but went about some other business, till presently, turning about, and seeing the current of barley stopt, it struck him, that the boy by some means, was fallen into the trunk. He directly ran up stairs, in search of the boy, where he could find nothing of him. He was then confirmed in his suspicions, and immediately called for help, when three or four strong porters came to his assistance, when one of the men put his hand up the trunk, and could just reach his fingers, without being able to give him the least assistance that way: they all set to work directly to dig him out. The corn lying in a close place, made it very difficult, as it returned as fast as they threw it from them, till after some time, one man found his legs, which he endeavoured to pull at; but found the corn would not admit of his standing firm enough to exert strength sufficient to extract the boy from the strong hold the pressure of the corn made upon him. They then thought of a very happy expedient, which was, one man got hold of a beam in the cieling, and took the second man's hand, and so on, making a chain with each other, and in that way drew him out, after being buried ten or twelve minutes, under the pressure of at least a hundred combs of barley. He was apparently dead, not shewing the least signs of life; his face looked very livid, his mouth and nose stopt with barley. They sent to my house. I not being at home, my journeyman attended, who immediately opened a vein; but no blood followed this, or a second attempt. I had given the treatise published by the Society to him to read just at the time this affair happened, which furnished him with ideas of trying what friction would do in this case; when he ordered the boy's arms and breast to be well rubb'd with warm flannels, and in five minutes the blood flowed freely. I by this time came home, when I directly ordered him to a warm bed, and pursued that excellent plan, prescribed by the Society, with the greatest success.

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The first signs of life were breathing with catching, universal convulsions, intermittent pulse: I ordered him blisters for his legs and arms; bled him the two following days; all which seemed to relieve him. Still he did not recover his speech for four days; nor his senses till the sixth day; after that, his senses and strength increased; and in three weeks time, he was perfectly recovered; and has continued well ever since.

I am, &c.

GEORGE STEBBING.

Ipswich, Aug. 16. 1775.

The foregoing instances are so many fresh proofs of a fact as interesting as it is curious and surprising, *viz.* that persons may, either by immersion in water, or by other species of strangulation, have every faculty totally suspended, so that they shall, to all appearance, be dead for a considerable length of time, and yet it may be in the power of art to recover them, where the frame has suffered no essential injury.

The said instances were either communicated by gentlemen whose veracity is unquestionable, and who could readily produce a sufficient number of vouchers, were any one to discredit their evidence; or under the immediate inspection of the Society, whose words, on occasion of their first eight successful cases, when their institution was not as yet twelve months old, are too remarkably feeling, though equally modest, not to take place of our own. We shall therefore let the Society now speak entirely for themselves, just taking the liberty to adapt their words to the astonishing success they have since had, and to omit a few things, which would be only a repetition of what we ourselves have already been under a necessity of saying. The society's words are as follows:

"As to ourselves, we can have no motive to induce us to be absurdly credulous on the one hand, or on the other attempt to impose falsehoods on the public. The surprising facts recorded by our neighbours, the Dutch and French, induced us to make the like experiments. Had we not succeeded, we should have made our report to the world; and, resting satisfied with the goodness of our intention, we should have left others to draw what consequences they pleased. But *we have succeeded*; and we congratulate our countrymen upon having demonstrated a fact, which we hope will, in process of time, wipe tears from the eyes of thousands: we congratulate ourselves in being the instruments of so much happiness. These were our motives; these are our rewards; and we desire no other.

Since these are the real springs of our conduct, we lie under no temptation to act disingenuously. We are solicitous, equally with others, to weigh the validity of our undertaking, and ascertain the proportion of usefulness to our fellow-creatures likely to accrue from it; and therefore we hesitate not to declare, that we have paid our proffered rewards, in no less than sixty-four unsuccessful attempts, while the instances of recovery, in consequence of our offering rewards, and publishing instructions, are but fifty three. But so valuable is life, not only to the individual, but to his various connections, that were the cases of success never to bear a greater

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greater proportion, we should have no reason to repent of our undertaking.

Yet, were it consistent with the proposed brevity of this publication, (meaning their pamphlet, see p. 105) to give the unsuccessful cases also at large, several instances would sufficiently indicate, that the cause of their failure was owing to adventitious circumstances, which, without affecting our leading principle, rendered it morally impossible to recover the unfortunate objects.

Several of the number had lain in the water from an hour and a half to two hours, before they were taken up: and although we have engaged, that we might err on the side of safety, to give our premiums to those who shall attempt the recovery of persons in this state, yet we are not so sanguine as to expect that one in fifty could be restored under such disadvantages. Others, after being taken out, were neglected for a considerable length of time, through the ignorance of the attendants.—In another instance, the person fell into the water as he was fighting. In this case, the body must have been heated to a great degree, and the lungs surcharged with blood; and his restoration would most probably have been impracticable, had the proper means been instantly applied.

In some other cases, although we were not so happy as to succeed, yet we were for some time flattered with such signs of returning life, as demonstrated that the vital spark had not been totally extinguished, though it was not in our power to revive it.

The foregoing examples of recovery, besides incontestibly proving the practicability of restoring those who are to all appearance dead, serve to ascertain a very affecting and humiliating truth: they demonstrate that hundreds might have been restored, and have remained to this moment a blessing to their connections and to the world, had not Britain been so shamefully inattentive to these cries of the distressed; had not a baneful, may we not say *murderous* spirit of incredulity, rendered us deaf to the repeated assertions and demonstrative facts communicated to us by our neighbours on the continent; who, we are sorry to say, have, in this instance, taken large strides before us, in serving the great cause of humanity.

The second part of the Dutch Memoirs, published since the first was translated, contains no less than fifty-eight additional instances of restoration to life; so that they have redeemed, in the space of about six years, upwards of two hundred souls from death. In France they have been instrumental in saving forty-five persons out of sixty-nine in about sixteen months; and it is a natural inference, that England has permitted numbers nearly equal to perish, for want of a similar interposition.

It is acknowledged, that accidents by water may not be so frequent in and about this city as in several parts of Holland, yet they are sufficiently numerous to awaken the concern of every compassionate breast. The bills of mortality inform us, that upwards of an hundred persons are drowned within their limits in the course of a year. Some of them, indeed, being carried off by the tide, are not found for several days, and their recovery becomes

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becomes totally impossible. But the greater number are in more favourable circumstances; and supt pose but one in ten restored, what man would think the designs of this society unimportant, were himself, his relation, or his friend, that one?

It is to be hoped that the happy experience we now have, as well as that of the chief countries in Europe, will at length fix the attention of our countrymen upon this important object; and then they will soon learn how much good may be effected by their patronizing our undertaking. It would be difficult to form an estimate of the number of lives annually lost by drowning in this island: but when we recollect that we are surrounded by water; that we are the first maritime state; that accidents of this nature are perpetually happening upon navigable rivers, in sea-ports, and on voyages; and that there is not a town or village in the kingdom where the inhabitants are not exposed to danger by bathing, sliding, &c. we need not hesitate to pronounce the amount to be several hundreds. But as the methods so successfully practised, in the case of drowned persons, are also applicable in sudden deaths occasioned by various other causes; whether suffocation by the cord, by noxious vapours, (as in coal and lead mines) suspension of the vital powers by lightning, syncopies, &c. &c. what an ample and untrodden field is open for the exercise of our generous compassion! What solid benefits might we not insure to the state, what lasting happiness to thousands; were the rich individuals, or the magistracy of this great and wealthy city, to let so laudable a design share some portion of their bounty.

We cannot, upon this occasion, forbear expressing our warmest acknowledgements to Frederick Bull, Esq; lately the worthy Lord Mayor of London, for the early countenance he has given to our design. It is not unusual for societies which have gained a full establishment, or are so far advanced as to confer a degree of honour upon their presidents, to meet with respectable patrons. But for the chief magistrate of the first city in Europe, to stoop and take an infant institution by the hand, and lead it through its first dangers and difficulties, merely because it was an humane one, reflects the highest lustre upon the benevolence of his disposition, and affords an example worthy the imitation of every gentleman of fortune and influence.

But, to return to our institution, our premiums might be extended to a greater distance from the metropolis; they might also comprehend other cases of sudden deaths; we should be enabled to diffuse over the whole kingdom, even to its most retired parts, the knowledge of these successful methods, and excite a general spirit of trying salutary experiments in every case of sudden death; and there is every reason to believe that, when the public becomes familiarized to the assurance, that persons are recoverable in circumstances which were once deemed beyond the reach of help, they will exert themselves on these occasions with such vigour and perseverance as may be productive of the most happy consequences. Other parts of the nation, animated by our example, may continue to form similar institutions to avert the evils to which the inhabitants are rendered liable by their situation or employ-

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employment. Of what benefit might they not prove in sea-ports, large towns, by the side of a river, and particularly in countries abounding with mines! The very idea of such extensive utility must warm the heart of every man that has a heart to be warmed; and we confess it hurts us to have such a noble prospect opened to our view, and feel ourselves confined and fettered by the narrowness of our finances.

It is by no means our desire to erect this institution upon the ruins of any other. It is with pleasure, and with a justifiable pride, that we behold such a variety of plans formed, and supported by that spirit of benevolence which distinguishes this nation, in order to alleviate the various distresses of mankind. Our only wish is, that this may be added to the number; that we may be uniform and consistent in our acts of humanity; that the streams of public beneficence may not be confined in partial channels, but be divided and subdivided until they reach every proper object of distress.

And yet the justice we owe to our undertaking requires us to hint, that were we to draw a comparison between our institution and those many others which do honour to their patrons, it would yield to none of them, either with respect to the quantity of good produced at a comparatively small expence; the importance and extent of its views; or the peculiar benevolence of its designs.

After the extraordinary expences are defrayed, which were necessary to make our plan sufficiently known, the current expences will be nearly proportionate to the number of accidents which present themselves. As we are not burdened with any standing charges; as the spot nearest to the place where the accident has happened becomes a temporary infirmary; where, if the humanity of the inhabitant should not, a moderate gratuity furnishes all the necessary accommodations; every guinea employed will be towards the actual redemption of a life. Surely if a charitable disposition contributes such large sums with chearfulness towards the building, furniture, and maintenance of hospitals, where a princely fortune is frequently sunk previous to the expected good, and where the hopes of relief are equally uncertain to each individual, it will not refuse a moiety immediately employed in succouring a fellow creature in the depth of distress.

We must also urge that the objects this institution attempts to relieve, are the most pitiable of any that can be imagined. The design of it is, to restore such as have in an instant *been numbered amongst the dead*, by some dreadful disaster, or by some sudden impulse of phrenzy.

With respect to the latter class, although it is misery in one shape or other that drives any one to commit the horrid crime of suicide, yet every serious and considerate mind must earnestly wish to snatch them from such a destruction; that their souls may not rush into the presence of their Creator, stained with the guilt of murder; and that their relations may also be rescued from the shame as well as loss to which such rashness exposes them. In some cases, perhaps, they may repeat their attempts, and elude all endeavours to save them; yet as their horrid designs are mostly the effect

of

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of a temporary phrenzy, there is the greater reason to expect, that when returned to their senses, they will rejoice in their escape, and cordially thank their deliverers. And if indulgent benevolence has erected hospitals for the removal of evils mankind bring upon themselves by vicious gratifications, it must feel an additional pleasure in recalling a miserable creature from the very brink of eternity, into which he was precipitating himself by his own guilt. [Mr. Hawes assures the writer, that none of the unhappy persons guilty of suicide, who have had the happiness of being restored by the medical assistance of the society, have ever attempted to commit the fact again; but, on the contrary, have by their actions as well as words, expressed a due sense of their deliverance.]

A second class are the industrious poor. These from working upon water, mines, &c. are necessarily exposed to the disasters mentioned above; and have they not a kind of demand upon us, to interpose, and avert, if possible, the fatal consequences to which they are rendered liable, by serving the community with their labours, and gaining an honest livelihood? Nay, is it not our interest, as well as duty, to replace them, if possible, in their sphere of usefulness, that they may again work for their wives and families; whereby these may be snatched from immediate misery and want, and the community be relieved from an expensive burden?

Such establishments as ours intend also a general benefit. Business or pleasure, or some unforeseen cause, exposes every man, either in his own person or in his connections, to accidents by water. In other cases our stations in life may be so different, and so remote from the party we assist, that it may become impossible for us ever to partake of any other benefit from our donations, than the pleasure of doing good; but every man living is exposed to the accidents we are attempting to avert, either in his own person or connexions, without any exemption from age, sex, or fortune: and he may owe his own preservation, or the preservation of some one still dearer to him, to that institution he patronized from a motive of public utility. *So that it ought to be considered as a kind of insurance of life rather than an affair of charity; as an association against those calamities which are common to us all.* And when it shall become extensive, numbers will doubtless have cause to rejoice, that while they have been instrumental in saving others, their own, or the lives of their dearest relations, perhaps of their children, whose heedless and adventurous spirits are exposing them to perpetual dangers, have by these means been protracted for years. How many a parent is hourly subject to the danger of seeing a sprightly, thoughtless son, brought home to him a breathless corpse! What would they not give at that instant for the most distant hopes of recovery!

But the institutions formed upon the plan, and for purposes like ours, speak with peculiar energy to the finest feelings of the human heart. Death is universally dreaded as an evil, and those establishments which have for their object the healing of diseases, and restoration to vigorous active life, have justly been ranked amongst the most benevolent and useful; but sudden death, by some

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fatal disaster, aggravates the stroke. It is resented as a dreadful robbery which accident has committed; and we lament the victim as cruelly and unguardedly stript, in a moment, of the blessings he had the prospect of enjoying for a series of years. If there be, to every good man, a secret pleasure in performing acts of common beneficence, in being of *cold* utility to his fellow-creatures, how must his heart *glow* with satisfaction, where he has been instrumental in restoring to the joyful arms of relatives and friends, a parent, a child, a brother, or an intimate, at the instant they are deploring his loss with inexpressible anguish! We have too favourable an opinion of the human heart, to suspect that any one who calls himself a Christian or a man, would refuse to part with a much larger sum, than that for which we solicit, in order to extricate a fellow-creature, where he to behold him struggling with the agonies of death; or were he enabled by it to present a father to the fatherless, a husband to the widow, and a living child to the bosom of its distracted parents! And surely, it requires no great exertion of the imagination to paint this affecting scene in such colours, as to induce every man, who makes the smallest pretensions to benevolence, to concur with us in so pleasing, so delightful, so god-like a design!

We have the additional pleasure to acquaint the public, that other societies are forming for the same humane purpose. We are assured that the city of Norwich, animated by our example, has likewise established an institution for the recovery of drowned persons, under the patronage and influence of the mayor and corporation; and have done us the honour to adopt our plan, not only respecting the methods of treatment, and in the premiums they bestow, but in the appointment of medical assistants in different quarters of the town. Lord Cathcart has also generously undertaken to diffuse, at his own expence, a knowledge of the methods of treating persons in such unhappy circumstances through various parts of Scotland. Nor can we doubt but so benevolent a design, supported by so respectable a character, will meet with every encouragement on the other side of the Tweed*. And we are credibly informed, that other parts of the kingdom are likewise upon the eve of promoting similar establishments†. We cannot forbear uniting our ardent wishes, that a merciful Providence may, in like manner, smile upon their attempts, and that they may join with us, not only in an honourable but successful league against the distresses of mankind.

The society, encouraged by the events of the year 1774, have exerted themselves with double vigour, if it be possible. They have printed a large number of advertisements, containing the methods of

* The Board of Police in Scotland have since taken up this benevolent design, at his Lordship's recommendation; and written circular letters on the occasion, to the ministers and inferior officers of the police, &c. in that part of our island.

† Mr. Hawes has been so kind as to inform the writer, that, accordingly, societies of a similar nature with that of London, have been lately formed at Bristol, Liverpool, Colchester, and Hull; as likewise at Corke in Ireland.

treatment

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treatment alone, in order to disperse them through various parts of the kingdom, especially in sea-ports, and towns contiguous to large rivers, in order to diffuse a knowledge of the means of assisting persons in such critical situations, and excite the inhabitants to form similar institutions, upon plans which shall appear to them most advisable. They have likewise extended their rewards to a greater distance from the metropolis, and included every other instance of sudden death, whether by suffocation from noxious vapours, hanging, syncopies, those that are frozen, &c. They are still solicitous also to reward those gentlemen, who have been the instruments of restoration to life, with an honorary medal, in acknowledgment of their skill and generous assiduity: and, in short, propose to pursue every other method that may enable them to be more extensively useful, in saving the lives of their fellow-creatures. But, as the expences necessary to prosecute so extensive a plan must be considerable, the society hope that they shall be encouraged and assisted in their undertaking, by every one who calls himself a friend to humanity."

Names and Places of Abode of the Medical Assistants.

Middlesex side of the Thames.

MIDDLESEX.

Limehouse—Mr. Smith.
Radcliffe-Cross—Mr. Patten and Mr. Cox.
Shadwell—Mr. Bryen.
Wapping——Mr. Marshall, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Williams; Mr. Midford, and Mr. Teise.
Billingsgate—Mr. Vaux.
Lawrence Poultney-lane—Mr. Bee.
Great East-Cheap—Dr. Letsom.
Cornhill—Mr. Forster.
Broad-street—Dr. Kooystra.
Garlick-Hill—Mr. Walford.
Old-Jewry—Mr. Sharpe.
Queen-street, Cheapside—Mr. Armiger.
Paternoster-row—Dr. Cogan.
Fleet-street—Mr. Forbes.
Strand—Mr. Hawes, Mr. Clough, and Mr. Buck.
York-Buildings—Mr. Beaumont.
Whitehall—Mr. Andrews.
Downing-street, Westminster—Dr. Bancroft.
Westminster—Mr. Justamond, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Wright.
Chelsea—Mr. Halford, Mr. Greenhead, and Mr. Kinnard.
Parson's Green—Dr. Cadogan and Mr. Messiter.
Hammersmith—Mr. Loveday, Mr. Palset, and Mr. Terry.
Chiswick—Mr. Hedges and Mr. Tenison,
Brentford—Dr. Johnson and Mr. Corson, Messrs. Oliver and Ansell, Mr. Downing, Mr. Harding, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Webb.
Isleworth——Messrs. Dick and Inwood.
Twickenham—Messrs. Beauchamp and Tondero, Mr. Gilchrist.
Hampton—Mr. Griffenhoofe.
Laleham—Mr. Birks.
Sunbury—Mr. Boone.
Staines—Mr. Pope.

BERKS.

Windsor—Dr. Biddle, Dr. Thackeray, Messrs. Aylett and Williamson.
Reading—Mr. Hooper, Mr. Bully, and Mr. Goldwyer.
Henley—Mr. Clowes.
Great Marlow——Mr. Bell, Mr. Eardley, and Mr. Sneath.

SERPENTINE RIVER.

Knightsbridge—Mr. Jackson.
Piccadilly—Mr. Billinghurst.

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Kent and Surry side of the Thames.

KENT.

Gravesend——Mr. Bolger, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kite, and Mr. Mann.
Woolwich—Mr. Bickerton, Mr. Irvin, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Wood.
Deptford—Mr. Harrison, Mr. Sutton.
Greenwich———Mr. Mills, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Pocock.
Tooley-street—Mr. Breach, Mr. Hooper, Messrs. Hawes and Leadham.
Dock-Head—Mr. Penry.
Allard's Point—Mr. Chapman.
Rotherhithe—Messrs. W. and G. Chapman, Mr. Gray, Mr. Maddox, Mr. Green.

SURRY.

Blackfriars—Dr. Irving, Mr. Boyse.
Lambeth—Mr. Burgess.
Battersea—Mr. Lumsden.
Wandsworth—Mr. Squire.
Putney—John Rose, Esq; Mr. Norris.
Fulham—Mr. Parry, Mr. Coghlan.
Mortlake—Mr. Davis, Mr. King.
Richmond—Dr. Baker. Mr. Jackson, Mr. Smith.
Kingston—Dr. Lewis, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hemmings, Mr. Roots, Mr. Smith, Mr. Waterhouse.
Walton——Mr. Howard.
Weybridge—Mr. Webb.
Chertsey——Mr. Mapletoft, Mr. Smith.

NEW RIVER.

Islington———Mr. Hole and Mr. Church.
Hoxton—Mr. Parkinson, Hoxton-square.
Stoke-Newington——Mr. Garrett, Mr. John.
Hackney——Mr. Downing, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Toulmin.
Tottenham—Mr. Holt.
Edmonton—Mr. Abel.
Enfield——Messrs. Prichard and Sherwin, Mr. Harrison.
Bow—Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Coles.

ESSEX.

Waltham-Abbey—Mr. Cannon, Mr. Heron, Mr. Waddington.
Stratford——Messrs. How, Doyle, and Talbutt, Mr. Miller.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Hertford——Mr. Chandler, Mr. Frost, Mr. Cutler.
Ware—Mr. Burr, Mr. Welford, Mr. Worsley.
Cheshunt———Dr. Napier, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Saunders.
Hoddesdon—Mr. Baker.

The treasurer of the society, upon receiving a letter from one or more of the medical assistants, that a drowned person was immediately received, and all necessary assistance given, is authorized to pay the rewards first mentioned, p. 101.

The society having extended their rewards to so many places, it is earnestly to be wished, that a proper attention be paid to their humane endeavours, so that no unfortunate object may be consigned to the grave, until the proper methods of treatment have been diligently used, it being now so obvious that by a steady perseverance many persons, in all appearance dead, may be restored to life, to the community, and to their friends.

The society will be much obliged to medical gentlemen, in town or country, to communicate any case of recovery, together with the means made use of, to James Horsfall, Esq; treasurer to the society, Middle Temple, London.

The society also assure the public, that they will pay the above rewards both in successful and unsuccessful cases, which shall be treated at Blackwall, Teddington, Hampton-

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Hampton-Court, &c. where no medical gentlemen reside, upon the treasurer's receiving a letter from two of the principal inhabitants, that the method of treatment laid down by the society was used for full two hours.

Subscriptions for carrying on this humane undertaking, are received by the following gentlemen: James Horsfall, Esq. treasurer, Middle-Temple; Dr. Cogan, No. 11, Paternoster-Row; Mr. Hawes, apothecary, No. 221, Strand.

Description of a Machine for saving Persons and Effects from Fire.

THIS machine, in its most simple state, consists of a pole, a rope, and a basket.

The pole is of fir, or a common scaffold pole, of any convenient length from thirty-six to forty-six feet; the diameter at bottom, or greatest end, about five inches; and at the top, or smallest end, about three inches. At three feet from the top is a mortice through the pole, and a pulley fixed to it of nearly the same diameter as the pole in that part.

The rope is about three quarters of an inch diameter, and twice the length of the pole, with a spring hook at one end, to pass through the ring in the handle of the basket when used; it is put through the mortice over the pulley, and then drawn tight on each side to near the bottom of the pole, and made fast there till wanted.

The basket should be of strong wicker-work, three feet and a half long, two feet and a half wide, rounded off at the corners, and four feet deep, rounding every way at the bottom. To the top of the basket is fixed a strong iron curve or handle, with an eye or ring in the middle; and to one side of the basket, near the top, is fixed a small cord, or guide-rope, of about the length of the pole.

When the pole is raised, and set against a house over the window from which any persons are to escape, the manner of using it is so plain and obvious, that it needs not to be described.

The most convenient distance from the house, for the foot of the pole to stand, where practicable, is about twelve or fourteen feet.

If two strong iron straps, about three feet long, rivetted to a bar cross, and spreading about fourteen inches at the foot, were fixed at the bottom of the pole, this would prevent its turning round or slipping on the pavement.

And if a strong iron hoop, or ferule, rivetted (or welded) to a semi-circular piece of iron spreading about twelve inches, and pointed at the ends, were fixed on at the top of the pole, it would prevent its sliding against the wall.

When these two last mentioned irons are fixed on, they give the pole all the steadiness of a ladder.

And because it is not easy, except to persons who have been used to it, to raise and set upright a pole of forty feet or more in length, it will be convenient to have two small poles, or spars of about two inches diameter, fixed to the sides of the great pole at about two or three feet above the middle of it, by iron eyes rivetted to two plates, so as to turn every way; the lower end of these spars to reach within a foot of the bottom of the great pole, and to have ferules and

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short spikes to prevent sliding on the pavement, when used occasionally to support the great pole, like a tripod.

There should be two strong ash trundles let through the pole, one at four feet, and one at five feet from the bottom, to stand out about eight inches on each side, and to serve as handles, or to twist the rope round in lowering a very heavy weight.

If a block and pulley were fixed at about the middle of the rope, above the other pulley, and the other part of the rope made to run double, it would diminish any weight in the basket nearly one half, and be very useful in drawing any person up, to the assistance of those in the chambers, or for removing any effects out of a chamber, which it might be dangerous to attempt by the stairs.

It has been proved, by repeated trials, that such a pole as we have been speaking of can be raised from the ground, and two or three persons taken out of the upper windows of an house and set down safely in the street, in the space of 35 seconds, or a little more than half a minute.

Sick and infirm person, women, children, and many others, who cannot make use of a ladder, may be safely and easily brought down from any of the windows of an house on fire by this machine, and by putting a short pole through the handles of the basket, may be removed to any distance without being taken out of the basket. The pole must always have the rope ready fixed to it, and may be conveniently laid up upon two or three iron hooks under any shed or gate-way, and the basket should be kept at the watch-house. When the pole is laid up, the two spars should always be turned towards the head of it.

The basket should be made of peeled rods, and the pole and spars painted of a light stone colour, to render it more visible when used in the night.

Watchmen and others should be exercised in the use of it; and it might perhaps be adviseable for parishes to allow five or six shillings to the first pole brought to any fire.

The machine may also be useful to workmen in various branches, who have any thing to do aloft on the outside of houses, and will not be more expensive than a common standard ladder.

Remarks on Fire-ladders.

Since the above contrivance has been offered to the public, I have observed that an intended improvement has been made to several of the fire-ladders, (which the different parishes in this metropolis are, by act of parliament, obliged to keep) by adding spars to the ladders as described to the fire pole; but through the ignorance or inattention of the people employed to fix them, these spars are of no manner of use; on the contrary, they must rather obstruct those employed in raising them on any emergency; for such ladders as I have seen with these additional spars, have them fixed within a few feet of the top of the ladder, with the ends so long, as to reach almost to the foot of it; but to render these serviceable, they must be fixed about three or four feet only above the middle of the ladder, according to the length of it, with the opposite ends lying along the small part or top of the ladder, in the manner described in the account of the fire-pole; by which

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which means only they can be useful in raising it.

This observation is intended for the public good, and as a hint to such parish officers and others who have the care and direction of the parliamentary fire-ladders.

Bucklesbury, Yours, &c.
Sept. 18. G.

N. B. The length of these spars must be in proportion to the length of the ladder, agreeable to the directions given in the description of the fire-pole.

We cannot conclude this article better, than by the following humane and generous advertisement, stuck up in several places at the west end of London; and hope it will prove an example to other gentlemen of the same profession with those therein mentioned:

FIRE.

WHEREAS great destruction often happens by fire for want of a speedy supply of water and engines; and as it has been found that, for the sake of rewards given by act of parliament, a combination has lately been entered into amongst the keepers of parish engines to prevent immediate notice being given to the owners and keepers of private engines, who have horses and every means of quick conveyance in that dreadful calamity of fire; in consequence of which delay, fires very often arise to a great head: therefore for the preventing of such delay in future, the following gentlemen, brewers, viz. Mr. Cox, Baynbrigg-street, St. Giles's; Mess. Hammond, Gifford, and Co. Castle-street, Long Acre; Mr. Mason, Broad-street, St. Giles's; and Mr. Hucks, Bloomsbury, do give this public notice, that they will not permit or suffer any of their servants to claim or take any of the rewards given by the said act for bringing their engines to fires; which they hope will not only be the means of preventing the said combination in future, but also stir up every person to give immediate notice to the gentlemen above-named on the first breaking out of any fire within a reasonable distance from their respective brewhouses, who will not only order their engines out, with proper assistance, but also send with them a quantity of water on their drays, in casks, to work them until a sufficient supply of it comes into the different plugs belonging to the several water companies; which may be a means of preventing that dreadful havock which is often occasioned by the want thereof.

Recipe for an excellent Cosmetic, as well as Preventative and Remedy for those nauseous and stubborn Disorders, the Scald Head and Itch; and all other Disorders, both internal and external, proceeding from Worms, in Man or Beast; which Recipe, accordingly, was some time ago found very beneficial in a Mortality among the Calves; by Doctor Cook, of Leigh, in Essex.

Leigh, Essex, Feb. 1, 1773.

Experientia Docet.

AS a lucky discovery of a proper medicine that could cure the infectious distemper of horned cattle, would certainly prove of universal utility to the public, I here humbly propose the following prescription, not indeed on certainty of success, as having no instance of

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its efficacy as yet, but hereafter to make trial of, as experience teaches knowledge.

The recipe is cheap, and its application easy. If that theory be true, that such infectious diseases originally proceed from animalcula preying upon the blood and juices, it is highly probable this safe mineral water, may not only cure the cattle after infection, but if previously applied to, may even prevent the catching the disease also.

Was it for no more than its many well known virtues in venereal cases; in curing scald heads; opening obstructions; washing ulcers; killing worms; and all other vermin, whether internally or externally subsisting, by drinking it freely in the first case, and washing the skin often therewith, in the last; it is well worth recommending as a general, neat, safe, cheap, and easy preparation of simple mercury, an excellent medicine of many virtues, fit for all ages, climates, and seasons, much to be wished for, and greatly wanted, and is no more at last than simple rain water impregnated with the most minute smooth particles of pure mercury, or quicksilver; as safe to use, both internally and externally, as mother's milk, and yet as insipid as water itself was before put thereto.

Boil two gallons of soft water on one pound of purified quick-silver till half the water is wasted, or a lesser, or greater quantity at a time, and that proportionably, as needed; after which pour both into a bottle, to be ready for use; shake them well first every time when about to use it; give to either man, or beast, as much and often, as they can well drink, to kill worms in the stomach, intestines, bowels, and blood, either by itself, or dashed with milk, or white wine, both for change and stomach's sake; and for cutaneous feculencies, to wash the skin of both with the same mercurial decoction, warmed every day, as freely as with plain water, which wipe not off, but let dry in.

It was of service once in preserving the farmers calves, when there was some time ago a mortality among them, occasioned (as was discovered by opening them for examination) from worms found in their bowels; from a recipe of this kind, published by me in the Gentleman's Magazine.

This simple and safe preparation, makes a very neat cure for the itch, scab, scurf, and all other foulness of the skin, and is likewise a safe, clean, and excellent cosmetic lotion for ladies' faces. For such uses make it thus.

Boil two quarts of water on four ounces of quick-silver till half the water is wasted; put both in a bottle fo use. The same quicksilver will serve to boil again the same way as often as fresh mercurial water is needed.

But not to take my single word for it. To be better credited in what I write, I will quote two good authorities therefore, one no less than the late excellent philosopher, the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; from page 392 of his Sceptical Chemist, as it should be spelt, (and not chymist, as it most commonly is) who, near the end of his treatise, writes thus thereon:

"Quick-silver itself also, though the corpuscles it consists of be so very small as to get into the pores of that closest, and compactest of bodies, gold, is yet (you know) altogether tasteless; and our Hermont

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mont several times tells us, that fair water wherein a little quantity of quicksilver has lain for some time, tho' it acquire no certain taste, or other sensible quality from the quicksilver, yet it has a power to destroy worms in human bodies, which he does much, but not causelessly extol. I remember a great lady that had been eminent for beauty in diverse courts, confessed to me, that this insipid liquor was of all innocent washes for the face, the best that she ever met with."

Next, Helmont, in Vol. II. of his Ortus Medicinæ, p. 576, writes thus:

"Si nempe argentum vivum macéretur in magna aquæ communis quantitate. Hæc namque, etsi ne minimum quid de argento vivo in se sorbeat, aut ad sui naturam convertere queat: attamen ab argento vivo proprietatem, non item substantiam mutuat, sic ut pota aqua ejusmodi necet lumbricos universos, & ascarides, existentes etiam, quo potus iste nunquam pervenit: quippe qui mox totus in lotium rapitur. Fitque aqua ista contra lumbricos validior, si semel cum argento vivo bullierit. Sic unica uncia argenti vivi millies poterit mensuram aquæ inficere, attamen permanere in pondere, & proprietate, pristinis, &c."

In English thus: If quicksilver be steeped in a large quantity of common water; for this water, although it doth not sip up any of the quicksilver into itself, or is not able to convert it into its own nature, yet it borrows a property, not likewise a substance from the quick-silver, so as that such waters being drank, doth kill all kinds of worms, and ascarides, also those which exist where that drink never comes, because it is that which soon wholly snatched into urine. And that water becomes stronger against worms, if it shall once boil with the quick-silver: one single ounce of quick-silver shall be able a thousand times to infect a measure of water, and yet remain in its ancient weight and property.

I quote this passage only for the fact, and not the theory which is both fantastical and false; for the whey-ish colour the quicksilver communicates to the water, proves the solution of some of its particles among those of the water that is boiled thereon; and it is known to decrease in weight, and waste also by many repeated boilings; so that it is strange so eminent a chemist should teach such erroneous doctrine, and substitute an unintelligible and metaphysical philosophy, which not only betrays the chemical, but also chimerical enthusiast, as he, his son, and even Paracelsus, all three certainly were.

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me Account of the Institution, and present promising State, &c. of an undertaking for usefully employing Female Infants, especially those of the Poor, in the Blond and Black Silk Lace, and Thread Lace Manufactories, &c. From Papers, &c. supplied by the Proprietors.

EVERY design which tends to promote the commercial interest of a country is worthy observation; but that, which at the time that it strengthens the hands of industry, advances the temporal and eternal welfare of our fellow-creatures, in an especial manner merits attention. How far the PROPRIETORS of this undertaking may be able to effect so salutary a work, is submitted to the public.

They

They premise, that by many years assiduity, and the most diligent enquiry, hey have discovered the minutiæ i preparing the materials, which costitute the superior excellence of he foreign, and can indubitably prove—if properly encouraged,—that they will be able not only t vie with, but to exceed in beauty and fabrick, the goods manufactued in FRANCE; where many thousands—women and children—are constantly employed in this branch; and it is the FRENCH plan IMPLOYED, which the PROPRIETORS of the LONDON manufactory have adopted. The advantages to be derived from it, are briefly thee. The employing of female infants, especially those o the poor, from five years old and upwards, will introduce an earl familiar habit of industry amon the most indigent of the commu nity, and lay a foundation for pre serving them from those danger and misfortunes to which,—fro their sex and situations,—they ar so peculiarly exposed.

Almost infinite are the numbe of persons in the metropolis and it vicinage, whose children are to numerous to receive a maintenance much less an education from them what then must be the portion o the daughters of such unhappy pa rents? Poor and ignorant as they are, and encompassed with every temptation, they are too often dri ven to destruction, long before their passions can have any share in their guilt; and that principally, if not entirely, for want of employment suitable to their tender age; so as to become, in time, both in body and mind, the most wretched part of the community; first a snare to others, then a loathsome burthen to themselves; and all the while a heartbreak and disgrace to their wretched families. To remedy these evils, and if possible prevent them; to encourage industry, by employing a number of female infants, especially of the poor; and to save so considerable an annual remittance to FRANCE, amounting perhaps to about four hundred thousand pounds a year, is the intent of the present plan.

The most fertile soil, when neglected, produces only noxious weeds and venomous reptiles; but when the careful hand of industry manures and cultivates the earth, then vegetation rears its verdurous head; a rich increase repays the labourer's toil! It is the same thing with youth. The silk-worm, till the use of its labours came to be known, probably was neglected, and held in the same light with other reptiles; but, when the utility of its web was discovered, it obtained the attention of mankind, who soon found it their interest to promote that beautiful and profitable present of nature, the wealth flowing from which, gives support and happiness to millions.

But to return to our plan of employment: Did it tend to instill into the minds of its objects sentiments beyond the sphere in which providence hath placed them, did it propose a scheme of life repugnant to their subordinate situations, an unanswerable objection might be made to it; but, founded as it is on a commercial and even moral system, it not only inculcates the necessity of industry, but introduces the mind, at an early period when is most susceptible of impression, a familiar acquaintance with the cles of truth. Religion is the

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grand basis of all moral and social virtues, on the practice or neglect of which the distinction between the decent and profane, must be allowed to depend. Now, to cultivate that etherial principle in its various departments, to prune the luxuriant foliage, to nurture the engrafted scion, and lead it to perfection; to harmonize, in short, the labour of the body in its different organs with the improvement of the mind, is, as much as any other, one of the important ends of this institution, as will, it is humbly presumed, evidently appear by the following state of the manufactories, established in the year 1775. Two manufactories have been opened, one at No. 14, in Mary-la-bone-Lane, and James's-Street, Westminster; in which more than three hundred girls are employed, who give good evidence of their capacity and alacrity to learn; many, who have not been in there above six months, carrying home to their parents from five to seven shillings a month, with an expectation of more as they improve. They are besides provided with books and instructed in spelling, reading, and religious duties, at the expence of the PROPRIETORS.

These manufactories afford a pleasing scene of industry, perhaps not to be equalled in England. The assiduity and improvement of the children in them exceed the expectations even of the PROPRIETORS themselves, and prove that nothing but time and encouragement are wanting, to enable these little female artisans to produce LACE superior to the FRENCH.

Many girls, out of the fruits of their labour, have already been able to cloath themselves, so as to make a more decent appearance than when admitted; they have moreover evidently acquired such an habit of industry, and orderly behaviour, as to afford an unquestionable testimony, that the undertaking must, if properly supported, answer every end proposed by it.

By a contrivance to keep the pillows from resting on their laps, with the opportunity of standing to the work, the objection to a constant sitting, and the effects that such a position might produce, are obviated.

The rooms in which the children work are spacious and lightsome, with stoves to keep them warm; and ventilators to let off the foul, or bring in fresh air; and, moreover, the doors and windows are constantly kept open, when the weather will admit it, during the childrens' absence. The hours of working are very moderate. But what perhaps is of more consequence than any other circumstance, the greatest care is taken in chusing the mistresses put over the children.

It is, further, the intention of the PROPRIETORS, in case they meet with sufficient encouragement, to build or take a house for the purpose of harbouring such children as may have no parents, or only such as it would be best not to leave them with. They should likewise be glad to have it in their power to accommodate them with a chapel within doors, to avoid the danger that may attend their going out to perform their religious duties; in which case too, as in other charities, those children, which should be found to have good voices and

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and good ears, might be instructed in music, and thereby enabled, not only to afford a rational entertainment to the public, but contribute to the support of the institution, which had brought to light, and cultivated talents, that might afterwards prove highly beneficial to themselves.

Terms of subscription are at the rate of two guineas for a ticket, which will procure the child bringing it an admittance to the manufactory nearest to her habitation; there to be provided, by the PROPRIETORS, with all necessary materials, and likewise instructions for working up these materials, &c. all without any further expence to the subscribers.

Those children who are very young or infirm, as they will require more time for tuition, must be employed six months before they receive any allowance.

Those who are seven years of age, and of course capable of receiving a more expeditious instruction, will receive pay at the end of three months.

Should any child be found unfit for the business within the first month, the subscriber is to have notice of it, and will be at liberty to send another in her stead. Or if any child does not conform to the printed rules and orders, after the three months appropriated to the learning of the business, and during which time the children must constantly attend, unless ill, her ticket is forfeited, and she can never again be admitted into the manufactory.

Her Most Gracious MAJESTY, their Royal Highnesses the PRINCESSES, and the Princess AMELIA, with numbers of the NOBILITY, have condescended to visit the manufactory, and expressed their approbation of the undertaking.

Those LADIES who wish to encourage this laudable undertaking, in which the happiness of so many are concerned, may be supplied with LACE by the Proprietors BRYANT and Co. at their WAREHOUSE, No. 161, near Stratford-place, in Oxford street; who have also established manufactories in the country on an entire new plan; and, to render their endeavours more extensively useful, they are determined to dispose of their laces, &c. upon such reasonable terms, as will, they hope, sufficiently apologize for their selling only for present money, without their observing the impossibility of any private property being sufficient to support such an undertaking on the footing of credit.

Such LADIES and GENTLEMEN, as are desirous of seeing these MANUFACTORIES, may be accommodated with tickets for that purpose, at the above warehouse. The time of VISITING for that at No. 14, Mary-la bone-Lane, is every Monday, from ten to three o'clock: and for that in James's-Street, Westminster, every Tuesday, at the same hours.

Among the very respectable subscribers to this undertaking, the Proprietors have the honour and happiness of counting, her Most Gracious MAJESTY; her Royal Highness, the Princess Royal; her Royal Highness, the Princess Augusta; her Royal Highness, the Princess Amelia; his Grace, the Duke of Portland; the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Besborough; Lady Mary Cooke; her Grace, the Duchess of Argyle; her Grace, the Duchess of

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of Northumberland; her Grace, the Duchess of Buccleugh; Countess Spencer; Lady Juliana Penn; Hon. T. Penn, Esq; Lady Caroline Egerton; her Grace, the Duchess of Bridgewater; Lady Caroline Peachy; Lady Charlotta Finch; Lady Harriot Conyers; Lady Caroline Egerton; her Grace, the Duchess Dowager Beaufort; Lady Mary Isabella Somersett; Lady Elizabeth Compton; Lady Louisa Connolly; Lady Dartrey; Lady Harriot Spencer; Lady Caroline Egerton; Hon. Mrs. Raby Vane; her Grace, the Duchess of Manchester; Lady Dowager Waltham; Sir Philip Gibbs, Bart. Lady Mayne; Lady Yonge; Lady Francis Burgoyne; Lady Dow. Galway; Lady Francis Fitzwilliam; Lady Bingham; Lady Dow. Albemarle; Lady Dow. Galway; Earl of Guilford; Lady Caroline Montague; the Hon. Mrs. Hatton; Lady Mayne; Lady Elliot Murray; the Rev. and Hon. Archdeacon Harley; Countess Gower; Lady Goodear; her Grace, the Duchess of Ancaster; Lady Jones; Lacy Langham; Lady Dow. Yonge; Lady Mary Cholmondely; Lady Louisa Leveson Gower; her Grace, the Duchess of Manchester; the Hon. Mrs. Hatton; Lady Caroline Egerton; the Hon. Mrs. How; Lady Viscount Folkstone; the Honourable Henry Fane; Marchioness of Tweedale; his Grace, the Duke of Northumberland; her Grace, the Duchess of Buccleugh.

An Address to the Farmers of Great-Britain *on the great Advantages of setting Wheat, instead of sowing it in the usual way.*

SOME of you have often been amused with schemes of Husbandry, by men of no practical knowledge, doubtless with a laudable intention, but who, for want of that grand requisite, experience, could only engage men of reading, or speculation, whose approbation alone could be the reward of the benevolent theorists. But what I have now to propose to you, was begun by a man of your own profession, adopted by his neighbours, from a persuasion of its utility, and now, from repeated and experimental proofs, diffusing itself thro' a large county. The practice I mean, is setting of wheat, which was first begun a few miles west of Norwich, by a little farmer, on about an acre of land. The success was more than proportioned to his ideas, and was presently adopted by many who had before made it a subject of ridicule. For four or five years its practice has progressively enlarged, and some of the largest farmers, as well as many public-spirited gentlemen of Norfolk, began, last seed-time, to practice it; and I have just received an information from one of the former, that he is perfectly assured he has a quarter per acre more in this mode, than by the ordinary practice.

In whatever light this practice is viewed, it is an additional conciliation to its being generally adopted. The first saving of seed is adequate to the extraordinary expence, which expence goes to labourers, women, and children, of course centres in the parochial benefit; the seed is lodged beyond the reach of vermin and frost; the weeds from the springing crop, are easier eradicated; the ears are larger, with but little inequality of size consequent; no dwarfish

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dwarfish or unripe ears, a prevention to an early harvest; the grain of an equal and fuller body, and specifically weightier per bushel than an equal seed sown on a proportionally matured soil. With these various and experimented advantages, I cannot but earnestly recommend it to the farmers of other counties; whence follows a recital of the mode of planting it, which is most advantageously practised on a clover stubble, or on those lands where trefoil and grass-seeds were sown the spring preceding the last, and on which the cattle have pastured during the last summer. These grounds, after the usual manuring, are once turned over by the plough, in an extended turf, or flag, about ten inches over, along which a man, who is called a dibbler, with two setting irons, somewhat thicker than ram-rods, enlarged near the end, and then terminating in a point, with cases of wood at the other ends for handles; with these he steps backwards along the turf, and makes his holes about three or four inches asunder, and one inch deep, into each of which holes the droppers (women, boys, or girls,) drop one, two, or three grains, but two are held preferable to one, or more; after which a gate, with branches of thorns run through its ledges or rails, drawn by a horse, fills up the holes, and closes the operation.

Method of drying, combining, and preserving all Sorts of Plants and Roots, for the purpose of affording plenty, cheap, wholesome and palatable Food, for the Use of Man. Imparted by John George Eisen, *Pastor of* Torma, *in* Livonia, *and Fellow of the* Free Economical Society *at* St. Petersburgh.

ALL the methods of drying plants hitherto in use, are attended with the inconveniences of either scorching them, or allowing them to begin to perish, or exposing them to filth. The fundamental idea of my method of drying, is to avoid all these faults, and simply, to evaporate the watery parts out of the plants, leaving them in all other respects nearly as possible in their natural state; for thus upon being put into water, they can easily recover, to a great degree, their original qualities, the moisture readily re-entering the undisturbed fibres. This is effected by applying to them a proper degree of heat, and continuing it till they are quite dry.

Most plants, but particularly those which are white, must be put to dry immediately as they are gathered, without being suffered to wither in the least. Several vegetables should be scalded before they are dried, and these also should be laid on the stove the instant the hot water is poured off from them.

The drying stove may be built with horizontal layers of bricks about three feet high; upon it is fitted a frame in which coarse lines are stretched across; these support the plants to be dried, which are laid upon a linen cloth. Over the stove is hung a ladder, upon which any plant taken from the stove before it was quite dry, that it might not be scorched, is laid in sieves or frames, to complete the drying. And indeed many vegetables may be dried throughout

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out as well upon this ladder as upon the stove itself.

Several plants can be dried in hot sunshine, without losing any of their virtues, notwithstanding the vulgar prejudice. Or they may be dried in a hot room, a malt-kiln, or the like. The half-stoves in Russia are very proper for the purpose.

To carry on this drying in a large way, long stoves should be built with chambers above, into which the frames might be shoved from without to avoid the heat.—Such as they use on the Rhine for drying fruit would answer very well.

After the plants have been perfectly dried, in order to preserve them better, and for the convenience of carriage, they are to be packed up as close as possible in cartridge paper. Some may be put into the papers in the same dry state as when they were taken from the stove. Others should be damped a little by a few drops of water, in order to make them tough for packing, and these packets, after they are well made up, should be laid upon the stove, till they are again perfectly dry.—The packets which are intended for long voyages may be farther secured in canisters or pitched casks.

These dried plants may be divided into three classes. Those which are to be eaten as garden-stuff with meat. Those which are to be used as sallads—and those which are to be employed for seasoning.

A great many sorts of garden-stuff, especially all the cabbage kind, may, with great advantage, be sowed before they are dried, and in that state be employed for preparing the favourite Russian porridge, called Tchtscher, and many other very wholesome antiscorbutic dishes, particularly at sea or in camps.

Any thing in which they are to be dressed should boil before they are put in: these sorts should be moistened with vinegar before they are made up in the packets.

The soured plants may be baked with different kinds of meal into biscuits, adding dried onions, cummin seed, juniper berries, and some pepper. Such biscuits are a great improvement to broth, and even very convenient for making of it, as they contain all the ingredients of the broth in one mass together, except the flesh and salt.

These biscuits dissolved in water make a very refreshing and wholesome drink.

Many fruits, and also pease, beans, and the like, may be boiled to a pulp, and then that pulp dried like a fresh plant.

All vegetables, intended for seasoning, are excellent, dried in this way. The morels particularly are vastly better than those dried in the air only. Onions, and all plants of the onion kind, prepared by this method, make very fine seasoning for most dishes. The roots should be sliced across, for longitudinal pieces dry very difficultly; when dry they are commonly powdered.

Many sorts of the dried garden-stuff require, when they are to be dressed, a previous scalding, and they must not stay to cool after this, otherwise they become tough, but the water must be poured off while it is yet hot, and the plants immediately put into boiling water to be finally dressed. Some kinds, however, should not be treated in thi

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this manner: Broccoli, in particular, loses all its taste by being thus scalded before it is boiled. But whether scalded or not, the water in which they are to be dressed should always boil before they are put in.

Of the sallads, some are to be put in tepid water till they have plumped up, and others in scalding water.—After they have grown cold again they are to be dressed with oil and vinegar, &c. — Powdered radish is to be soaked in cold water.

The scheme of drying all sorts of esculent plants is attended with the following advantages.

It increases the articles of food, both by introducing new plants, and by causing the old ones to be more used, because they may be always at hand.

It furnishes a very wholesome diet, exactly calculated to prevent the bad effects of too much animal food, particularly of the sallad kind, and to obviate the danger of bad air, bad water, and pestilential diseases.

It enables the seaman and the soldier to be constantly supplied with so essential an article to their health, by bringing it into a small compass, and to a very moderate weight, so that it may always be carried with them, with very little additional trouble.

That nothing may be wasted, the refuse of garden-stuff should be dried in the oven after the bread hath been taken out. That this makes very good fodder for cattle is well known; but every one does not know this circumstance, that if it is scalded and mixed up with a little meal, it proves good food for the poultry. What is gathered late in the autumn may be pressed into a proper vessel, and prevented from fermenting by fresh water kept upon it; by which means much corn may be saved.

The advantages that would arise to our seamen in time of war from having the above methods brought to common practice, are too obvious to need mentioning. It is therefore hoped, that if these hints furnish any gentleman with a mode of experiment, that they will, for the benefit of so valuable a body of men as the sailors, communicate their improvements. The time proposed by Mr. Eisen for his vegetables to keep, was from two to three years, and there is no doubt of the possibility of their doing so; but the same number of months would be sufficient, as the length of voyages, and common cruizes, seldom exceed that time, and it is to be supposed that when frequent practice has rendered the method of preparing the different plants easy and familiar, that every country will furnish the voyager a sufficient fresh supply for his farther proceeding.

The pulp of fruits being likewise proper for the same mode of preservation, will be found of great benefit in passing through the tropical climates, where several nutritive fruits are produced; and as in those climates the blood is very apt to be broke down for want of a proper mixture of food, it is to be hoped that this mode of preserving fruits and vegetables, may supply to the seaman and soldier such an increase of wholesome diet, as may enable them to pass through the most noxious climate, without suffering

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fering those calamitous disorders in the service of their country, to which they have been too frequently exposed.

J. B.

Simple and easy method of making Hay. *From Essays relating to Agriculture and Rural Affairs; by a* Farmer.

And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground, where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together. SWIFT.

'INSTEAD of allowing the hay,' says he, 'to lie, as usual in most places, for some days in the swathe after it is cut, and afterwards alternately putting it up into cocks and spreading it out, and tedding it in the sun, which tends greatly to bleach the hay, exhales its natural juices, and subjects it very much to the danger of getting rain, and thus runs a great risk of being made good for little, I make it a general rule, if possible, never to cut hay but when the grass is quite dry; and then make the gatherers follow close upon the cutters, putting it up immediately into small cocks about three feet high each, when new put up, and of as small a diameter as they can be made to stand with; always giving each of them a slight kind of thatching, by drawing a few handfuls of the hay from the bottom of the cock all around, and laying it lightly upon the top, with one of the ends hanging downward. This is done with the utmost ease and expedition; and, when it is once in that state, I consider my hay, as in a great measure out of danger: for, unless a violent wind should arise immediately after the cocks are put up, so as to overturn them, nothing else can hurt the hay; as I have often experienced, that no rain, however violent, ever penetrates into these cocks but for a very little way. And, if they are dry put up, they never sit together so closely as to heat; although they acquire, in a day or two, such a degree of firmness, as to be in no danger of being overturned by wind after that time, unless it blows a hurricane.

In these cocks, I allow the hay to remain, until, upon inspection, I judge, that it will keep in pretty large tramp-cocks, (which is usually in one or two weeks, according as the weather is more or less favourable) when two men, each with a long-pronged pitch-fork, lift up one of these small cocks between them with the greatest ease, and carry them, one after another, to the place where the tramp-cock is to be built.* And, in this manner, they proceed over the field till the whole is finished.

* 'If the hay is to be carried to any considerable distance, this part of the labour may be greatly abridged, by causing the carriers to take two long sticks of a sufficient strength, and having laid them down by the small cocks, parallel to one another, at the distance of one and a half, or two feet asunder, let them lift three or four cocks, one after another, and place them carefully above sticks, and then carry them all together, as if upon a hand-barrow, to the place where the large rick is to be built.'

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The advantages that attend this method of making hay, are, that it greatly abridges the labour; as it does not require above the one half of the work that is necessary in the old method of turning and tedding it; that it allows the hay to continue almost as green as when it is cut, and preserves its natural juices in the greatest perfection: for, unless it be the little that is exposed to the sun and air upon the surface of the cocks, which is no more bleached than every straw of hay saved in the ordinary way, the whole is dried in the most slow and equal manner that could be desired: And, lastly, that it is thus in a great measure secured from almost the possibility of being damaged by rain. This last circumstance deserves to be much more attended to by the farmer than it usually is at present; as I have seen few who are sufficiently aware of the loss that the quality of their hay sustains by receiving a slight shower after it is cut, and before it is gathered; the generality of farmers seeming to be very well satisfied, if they get in their hay without being absolutely rotted; never paying the least attention to its having been several times thoroughly wetted while the hay was making. But, if these gentlemen will take the trouble, at any time, to compare any parcel of hay that has been made perfectly dry, with another parcel from the same field, that has received a shower while in the swathe, or even a copious dew, they will soon be sensible of a very manifest difference between them; nor will their horses or cattle ever commit a mistake in chusing between the two.

Easy Process for making Ice, without the Assistance of Snow, Nitre, or any other Kind of Salt; even close to the Tropics, and in low Grounds; as practised in the East-Indies. *In a Letter from Sir* Robert Barker, *F. R. S. to Dr.* Brocklesby.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

Spring-gardens, March 2, 1775.

SIR,

THE process of making ice in the East-Indies having become a subject of speculation, I beg permission to present you with the method by which it was performed at Allahabad, Mootegil, and Calcutta, in the East-Indies, lying between 25½ and 23½ degrees of north latitude. At the latter place I have never heard of any persons having discovered natural ice in the pools or cisterns, or in any waters collected in the roads; nor has the thermometer been remarked to descend to the freezing point; and at the former very few only have discovered ice, and that but seldom. But in the process of making ice at these places it was usual to collect a quantity every morning, before sun-rise (except in some particular kinds of weather, which I shall specify in the sequel), for near three months in the year: *viz.* from December till February.

The ice-maker belonging to me at Allahabad (at which place I principally attended to this enquiry) made a sufficient quantity in the winter for the supply of the table during the summer season. The methods he pursued were as follows: on a large open plain, three or four excavations were made, each about thirty feet square and two deep; the bottoms of which were strewed

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strewed about eight inches or a foot thick with sugar cane, or the stems of the large Indian corn dried. Upon this bed were placed in rows near no each other, a number of small, shallow, earthen pans, for containing the water intended to be frozen. These are unglazed, scarce a quarter of an inch thick, about an inch and a quarter in depth, and made of an earth so porous, that it was visible, from the exterior part of the pans, the water had penetrated the whole substance. Towards the dusk of the evening, they were filled with soft water, which had been boiled *, and then left in the before-related situation. The ice-makers attended the pits usually before the sun was above the horizon, and collected in baskets what was frozen, by pouring the whole contents of the pans into them, and thereby retaining the ice, which was daily conveyed to the grand receptacle or place of preservation, prepared generally on some high dry situation, by sinking a pit of fourteen or fifteen feet deep, lined first with straw, and then with a coarse kind of blanketing, where it is beat down with rammers, till at length its own accumulated cold again freezes and forms one solid mass. The mouth of the pit is well secured from the exterior air with straw and blankets, in the manner of the lining, and a thatched roof is thrown over the whole. It is here necessary to remark, that the quantity of ice depends materially on the weather: and consequently, it has sometimes happened, that no congelation took place. At others, perhaps half the quantity will be frozen; and I have often seen the whole contents formed into a perfect cake of ice; the lighter the atmosphere, and the more clear and serene the weather, the more favourable for congelation, as a frequent change of winds and clouds are certain preventives. For I have frequently remarked, that after a very sharp cold night, to the feel of the human body, scarce any ice has been formed; when at other times the night has been calm and serene, and sensibly warmer, the contents of the pans will be frozen through. The strongest proof of the influence of the weather appears by the water in one pit being more congealed than the same preparation for freezing will be in other situations, a mile or more distant.

To reason physically upon this process of making ice, it may be said, that had the thermometer been suspended in the air, free from every other body capable of communicating heat, in some parts of the night during the cold months of December, January, and February, the quicksilver might have descended to the freezing point, and that water, being artfully placed in a similar situation, contained in thin porous pans, and supported by a substance little capable of communicating heat from the earth, might also freeze, and continue in a state of congelation till the heat of the morning came on. I say this may be possible; but at the same time I must beg leave to observe, that, during my residence in that quarter of the globe, I never saw any natural ice. I can-

* See our Article of Natural History, for this year, p. 68.

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not declare that the thermometer has not descended to the freezing point during the night, because I never made the necessary observations; but the water in every other situation, excepting in the pans, has not appeared to be in a freezing state. The climate may probably contribute in some measure to facilitate the congelation of water, when placed in a situation free from the heat of the earth, since those nights in which the greatest quantity of ice has been produced, were, as I before observed, perfectly serene, the atmosphere sharp and thin, with very little dew after midnight. Many gentlemen, now in England, have made the same remarks, in their frequent visits with me to the ice pits. The spungy nature of the sugar-canes, or stems of the Indian corn, appears well calculated to give a passage under the pans to the cold air; which, acting on the exterior parts of the vessels, may carry off by evaporation a proportion of the heat. The porous substance of the vessels seems equally well qualified for the admission of the cold air internally; and their situation being full a foot beneath the plane of the ground, prevents the surface of the water from being ruffled by any small current of air, and thereby preserves the congealed particles from disunion. Boiling the water is esteemed a necessary preparative to this method of congelation; but how far this may be consonant with philosophical reasoning, I will nor presume to determine.

From these circumstances it appears, that water, by being placed in a situation free from receiving heat from other bodies, and exposed in large surfaces to the air, may be brought to freeze when the temperature of the atmosphere is some degrees above the freezing point on the scale of *Fahrenheit's* thermometer; and by being collected and amassed into a large body, is thus preserved, and rendered fit for freezing other fluids, during the severe heats of the summer season. In effecting which there is also an established mode of proceeding; the sherbets, creams, or whatever other fluids are intended to be frozen, are confined in thin silver cups of a conical form, containing about a pint, with their covers well luted on with paste, and placed in a large vessel filled with ice, saltpetre, and common salt, of the two last an equal quantity, and a little water to dissolve the ice and combine the whole. This composition presently freezes the contents in the cups to the same consistency of our ice-creams, &c. in Europe; but plain water will become so hard as to require a mallet and knife to break it. Upon applying the bulb of a thermometer to one of these pieces of ice, thus frozen, the quicksilver has been known to sink two or three degrees below the freezing point; so that from an atmosphere apparently not cold enough to produce natural ice, ice shall be formed, collected, and a cold accumulated, that shall cause the quicksilver to fall even below the freezing point. The promising advantages of such a discovery could alone induce the Asiatic (whose principal study is the luxuries of life, and this may well be called such, when I have often regaled with ices when the thermometer has stood at 112°) to make an attempt of profiting by

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so very short a duration of cold during the nights in these months, and, by a well-timed and critical contrivance of securing this momentary degree of cold, they have procured to themselves a comfortable refreshment as a recompence, to alleviate in some degree, the intense heats of the summer season, which, in some parts of India, would be scarce supportable, but by the assistance of this and many other inventions.

Accompanying I beg leave to offer you some observations, I made in the year 1767, in the province of Allahabad, on the temperature of the weather, which will serve to elucidate the extraordinary and sudden changes incident to that part of Asia. Also some remarks on the weather during my voyage to England, particularly specifying the situation we were in when the observations were made.

I am, Sir, with regard,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

ROBERT BARKER.

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ANTIQUITIES.

Certain Objections to the Veracity of the Mosaic History, *with Regard to the Age of the Earth, drawn from the Appearances of some Parts of* Mount Ætna, *in Mr.* Brydone's *Tour through* Sicily *and* Malta, *refuted from the Changes allowed to have happened in other Parts of the same Mountain.*

IN Mr. Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, vol. i. p. 123, 2d edit. we meet with the following passage:

"The last lava we crossed before our arrival there (at Jaci Reale) is of a vast extent; I thought we never should have done with it; it certainly is not less than six or seven miles broad, and appears in many places to be of an enormous depth.

"When we came near the sea, I was desirous to see what form it had assumed in meeting with the water. I went to examine it, and found it had driven back the waves for upwards of a mile, and had formed a large black high promontory, where before it was deep water. This lava, I imagined from its barrenness, for it is as yet covered with a very scanty soil, had run from the mountain only a few ages ago; but was surprized to be informed by Signor Recupero, the historiographer of *Ætna*, that this very lava is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, to have burst from *Ætna* in the time of the second Punic war, when Syracuse was besieged by the Romans. A detachment was sent from Taurominum to the relief of the besieged. They were stopped on their march by this stream of lava, which having reached the sea before their arrival at the foot of the mountain, had cut off their passage, and obliged them to return by the back of *Ætna*, upwards of 100 miles about. His authority for this, he tells me, was taken from inscriptions on Roman monuments found on this lava, and that it was likewise well ascertained by many of the old Sicilian authors. Now, as this is about 2000 years ago, one would have imagined, if lavas have a regular progress in becoming fertile fields, that this must long ago have become at least arable: this, however, is not the case; and it is as yet only covered with a very scanty vegetation, and incapable of producing either corn or vines. There are, indeed, pretty large trees growing in the crevices, which are full of a rich earth; but, in all probability, it will be some hundred years yet, before there

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there is enough of it to render this land of any use to the proprietors."

On this foundation Signor Recupero endeavours, p. 140, to establish the great antiquity of our earth.

"Near to a vault, which is now 30 feet below ground, and has probably been a burial-place, there is a draw-well, where there are several strata of lavas, with earth to a considerable thickness over the surface of each stratum. Recupero has made use of this as an argument to prove the great antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain; for, if it requires two thousand years or upwards to form but a scanty soil on the surface of a lava, there must have been more than that space of time betwixt each of the eruptions which have formed these strata. But what shall we say of a pit they sunk near to Jaci of a great depth? They pierced through seven distinct lavas, one under the other, the surfaces of which were parallel, and most of them covered with a thick bed of rich earth. Now, says he, the eruption which formed the lowest of these lavas, if we may be allowed to reason from analogy, must have flowed from the mountain at least 14,000 years ago.

"Recupero tells me he is exceedingly embarrased by these discoveries in writing the history of the mountain; that Moses hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for enquiry; for that really he has not the conscience to make his mountain so young, as that prophet makes the world."

Having given the two passages in the words of Mr. Brydone, I shall now make a few remarks upon them.

The great eruptions of *Ætna*, without one of which a century seldom passes, often produce considerable alterations on the coast*, to the extent of thirty miles from the summit of the mountain. What evidence then have we, that a lava, which flowed in the time of the second Punic war, has not been totally changed, or overwhelmed by other lavas in succeeding times? Signor Recupero refers us for the identity of the promontory, from which he reasons to Roman monuments found upon it, and to the testimony of old Sicilian authors. But till the age, the inscriptions, and even the reality of the monuments, are ascertained, we cannot admit them as proofs of the point in question. And as the earliest of these old Sicilian authors, as they are called, probably lived thirteen or fourteen hundred years after Diodorus Siculus, their testimony comes too late to satisfy us, that on a coast so subject to changes, a lava, which he is said to mention, still subsists in its original form.

Here, then, is a great failure of evidence with regard to the fact, on which the whole of this reasoning from analogy depends. But what if we allow the fact as stated by Signor Recupero? Will it follow as a just consequence from this instance, that we can be assured of the time requisite to clothe another lava with soil, if that other lava is very differently situated? The lava in question, as Mr. Brydone describes it, "has driven back the waves for upwards of a mile, and formed a large black *high* promontory, where before it

* Brydone, Vol. I. p. 274.

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was deep water." It is therefore exposed to the spray of the sea; it is exposed to all the violence of stormy winds and rains; which will not easily suffer any soil to rest and fasten, but will disperse and carry it down, either into the sea, or upon the lower grounds. The tops of mountains retain only a thin mossy coat of earth, or continue bare and barren from old time, while the vallies beneath are enriched at their expence. And something of this sort may be observed on this very promontory; "There are large trees growing in the crevices which are full of a rich earth."

The different state of the heights and crevices of this lava points out to us what will naturally happen in different situations. The place where the seven lavas are accumulated, is near to Jaci Reale, to which Mr. Brydone descended from the *Castagno de cento cavalli.** It lies, therefore, I presume, in low ground, on which the earth washed by rain from the eminences would settle, and where the ashes of the volcano would remain; for *Ætna* sometimes sends forth great showers of ashes, which cover the adjacent country to a considerable depth. At first these ashes render the land barren, but afterwards greatly fertilise it. "I have observed,"† says Mr. Brydone, "in some places the richest soil to the depth of 5 or 6 feet and upwards, and still below that nothing but rocks of lava." Perhaps, under different circumstances, it may require a different time to mellow these ashes into soil; but in no case have we reason to suppose it a process of 2000 years. It is not quite seventeen hundred years since the city of Pompeii was buried under the matter thrown out by Vesuvius; and upon this spot there is a good thickness of fruitful mold, in which the vine flourishes and has probably flourished for centuries past. Strabo relates,‡ that *Ætna* sometimes covers the country about Catania, with a great depth of ashes. The ashes, he says, are detrimental for a season [πρὸς καιρὸν], but afterwards highly beneficial to the land. We can hardly suppose the expression *for a season* to mean more than two or three centuries at most. And I conclude, Mr. Brydone did not intend to suggest an idea of longer duration, when he tells us, that the country near Hybla ‖ "was so celebrated for its fertility, and particularly for its honey, that it was called *Mel Passi*, till it was overwhelmed by the lava of *Ætna*; and having then become totally barren, by a kind of pun its name was changed to *Mal Passi*. In a second eruption by a shower of ashes from the mountain, it soon reassumed its ancient beauty and fertility; and for many years was called *Belle Passi*." If, then, the ashes which fell upon the lava that had destroyed *Mel Passi, soon* ripened into a fertile soil, may we not suppose the very same thing to have happened upon some at least of the seven lavas near Jaci Reale? And if it happened but upon some of them, it marrs the argument for the high antiquity of the moun-

* Brydone, Vol. I. p. 122. † Ibid. p. 125.
‡ Strabo's Geography, B. VI. p. 413, edit. Amsterdam, fol.
‖ Brydone, Vol. I. p. 172.

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tain. A lava is cast out from the crater into the valley or plain; after a while the same crater sends forth upon it a mighty shower of ashes, which are mixed with the earth washed from the sides of the hill, and yield a rich mold. Upon this mold another lava is poured, and a new accumulation of soil succeeds by the same means as before. Which process, according to the account of Strabo, and of Mr. Brydone himself, we may well conceive to be compleated in three hundred years, and the interstices of these seven lavas to have been supplied with good earth in two thousand years, the time assumed as necessary for each of them. For why are we to estimate what is produced on a plain, by what may have happened on an exposed high promontory? With regard to increase of soil, what analogy is there between them? It is possible, I say, that these lavas may have been formed in two thousand years; and the possibility is sufficient for my purpose: for I do not contend, that they were actually formed in so short a time. We may allow the lowest of them to be four; or, if you will, near six thousand years old: for *Ætna* may have burned from remote ages, fed by those subterraneous fires, which some suppose coæval, or nearly coæval with our earth. But, if *the Philosopher of Mount Ætna* will venture on such uncertain grounds to carry its antiquity so far back,

" and incautious tread
On fires with faithless ashes overspread,"

he may expose his own vanity and rashness, but he will not hurt the credit of Moses, or affect the chronology built on his writings.

Of the little Dependence to be placed on the Description of Eclipses *left us in Ancient History, towards ascertaining their Dates, and those of the cotemporary and contiguous Events, by astronomical Calculations, independent of the Acceleration of the Moon's mean Motion.*

WHEN books are every day multiplying in such numbers, it were to be wished, that at least, authors of reputation would be cautious in advancing any thing with confidence, which is not well supported by solid arguments: as, otherwise, it necessarily introduces an additional book to refute them, or else their errors must be suffered to gain ground and pass current in the world. I cannot but lament an imperfection of this kind in Costard's History of Astronomy, which is now under my perusal; for, when he comes to apply the calculations of eclipses to the improvement of chronology, he says, with great confidence, " that nothing can fix the date of ancient transactions with so much accuracy as eclipses of the sun and moon." He proceeds to give us some examples of their pretended great use; but, unfortunately, it may be contended, that the examples he produces are so far from being fixed accurately by him or any others in this method, that I can venture to say he is not mistaken in less than ten years, and possibly fifteen, in his very first example, if not in most of the remaining ones. Nay, I scarcely know of one instance in which the calculation of eclipses has been of any service in chronology, notwithstanding all its boasted pretences; and, if we attend, the reason will appear evident.

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dent. Not only eclipses of the moon but even of the sun, visible at the same place, sometimes happen so frequently in the course of half a dozen years, that one is at a loss which eclipse to select as that mentioned by any ancient author to have been coincident with some remarkable event. For instance, M. de la Lande has calculated three solar eclipses, almost central, and visible in the greatest part of Europe, between the years of 236 and 240 inclusively *; how can we judge which of these was the eclipse mentioned to have happened at the accession of Gordian to the empire, unless ancient authors had been more particular, and recorded the season of the year, month, time of day, or other circumstances necessary to indentify the eclipse spoken of. We see, then, that we must still have recourse to historic dates, in order to fix on what year Gordian ascended the throne between 236 and 240, and even the very time of year, before we can know which of the above eclipses was the first in his reign; and even then we are not certain, that it happened within the limits of his first year. There seems no reason, then, for Mr. Costard to speak with little reverence of what he calls *technical chronology*, by comparing Olympiads, Consular Fasti, and Athenian Archons, (p. 236). On the contrary, if he had attended more to this technical chronology, he would have found he was in an error of 10 years at least in his first example, wherein he says, "the conclusion of the war between the Lydians and Medes is fixed, by the solar eclipse foretold by Thales, to the year before Christ 603." Calvisius by calculation of eclipses, pretended to have fixed the same event to the year 605, Usher to 601, Petavius to 597, Bunting to 586. What can prove more plainly the futility of pretending to settle chronology by eclipses alone, when within the space of twenty years there were five solar eclipses, each of which has equal pretensions to be that foretold by Thales? Nay, still farther, there are strong reasons to think, that every one of these authors are mistaken, and that the event happened ten or fifteen years more early than the earliest date of these calculators. I wish, therefore, that some of your astronomic correspondents would assist me in the task of proving this, by discovering, whether, between the years 610 and 620, any considerable eclipse of the sun was visible in Asia Minor. This is a point of great importance towards settling many dates, not only in prophane chronology, but also in that of the Jewish scriptures, and is a new field of enquiry.

Mr. Costard mentions another event fixed by him by means of an eclipse, an account of which is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions. As I have not seen this tract, I can only say at present, that, by the result of his arguments, I suspect that they are not better founded than those employed in the foregoing one. He mentions also another dissertation, written by

* Vid. last edition of *L' Art de verifier les Dates, par les Benedictins*, wherein is a catalogue of all the eclipses of the sun and moon visible in Europe, Asia, and Africa, since the birth of Christ, all calculated by Mons. de la Lande himself.

him,

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him, concerning the eclipse when Xerxes marched against Greece: I should be glad to be informed of the title of this, and where it can be procured.

I shall reserve the proofs of what I have advanced for some other opportunity; and shall only add now, that, beside the obstacles to the application of eclipses to chronology arising from the causes above mentioned, viz. the frequency even of solar eclipses in a few successive years at particular periods, and the want of sufficient circumstances recorded by ancient historians, to identify the eclipse alluded to, there are other obstacles arising from the difficulty to ascertain the quantity of the eclipse in such distant times, or even the year in which it happened, on account of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion: but as Mr. Costard is himself sensible of these, I shall leave them to the astronomers; by some of whom I should be glad to be informed, whether the degree of this acceleration, and the uniformity of it, be sufficiently determined, so as not to cause the error of a year in any distant time before Christ in calculating any eclipse. S.

Objections to the Authority of an Apamean Medal, produced by Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Heathen Mythology, to prove that the Accounts related in the Old Testament of the ancient Patriarchs gave Rise to a great Part of the Heathen Mythology, with Mr. Bryant's Refutation of those Objections, extracted from his Pamphlet, entitled, "A Vindication of the Apamean Medal, and of the Inscription ΝΩΕ. Together with an Illustration of another Coin, struck at the same Place, in Honour of the Emperor Severus. By the Author of the Analysis of Ancient Mythology."

From the Gentleman's Magazine.

OBJECTIONS.

IT generally happens, that framers of whimsical systems (who attempt to reduce a thousand anomalies to some few general principles) do, in the midst of their zealous pursuits, commit some extravagancies, which cast a ridicule upon the rest of their honest labours. I shall not trouble you with obsolete examples of this truth, but only remark, that in a modern work, which the specimen presented in your Magazine induced me to read, viz. Bryant's late work on Ancient Mythology, one of that learned writer's chief principles is, that the accounts related in the Old Testament of the ancient patriarchs, &c. gave rise to a great part of the Heathen mythology. I had thought this notion so sufficiently exploded, as never to have been maintained again. Let us see how well Mr. Bryant supports it. He pretends that, among the cities in Asia, there were various remains and traditions concerning Noah's ark; in particular, that several coins are still extant, whereon Noah's ark and name are inscribed, of which he presents us with one, containing, on the reverse, a square chest with two human figures inclosed in it, their heads only appearing above the chest. This is plainly Noah's ark, he says; nay, even the very name of Νωε, in Greek letters, is inscribed on it. Alas! I wish, with Festus to St. Paul, that learning has not made him mad; for, behold, this pretended name of Noah is only

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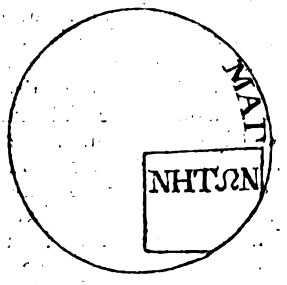
only the remainder of the city's name Αλεξανδρεων, which is inscribed as the legend round the coin; but there not being room for the three last letters to be continued round the edge of the coin, the artist engraved them on the chest in the middle of the coin, in a reversed manner, as exhibited in the margin.

One should have thought, that this would have easily occurred to Mr. Bryant himself; since he presents us with another coin, exhibiting the like chest, with the letters NHTΩN inscribed on the chest, which he acknowledges, in the note, to be the continuation of the city's name where the coin was struck, the former half of which is inscribed round the edge of the coin as before, with this only difference, that the reading of the letters is not reversed as in the foregoing case; and both together form Μαγ-νητων.—Of this coin also see the following representation:



Mr. Bryant's Refutation of the foregoing Objections.

"The gentleman, Mr. Bryant says, to whom I am obliged for these animadversions, writes with great spirit, and I make no doubt is a person of learning: as such I shall accordingly address him. The true purport of the inscription appears so plain, that I cannot subscribe either to the strictures of my anonymous opponent, or to the judgment of others who may be of the same opinion.

"We find that the mistake, of which I am supposed to be guilty consists in this: the letters N.Ω.E. which I have imagined to compose the name of the patriarch, are said to be a plural termination. They are supposed to belong to the imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, which, when completed, is thought to be ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, the name of the people by whom the medal was struck. Before I give an answer to this assertion, I will refer the reader to a true engraving of this coin, the same which I have exhibited before. [See it above.] He will here perceive an ark upon the waters, with an open roof, containing two persons, a man and a woman, of which the latter has upon her head

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head a veil. Two, more, who are probably the same persons repeated, seem to be just got on shore; and, with their hands uplifted, to witness some extraordinary emotion. Above sits a dove, and over-against it another in the air, which seems to be returning towards the machine, and holds a small branch in its bill." A more perfect description is also quoted from Falconerius. Mr. Bryant then proceeds: "Every circumstance above enumerated relates to the patriarch, who is plainly pointed out by the name ΝΩΕ." And to our correspondent's objection of its being "a mere termination of a preceding word," he gives this answer:

. . . . "If the term ΝΩΕ were an appendage to the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ in the circular part of the inscription, it would have been brought nearer, and stood almost within the point of contact; but it is placed upon the farther square of the machine, and too near the centre of the coin to have any such connection. In the next place, the arrangement of the letters would have been different, if they had the reference supposed. For, if we were to accede to the notion above, we must suppose that the two parts of the same name were written βουστροφηδον, or in contrary directions. Now I do not remember an instance of this upon any Grecian coin; and should an example be found, it would hardly be so late as the time of the Roman empire, and the reign of Philip. But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is the position of the letters N and E, which prove, to a demonstration, that the elements are not to be read backwards; for had they been the termination of the word spoken of, they would have stood the contrary way, ΝΩΞ. Falconerius was too curious and experienced to be imposed upon; and he had for some time suspicions about this part of the inscription. He thought that possibly the letters ΝΩΕ might be the remains of the word ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, written ΝΩΕΜΑΠΑ. But he soon gave up his surmises; as the position of the letters N and E could not be made to correspond with this retrograde way of reading; nor was there room for such a word to have been engraved in the space allotted for it. Indeed, it would have been unnecessary and redundant, as it is found immediately expressed below.

"Lastly, if any thing more be wanting to detect the false reading, it is to ascertain the true; which, one would imagine could not be long a secret to a person acquainted with medals. The imperfect term ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, did not relate to a people, but to a person ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: and this will past controversy appear, if with the smallest degree of attention we examine the course of the engraving. The inscription is manifestly this, as Falconerius rightly observes, ΕΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. *This medal was struck when Marcus Aurelius Alexander was a second time chief Pontiff of the Apameans.* This may be satisfactorily proved from another coin described by Falconerius, and struck by the Apameans. It has a different figure, but the circular inscription is nearly the same, only the name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ is here expressed with a zeta, and quite at length, without any break; so that it authenticates the true reading in the coin above, though it varies a small

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small degree in the orthography." . . .

For the illustration of the coin of Severus, (which follows) we must refer to the pamphlet. Towards the conclusion, Mr. Bryant resumes the subject more immediately under consideration, with observing, "Had it been out of my power to have ascertained what I have undertaken to prove, yet it would have been, I think, of little consequence, even if the name had been totally erased; for the history would still speak for itself, and in characters too plain to be controverted. How many coins are there, and basso-relievos, where a gigantic person is represented with a club, and a lion's skin, and engaged with a many-headed serpent? Had a writer mentioned that he had seen the name Ηραλης inscribed upon it; and another of better eyes, and more sagacity, had afterwards found out that it was not Ηραλης, the hero, but Ηραλιδης, Heraclides the sculptor, who was there mentioned, what would it all amount to? The history still would remain in legible characters, independent of the inscription. Thus, take away the letters ΝΩΕ, or assign them to a different purpose; yet the historical part of the coin can neither be, obliterated or changed. The ark upon the waters, and the persons in the ark, will still remain; the dove, too, and the olive will be seen; and the great event to which they allude, will be too manifest to be mistaken." Though our author's other arguments have their weight, this last, we think, is conclusive; as certainly those who would erase the name of Noah, must also deny the allusion to the deluge; and if so, it behoves them to shew what other event is intended by the emblems. Our author farther proves, that the whole region to which these coins are ascribed, was replete with Arkite memorials. But on these we cannot enlarge, satisfied that he has obviated "an unmerited reflection," and vindicated, as well as explained, "some of the most curious coins that were ever produced to the world."

By an annexed advertisement, it appears, that the third volume of Ancient Mythology will be completed in December.

Some Account of a Latin Dissertation, entitled, "D. Paulus Apostolus in mari quod nunc Venetus sinus dicitur naufragus, et Melitæ Dalmatensis insulæ post naufragium hospes, &c." i. e. "An Essay in which it is proved that the Shipwreck of St. Paul, *mentioned in the 27th and 28th Chapters of the Acts, happened on the Coast of the Island of* Méléda, *in* Dalmatia, *and not on the Coasts of the Isle of* Malta. *By* Ignatio Giorgi, a Benedictine *of the Congregation of* Méléda; *with a short Treatise on the Doge of* Malta." *Published at* Venice *in* 1730.

IN this work, Father Giorgi shews, 1. That the island of Méléda, above mentioned, which is in the Adriatic, not far from Ragusa, was also called Melita, in the time of St. Luke; and that the island of Malta is at a great distance from what is now called the Adriatic, nor was ever, by any ancient writer, supposed to extend near so far. 2. That the tempestuous wind *Euroclydon*

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don, (which our author demonstrates to have been not the N. E. (*Euro aquilo*) but the S. E.) must have driven the ship not to Malta, but into the Adriatic; and that in the same manner Acrotatus, a Lacedæmonian, going from Peloponnesus to Sicily, and the Jewish historian, Josephus, sailing, like St. Paul, from Judea to Rome, were both driven into the Adriatic. 3. That the name of Barbarians, twice given to the natives by St. Luke, is extremely applicable to the inhabitants of Illyria, but by no means so to the Greeks, who inhabited Malta; a circumstance which has embarrassed Lightfoot, Bochart, Cellarius, and all other commentators. 4. That there is no such quick-sand as that on which St. Paul's ship was lost, at Malta, but there are many towards the south point of Méléda. At the former, near *la casa di S. Paolo*, there is, indeed, a rock, on which it is pretended the vessel struck, but this the history shews, was not the case. A still more convincing proof that the apostle was not at Malta is suggested by his having been bit there by a venomous serpent, as there are none such in all that island, and even the earth of it is a specific against the bites of serpents. And as to St. Paul's having wrought a miracle to deliver that island for ever from venomous animals, a miracle of such importance would, surely, have been recorded by St. Luke, as well as the cure of Publius, and others, or as the sign which the ship carried. But, on the contrary, the bite of vipers is remarkably malignant in Illyria, and particularly in the island of Méléda. To sum up all, Méléda is less known than Malta; it bears the same name; to establish the commonly received opinion, the Adriatic gulph must be made to extend to Malta; St. Paul's ship must be driven to the South by a South-East wind; he must find barbarians in an island peopled by Greeks and Romans; the prow of his ship must have struck in a rock; and lastly, he must be bitten by a viper in a country where there are none.

This dissertation, curious as it is, I should not now have recapitulated, were it not for the following remarkable circumstance, viz. that the very learned Mr. Bryant, in his Observations and Enquiries relating to various Parts of Ancient History (published in 1767), has two Dissertations, 1. On the wind Euroclydon; 2. On St. Paul's shipwreck; in both of which, particularly the last, he has supported the same opinions by the same arguments as M. Giorgi, as your readers may see, by referring to Mr. Bryant's work. But this only proves, that two men of genius and learning may adopt the same mode of reasoning without either borrowing from the other, and thus be both original, as it is well known that Mr. Bryant never saw or heard of M. Giorgi's performance before the publication of his own, and, if he had, would probably have suppressed it.

Yours, &c.

CRITO.

Account of the Origin of Wakes *and* Fairs. *From the Reverend Mr.* Whitaker's *History of* Manchester.

BEFORE

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BEFORE a building could be used for divine offices, it was required to be consecrated by the bishop, formerly sequestered from all secular applications, and dedicated to the purposes of public devotion. And every church at its consecration received the name of some particular personage, who was celebrated in the written annals or the traditionary history of Christianity, and whose name had been admitted into that great roll of ecclesiastical fame, the calendar of the church. This custom was practised among the Roman Britons; and they had the church of St. Martin at Canterbury, and that of St. Michael in Manchester. It was also continued among the Saxons, and the Saxon churches in York, London, and Manchester, were distinguished by the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Mary. And, in the council which was held at Cealchythe in 816, the name of the denominating saint was expressly required to be inscribed on the altars, and also on the walls of the church or a tablet within it.

The feast of this saint became of course the festival of the church. And the connection betwixt the church and saint being enhanced by the fancifulness of superstition, and the former supposed to be under the patronage of the latter, the parishioners would naturally consider the day of their spiritual guardian with particular respect, and celebrate it with peculiar festivity. This conduct would as naturally be encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical governors, because it substituted innocent and Christian festivals in the room of the impious and idolatrous anniversaries of heathenism. The common people, generally in all countries as much attached to the festivals, as they are devoted to the principles, of any religion, finding their annual feasts return as before, and being now able to join in them without guilt, would be the sooner weaned from their idolatrous attachments. And this would be the natural operation of the affections, equally on the continent and in the island, and equally among the Britons and Saxons. Thus at the first commencement of Christianity among the Jutes of Kent, and with a view to promote the conversion of them and the rest, Gregory prudently advised what had been previously done among the Britons, Christian festivals to be instituted in the place of the idolatrous, and the suffering-day of the martyr whose relicks were deposited in the church, or the day on which the building was actually dedicated, to be the established feast of the parish. Both were appointed and observed. And they were observed and appointed as distinct festivals. Bishop Kennet indeed, in his sensible account of our wakes, has invariably confounded them, and attributed to the day of dedication what is true only concerning the saint's day. But they were fully distinguished at first among the Saxons, as appears from the laws of the Confessor, where the *Dies Dedicationis* or *Dedicatio* is repeatedly discriminated from the *Propria Festivitas Sancti*, or *Celebratio Sancti*. And they remained equally distinct to the reformation, the dedication-day in 1536 being ordered for the future to be kept on the first Sunday in October, and the festival of the patron saint to be celebrated no longer.

But

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But the former could never have been observed by the people with the same regard as the latter. That was merely a feast commemorative of the church's commencement. And this was one previously kept by the nation in general, and the day of their own saint in particular. This therefore, in a high strain of pre-eminence over the other, was actually denominated the church's holiday or its peculiar festival. And, while this remains in many parishes at present, the other is so utterly annihilated in all, that the learned and sensible antiquary, whom I have mentioned before, actually knew nothing of its distinct existence, and absolutely confounded it with this.

Thus instituted at first, the day of the tutelar saint was observed, most probably by the Britons, and certainly by the Saxons with great devotion. And the evening before every saint's day, in the Saxon-Jewish method of reckoning the hours, being an actual part of the day, and therefore like that resigned to the duties of public religion, as they reckoned Sunday from the first to commence at the sunset of Saturday; the evening preceding the church's holiday would be observed with all the devotion of the festival. The people actually repaired to the church, and joined in the services of it. And they thus spent the evening of their greater festivities in the monasteries of the north, as early as the conclusion of the seventh century. In that of Rippon, and on the anniversary of Wilfrid particularly, we see the bishops, abbots, and numerous trains of attendants, all convened at the monastery in order to celebrate the day, and all assembled the evening before it at the prayers of the church. And these services were naturally denominated from their late hours pæccan or wakes and vigils or eves. That of the anniversary at Rippon, as early as the commencement of the eighth century, is expressly denominated the Vigil. But that of the church's holiday was named the Lyric pæccan or church-wake, the church-vigil or church-eve. And it was this commencement of both with a wake, which has now caused the days to be generally preceded with vigils, and the church-holiday particularly to be denominated the church-wake. So religiously was the eve and festival of the patron saint observed for many ages by the Saxons; even as late as the reign of Edgar, the former being spent in the church and employed in prayer. And the wake, and all the other holidays in the year, were put upon the same footing with the octaves of Christmas, of Easter, and of Pentecost; and any persons repairing to the celebration of the day were, as all ordinarily resorting to the church were, under the immediate protection of the king, and consequently free from arrests, in their way to go and return from it.

When Gregory recommended the festival of the patron saint, he also recommended something more adapted to gain a general reception than religious acts and exercises. He advised, that the people should be encouraged on the day of the festival to erect booths of branches about the church, and to feast and be merry in them with innocence. And, as the authority of Gregory would certainly cause the encouragement to be given, so the smallest would be effectual. Nor would such

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such churches only as had previously been heathen temples, but all immediately have the day of their guardian saint observed with this open festivity. As the people had been all idolaters, the reason would be equally forcible for one parish as another. And the strong tendency of the common people to every sensitive enjoyment would make the practice universal. In every parish, on the returning anniversary of the saint, little pavilions were constructed of boughs; and the immediate neighbourhood of St. Michael's, and the churchyard of St. Mary's, resounded with the voice of hospitality and the notes of merriment.

But few persons are ever to be intrusted to feast. And fewer are to be allowed to meet in numbers together. There is a contagious viciousness in crouds. Though each individual of them, alone by himself, would act with a religious propriety; yet all together they act with irreligion and folly. The fire imperceptibly runs from breast to breast, each contributes to swell the tide of spirits beyond its proper bounds, and wickedness and absurdity enter at the breach that is made in reason. And this viciousness is always augmented in its force, when the grosser spirits, that are merely the result of feasting, mingle and ferment the tide. The feasting of the saint's day was soon abused. And it seems to have been greatly so before the reign of Edgar, as the intemperance of the festival was then creeping even into the vigil, and even mixing with the offices of religion. In the very body of the church, when the people were assembled for devotion, they were beginning to mind diversions and introduce drinking. And so gross an abuse of the eve could have stolen in only from the licentiousness of the festival. The growing intemperance would gradually stain the service of the vigil, till the festivity of it was converted, as it now is, into the rigour of a fast. These disorders would be less obnoxious on the day itself, because they did not intrude within the church and profane the prayers. But they were certainly greater, and went on increasing in viciousness and folly, till they too justly scandalized the puritans of the last century, and numbers of the wakes were disused entirely. Our own has been long discontinued. It was not abolished in 1536 by the laws of Henry the eighth, which appear to have had little or no influence on the general practice. It was put down by a particular and local order in 1579, and forgotten in the long and rigid reign of puritanism that was then commencing at Manchester. And Henry, earl of Derby, Henry, earl of Huntingdon, William, lord bishop of Chester, and others of the high commission under Queen Elizabeth, assembled at Manchester in 1578, issued orders against pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting ales, bear-baitings and bull-baitings, on the Sunday, or any other day of the week in time of divine service or sermons; and prohibited for the future all superfluous and superstitious ringing, common feasts, and wakes. But the wake of the neighbouring parish of Eccles is celebrated among us to the present day. And a considerable number of people resort to it annually from our own and the adjoining parishes.

The

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This custom of celebrity in the neighbourhood of the church, on the days of particular saints, was introduced into England from the continent, and must have been familiar equally to the Britons and Saxons; being observed among the churches of Asia in the 6th century, and by those of West Europe in the seventh. And equally in Asia and Europe, equally on the continent and in the island, these celebrities were the causes of those commercial marts which we denominate fairs. The people resorted in crouds to the festival, and a considerable provision would be wanted for their entertainment. The prospect of interest invited the little traders of the country to come and offer their wares, and the convenience of the accommodation promoted a vigorous sale among the people. And other traders were induced by the experience of these to bring in different articles, and hope for an equal sale. Thus, among the many pavilions for hospitality in the neighbourhood of the church, various booths were erected for the sale of commodities. In large towns surrounded with populous districts, the resort of the people to the wake would be great, and the attendance of traders at the celebrity numerous. And this resort and this attendance constitute a fair. Basil expressly mentions the numerous appearance of traders at these festivals in Asia, and Gregory notes the same custom to be common in Europe. And, as the festival was observed on a feria or holiday, it naturally assumed to itself, and as naturally communicated to the mart, the appellation of feria or fair. The same among the Saxons, the French, the Germans, and the Britons, fæger, foire, feyer, and faire, the word was derived from the same source in all these nations, the one ecclesiastical language of West Europe at this period. And several of our most ancient fairs appear to have been actually held, and have been actually continued to our time, on the original church-holidays of the places; as that on the festival of St. Peter, at St. Peter's church in Westminster, another on the feast of St. Cuthbert, at St. Cuthbert's in Durham, and a third on the holiday of St. Bartholomew, at St. Bartholomew's in London.

Description of an ancient Picture in Windsor *Castle, representing the Interview between King* Henry VIII. *and the* French *King* Francis I. *between* Guines *and* Ardres, *in the Year* 1520; *lately engraved at the Expence of the Society of Antiquaries of* London. *Abridged from Sir* Joseph Ayloffe's *Description of it, in the* Archæologia.

THIS picture is very remarkable, as well on account of the importance and singularity of its subject, as of the immense number of figures which it contains, the variety of matter which it exhibits, and the manner in which the whole is executed.

It is preserved in the royal castle at Windsor; but being there placed in the king's private apartments below stairs, which are seldom permitted to be shewn, hath long remained, in great measure, unknown to the public.

The interview between the two monarchs was on Sunday, June 7, 1520, on the open plain, within

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the English pale, betweeen the castle of Guines and Ardres. It continued twenty-eight days. The right-hand side of the picture exhibits a bird's-eye view of the market-place, church, and castle of Guines, with part of the town-walls and the surrounding ditch. In the fore-ground of this is the English cavalcade (hereafter mentioned); over these, in the back ground, and towards the top of the picture, is a view of the morass which lies on the north side of the town, and of the river that runs from thence towards Calais. Several persons are sitting on the roof of the shambles, and others standing at the doors of the houses of the town, looking at the cavalcade. The town-guard also is drawn up and under arms in the market-place.

In the middle of the left-hand side of the picture, and near the castle-gate, is the elevation of the principal front of a most stately square castellated palace, intended to represent that magnificent temporary palace, made of timber, which was brought ready framed from England, and, after the interview, was taken down and carried back. Besides a chapel and the royal apartments, it contained lodgings for most of the great officers of state, hung with the richest tapestry, and cloth of gold and silver, paned with green and white silk, the favourite colours of the house of Tudor.

On the plain before the palace are two superb conduits, cased over with different kinds of marble, framed in pannel: from both of these, through masks of lions heads, red wine is discharged into cisterns, and from thence, through like masks, to the populace, who, by their looks and actions, express its various effects from hilarity to inebriety. Near these conduits, in the lower part of the fore-ground, stand two men, facing each other, and dressed alike, in blue caps, like tiaras, with golden tassels, and cocks tail feathers, and yellow gowns with black lace and black tufted frogs. They have long scymetars by their sides, and are sounding long trumpets, to announce the near approach of the English cavalcade. On their left hand are many spectators, and among them two gentlemen conversing together. These figures, being placed thus conspicuously in the fore-ground, and being much more laboured and finished than any that are near them, are supposed to be the portraits of the painter of this piece, and of Edward Hall, who was enjoined by K. Henry to draw up the description of the interview.

In the fore-ground, on the right-hand side, is the very numerous English cavalcade, marching out of the town of Guines, and entering the castle-gate by a bridge thrown over the ditch. Its farther progress is not here represented; but it may be supposed to have passed from the castle, through the sally-port, to the place of interview, along the valley, and by the side of the rivulet there described. The guns of the castle are represented as firing while the king passed. The advanced guard consisted of his guard of bill-men, with their officers. Then follow three ranks of men on foot, five in a rank, and all unarmed. After them are five of Wolsey's domestics on horseback, two of which are his chaplains, the one

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one in a black gown bearing his cross, and the other in a scarlet gown carrying his hat on a cushion. Of the rest, two are drest in black, with massy gold chains, (perhaps his chamberlain and steward of the houshold,) and the other in a white linen habit, not unlike a modern surplice. Whether these three carried any ensigns of office is uncertain, as their backs are turned to the spectator. These are succeeded by two persons on horseback, in orange-coloured gowns, with a mace-bearer dressed in crimson on each side of them. After them march two others on horseback, with black bonnets on their heads, and gold chains round their necks, supported also on their right and left by a mace-bearer, dressed in a sanguine coloured habit.

Then Sir Thomas Wriothesly, garter king at arms, bare-headed, and in the tabard of his order, mounted on a pyebald horse, richly trapped and caparisoned, supported on his left hand by a serjeant at arms, mounted on a black horse and followed by

Sir Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, bare-headed, carrying in its sheath the sword of state, upright, dressed in a gown of cloth of gold, over which hangs the collar of the garter, and mounted on a beautiful dun horse, richly trapped and caparisoned; by his side run two milk-white greyhounds, with collars round their necks.——[Why these animals should be introduced thus conspicuously in such a solemn piece, connoisseurs seem at a loss to ascertain. We, therefore, beg leave to hazard a conjecture, that, agreeably to the fantastic humour of the times, it was in allusion to the family name of the Marquis, whom they accompanied.]

The Marquis of Dorset is followed by six yeomen of the guard on foot, their partizans on their shoulders, in scarlet habits, guarded and laced with blue velvet, and on their breasts and backs the union rose, ensigned with the crown royal, embroidered in gold.

Then come two of the king's pages on foot, the one bare-headed, the other bonnetted, both dressed in crimson, embroidered on the back with the union rose, between a greyhound and a dragon. Their breeches and sleeves are large, slashed, and puffed with fine cambrick, and their stockings and shoes are white.

The King's Majesty, mounted on a stately white courser, most richly caparisoned, all the trappings, reins, stirrups, &c. being covered with wrought gold, highly embossed. The king has on his head a black velvet hat, with a white feather on the upper side of the brim, and under it a broad lacing of rubies, emerals, &c. intermixed with pearl. His garment is cloth of gold, plaited, over a jacket of rose-coloured velvet. His collar* is composed of rubies and pearls, set alternately; and on his breast is a rich jewel of St George, suspended by a ribbon of the order. His boots are of yellow leather, and in his right hand is a small whip.

* This inestimable great collar of ballast rubies, as it was called, was sold beyond the seas by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Holland, by order of King Charles I. See Rhymer's Fœdera, Vol. xviii. p. 236. It had long been an heir loom of the crown of England.

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Parallel with the king, on the left, rides Cardinal Wolsey, dressed in a gown of violet-coloured velvet, and mounted on a stately mule, with trappings, headstall, reins, and a broad breast-plate of black velvet, embroidered with gold. His page, having a cardinal's red hat embroidered on the breast of his doublet, walks before him bare-headed. On each side of the king are two other pages, all in the same livery, with nine yeomen of the guard, on the right and left, three in a rank, bearing their partizans shouldered.

The king is immediately followed by four of his principal nobles, riding a-breast; that on his right is Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in the collar of the Garter, mounted on a white horse. Next to him, on his left, is Henry Bourcheir, Earl of Essex, Earl-Marshal *pro tempore*, dressed in his collar, and bearing a silver rod tipped with enamel, the badge of his office. Next to him is an elderly person, with a longish face, and a forked beard, wearing also the collar of the order. The outermost person, towards the left, has only a gold chain hanging down from his shoulders. These, perhaps, may be George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, Knight of the Garter (and then advanced in years), and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward, who, as Hall says, both "rode with the king." They are followed by two other rows of noblemen, four in a row. In the first row is one with a long lank visage, and a forked beard of great length. On his bonnet are a string of pearls, and a white feather. His doublet is scarlet, and the sleeves of his jacket are white linnen cloth. One of those in the second row is certainly Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. On their right hand march six more ranks of yeomen of the guard.

All the principal figures abovementioned, and, probably, many others now unknown, are portraits painted from the life: that of K. Hen. in particular, is a striking likeness, highly finished, and in no way inferior to the celebrated head painted by Holbein, now at Kensington. And those of Dorset, Suffolk, Essex, and Wolsey, strongly resemble their portraits now remaining.

The numerous ranks that follow are composed of the nobility and royal attendants on horseback, succeeded by a large party of billmen, demi-lances, and others, who form a continued line of march from the back of the parish church of Guines, through the market-place, &c.

Near the foot of the castle-bridge is a large group of spectators, and among them a respectable grey-headed man, with a very long white beard, dressed in a scarlet uniform, laced with gold, and having the letters H. R. embroidered on his breast. Both his hands (his bonnet is in his right) are held up with pleasure and astonishment. This figure, being highly finished, and singularly dressed, was probably some old servant of the crown, well known and respected at the time.

In the back-ground of the middle part of the picture, is seen the place of interview, represented as a spacious circular plain, on the summit of an elevation, between the town of Guines and the road from thence to the vale of Ardern or Ardres. It is marked out by white

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white* camp colours, and surrounded by several demi-lance men, and other guards and attendants of both nations on horseback. Within its area is a circular line of round tents and square pavilions, placed alternately, and communicating with each other. Their coverings and curtains are painted green and white, the favourite colours of the house of Tudor. In their centre is pitched a large single tent, covered with cloth of gold, flowered with red, and lined with blue velvet, powdered with *fleurs de lys*. On its top stands a gold or gilt figure of St. George and the dragon. The curtains are thrown back, and discover the two monarchs embracing one another; being drawn somewhat larger than the surrounding figures, and highly finished, the resemblance of each is perfectly well expressed. Before the front of this tent stand several attendants, and also the masters of the horse to the two kings, each holding his sovereign's courser; that of King Henry is white, and that of Francis is dun.

According to the scale of the picture, this plain is exactly half a mile from Guines (the distance assigned by Wolsey in his regulations) just before the entrance into the vale of Ardres; in which part of that village is shewn, and the whole chorography of the country is minutely observed.

At the top of the picture, towards the left, is a slight view of the town of Ardres, from whence Francis and his train issued; and the whole valley between that and the place of interview is filled with French soldiery, completely armed. Lower down, and nearer to Guines than the place of interview, is a group of tents, covered with linnen cloth, some paned green and white, and others red and white, to accommodate such of the English as could not be lodged within that town. Between these tents and the temporary palace, stands a large pavilion, consisting of one long and two round tents, all covered with cloth of gold, flowered with black. On the finyall of each of the round tents is a vane, charged with the arms of France and England quarterly. In this pavilion Henry and Catherine frequently entertained at dinner the French King and Queen, and their principal nobility. At a small distance from it is a view of the culinary offices, set up on the plain, consisting of a large group of ovens, at which several bakers are busied; and two spacious tents, whose fronts, being thrown open, discover the one to be intended for boiling, and the other for roasting, in which offices several cooks are employed. From these kitchens fourteen yeomen of the guard, each carrying a covered dish, are going towards the royal pavilion, preceded by the Lord Steward (Earl of Shrewsbury), bearing his white staff, and attended by a gentleman wearing a sash.

Near to the ovens, is a cabaret, at the door of which several persons are drinking; and not far from thence is a lady carried in a horse-litter, covered with crimson velvet embroidered with gold, preceded by a groom, and followed by two other ladies and a man-ser-

* For the reason of these colours being white, or French, see Hall, vol. lxxix.

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vant. She turns her face out of the window, and seems talking to a page, behind whom is another lady masked and on horseback, with a female attendant. These ladies seem persons of great dignity; she in the litter may be one of the queens going *incognito* to view the offices.

Beneath these, and in a line with the palace, is an open circular tent of white cloth, embroidered with blue tracery, over which are an union rose and a fleur de lys. Its curtains thrown open discover a magnificent sideboard of plate, and a table spread, at the upper end of which sits an elderly gentleman, on one side is a lady, and at the lower end another gentleman, partaking of a repast, which is served up by several attendants. This, probably, was the tent of the Lord Steward. Behind this, and in the adjacent fields, are pitched several others, for the use of suttlers, covered with green and white and red and white linnen cloth.

In the back-ground, and at the extremity on the left-hand side, appear the lists or camp set apart for the justs and tournaments. On the left is a scaffold, or long gallery for the royal personages and their attendants; and the whole, except the entrance, is fenced with a rail and barrier, guarded by demi-lance men and others on horseback, completely armed. French soldiers, in a blue and yellow uniform, with a salamander, the badge of Francis I. embroidered on it, keep the entrance on one hand; and the English yeomen, with their partizans, on the other. Close to the gallery-end, on a rise at the left, stands a large artificial *tree of honour;* its trunk is wrapped round with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and on its branches hang the shields of arms of the two challengers, and of their respective aids, the tables of the challenges, the several answers, &c. This tree, thirty-four feet in height, spreading 129 feet, and from bough to bough forty-three feet, historians say, was composed of the *rasberry*, the badge of Francis, and of the *hawthorn*, Henry's badge, artificially twined and twisted together.

In the gallery stand the two kings, Francis on the right, and Henry on the left; with their two queens, and their attendant ladies. A carpet of cloth of gold covers the front before the kings, and rich tapestry the rail before the queens. Within the area are two combatants, armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horses richly based and barbed, and tilting against each other; near them is a herald picking up the pieces of a broken spear, his perquisite.

Near to the lists are a few tents for the use of the combatants. The remaining upper part of the back-ground gives a most correct and faithful view of the adjacent country, with a variety of figures, farm-houses, mills, cottages, woods, cattle, sheep, fowls, &c. all of them highly finished. To introduce such a variety of subjects, the horizon is remarkably high.

Towards the top of the picture is *a dragon*, flying in the air, and hovering over the English cavalcade; which some conceive to be a memorial of fire-work in that form exhibited during the interview—[but we rather think, that, as it seems attendant on K. Henry, the painter had in view one of his supporters, which, at the beginning of his reign, was *a red dragon*: and if our former conjecture of the grey-

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greyhounds should not be admitted, those animals, perhaps, might be intended for the other, his left supporter (in right of his mother) being, at the same time, *a greyhound argent*; and in this very piece, as before observed, the king's pages have on their backs *a greyhound and a dragon*.]

The picture here described, which is five feet six inches high, by eleven feet three inches in breadth, has been generally ascribed to Hans Holbein, but without foundation, as he did not arrive in England till near six years after the interview; and, besides, his style, colouring, &c. are widely different. The name of the painter, however, is immaterial.

We must add, that the head of King Henry appears to have been cut out of the picture, and afterwards restored. This was a contrivance of Philip Earl of Pembroke, after the death of King Charles I. to prevent a French agent, who was in treaty for it, from purchasing the piece: and it succeeded, for, finding it thus mutilated, the Frenchman declined the purchase. By this means it was preserved in the palace till the restoration, when the Earl of Pembroke delivered the mutilated piece to King Charles II. who immediately ordered it to be restored to its place.

Of this remarkable picture, at the request of the Society of Antiquaries, his majesty having given permission for a drawing to be taken, it was accordingly executed, with great correctness, by Mr. Edwards of the royal Academy, and is now said to be in the possession of the Earl of Huntingdon; and from it Mr. Basire, at the Society's expence, engraved his plate (just published); the largest ever engraved in England, being, in height, two feet three inches; in breadth, four feet and one inch; and equally an honour to those artists and their employers.

The frame for the paper (which is two feet seven inches, by four feet four inches) was made on purpose by Mr. Wadman, near Maidstone, at the expence of about 50l. for which (we hear) there has since been a great demand from abroad, as plates can thus be worked off of a larger size than before was practicable.

The above exact description which we have abridged from that which was read at the Society of Antiquaries, by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. in 1770, will enable any purchaser of this most curious print to have it coloured with the tints of the original picture; of which, if executed with judgment, it will then have all the effect. And every other reader of taste, we doubt not, will be gratified by the historical anecdotes here conveyed. *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Orders for Household Servantes; first deuised by John Haryngton, *in the Yeare* 1566, *and renewed by* John Haryngton, *Sonne of the saide* John, *in the Yeare* 1592: *the saide* John, *the Sonne, being then High Shrieve of the County of* Somerset; *with a Letter from Sir* Robert Cecil *to Sir* John Harrington. *From* Nugæ Antiquæ, *published by* Henry Harrington, *jun. A. B. of Queen's College,* Oxon.

IMPRIMIS,

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IMPRIMIS, that no seruant bee absent from praier, at morning or euening, without a lawful excuse, to be alledged within one day after, vppon paine to forfeit for euery tyme 2d.

II. Item, That none swear any othe, vpon paine for euery othe 1d.

III. Item, That no man leaue any doore open that he findeth shut without theare bee cause, vppon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after six of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after ten of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after seven in the morning, nor out after nine at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2d.

V. Item, That no mans bed bee vnmade, nor fire or candle-box vncleane, after eight of the clock in the morning on paine of 1d.

VI. Item, That no man make water within either of the courts vppon paine of, euery tyme it shall be proued, 1d.

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any vnhonnest speeche, or baudie word, or othe, on paine of 4d.

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand, except it be vppon some good cause, on paine of 1d.

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d.

X. Item, If any man breake a glasse, he shall aunswer the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it be not known who break it, the butler shall pay for it, on paine of 12d.

XI. Item, The table must bee couered at half an hour before eleven at dinner, and six at supper or before, on paine of 2d.

XII. Item, That meate bee readie at eleven or before at dinner, and six or before at supper, on paine of 6d.

XIII. Item, That none be absent, without leaue or good cause, the whole day, or more part of it, on paine of 4d.

XIV. Item, That no man strike his fellow, on paine of losse of seruice; nor reuile or threaten or provoke an other to strike, on paine of 12d.

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d. and the cook likewise to forfeit 1d.

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4d.

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule shirt on Sunday, nor broken hose or shoos, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1d.

XVIII. Item, That, when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be drest vp againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1d.

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane euery day, by eight in the winter, and seauen in the sommer, on paine of him that should do it, to forfeit 1d.

XX. That the cowrt-gate be shutt each meale, and not opened during dinner and supper, without just cause, on paine the porter to forfeit for every time 1d.

XXI. Item, That all stayrs in the house, and other rooms that neede shall require, be made cleane on Friday after dinner, on paine of forfeyture of euery on whome it shall belong vnto, 3d.

All which sommes shalbe duly paid

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paid each quarter-day out of their wages, and bestowed on the poore, or other godly vse.

Sir Robert Cecil's *Letter.*

" My noble Knyght,

" My thankes come wythe your papers and wholsome statutes for your fathers housholde. I shall, as far as in me lieth, patterne the same, and geue good heed for due observaunce thereof in my own state. Your father did much affect such prudence; nor dothe his sonne lesse followe his faire sample, of worth, learninge and honor. I shall not faile to keep your grace and favor quick and lively in the kinges breaste, as far as good discretion guideth me, so as not to hazard my own reputation for humble suing, rather than bold and forward entreaties. You know all my former steppes; good Knyght, reste content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowde in the bright lustre of a courte, and gone heavily even on the best seeminge faire grounde. 'Tis a great task to prove ones honestye, and yet not spoil ones fortune. You have tasted a little hereof in our blessed queenes tyme, who was more than a man, and in troth sometyme less than a woman. I wished I waited now in your presence chamber, with ease at my foode, and reste in my bedde; I am pushed from the shore of comforte, and know not where the wyndes and waves of a court will bear me: I know it bringeth little comforte on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this waye to heaven; we have much stirre about counceils, and more aboute honors. Many Knyghts were made at Theobalds, duringe the kynges staye at myne house, and more to be made in the citie. My father had moche wisdom in directing the state; and I wishe I could bear my parte so discretely as he did. Farewel, good Knyght; but never come neare London till I call you. Too much crowdinge doth not well for a cripple, and the Kynge dothe find scante roome to fit himself, he hath so many friends as they chuse to be called, and heaven prove they lye not in the end. In trouble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such like matters, I nowe reste

22 May, 1603. Your true friende, R. CECIL."

State *of the* ENGLISH PEERAGE, *from* 1603 *to* 1775.

On the Accession of *James* I. the Peerage was:

1	Marquis
16	Earls
2	Viscounts
40	Barons
59	

The Number in 1774.

3	Princes
23	Dukes
1	Marquis
78	Earls
13	Viscounts
64	Barons
182	

Created

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	Created	Extinct	Added	Diminished
James I.	62	17	45	——
Charles I.	59	21	38	——
Charles II.	64	53	11	——
James II.	8	8	——	——
William and Mary	30	21	9	——
Anne	30	24	6	——
George I.	29	16	13	——
George II.	38	41	——	3
George III.	25	21	4	——
	345	222	126	3
Add the	59	——	——	——
	404			
Deduct Extinct	222			
	182	Increase in 171 years	123	

PEERS created by GEORGE III.

1	Spencer	Created in 1761.
2	Melcombe	
3	Grantham	
4	Grosvenor	
5	Scarsdale	
6	Boston	
7	Pelham	Created in 1762.
8	Courtney	
9	Lovell and Holland	
10	Montague	
11	Milton	
12	Beaulieu	
13	Vernon	
14	Bingley	
15	Prince of Wales	
16	Holland	Created in 1763.
17	Ducie	
18	Ligonier	
19	Gloucester	Created in 1764.
20	Camden	1765.
21	Digby	
22	Chatham	Created in 1766.
23	Cumberland	
24	Sundridge	
25	Apsley	Created in 1771.

Extinct in the Reign of GEO. III.

1	Hatton	Extinct in 1760.
2	Anson	1762.
3	Melcombe Regis	
4	Feversham	Extinct in 1763.
5	Bath	1764.
6	Foley	1765.
7	Hunsden	
8	Cumberland	
9	York	Extinct in 1766.
10	Newcastle	1768.
11	Arundel	
12	Delamer	Extinct in 1770.
13	Montague	
14	Ligonier	
15	Bottetourt	
16	Ducie	
17	Hallifax	Extinct in 1771.
18	Bingley	1773.
19	Berkeley	
20	Kingston	
21	Cleveland	Extinct in 1774.

On

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On the Expiration of the Cornish *Language. In a Letter from the Hon.* Daines Barrington, *Vice President, S. A. to* John Lloyd, *Esq; F. S. A. From the* Archæologia.

DEAR SIR, March 31, 1773.

THE precise time when any ancient language ceases to be spoken by the inhabitants of a country seems to be interesting not only to the philologist, but to the antiquary; I shall therefore desire you would lay before the society the following particulars with regard to what I conceive to be the last spark of the Cornish tongue.

Leland made a most complete tour through Cornwall in the reign of Henry VIII. and yet does not take notice of their speaking a language which he did not understand *. My inference from this his silence is, that it then prevailed almost universally, just as an English traveller into Wales would not now, in an account of his journey, inform his correspondent, that Welsh was chiefly used in the principality.

Carew published his survey of Cornwall in 1602, and observes, that the Cornish was then going very fast into disuse, because he takes notice, that most of the inhabitants "can no word of Cornish, "which was driven into the utter-"most skirts of the shire †."

Norden's History of Cornwall is supposed by the editor to have been compiled about the year 1610; and informs us, "that the Cornish lan-"guage was chiefly used in the "western hundreds of the county, "particularly Penrith and Kerrier; "and yet (which is to be mar-"veyled) though the husband and "wife, parents and children, mas-"ters and servants, doe mutually "communicate in their native lan-"guage, yet there is none of them, "in a manner, but is able to con-"verse with a stranger in the Eng-"lish tongue, unless it be some "obscure people, who seldom con-"fer with the better sort; but it "seemeth, however, that in a "few years, the Cornish language "will be by little and little aban-"doned §.

In 1662 Cornwall was visited by that great naturalist, Mr. Ray, who paid very particular attention to the language spoken in different parts of England, as appears by his having collected their peculiar words and proverbs.

We find accordingly in his Itineraries (published by Mr. Scott, F. A. S.) "that Mr. Dickan Gwyn "was considered as the only per-"son who could *then write* in the "Cornish language, and who lived "in one of the most western pa-"rishes called St. Just, where there "were few but what could speak "English; whilst few of the chil-"dren also could speak Cornish, so "that the language would be soon "entirely lost ‖."

Mr. Ray observes in another part, that Mr. Dickan Gwyn (whom he mentions as the only person who could *write* Cornish) was no grammarian; and that another man, named Pendarvis, was upon the whole perhaps better skilled in it; by which I conclude he means that Pendarvis was supposed to speak it with greater purity, though he did

* See Leland's Itin. Vol. II. and III. † Page 56. § Page 26, 27. ‖ Page 231.

not

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not write in that language as Dickan Gwyn did.

The last printed account which I have happened to meet with, in relation to the decay of the Cornish tongue, is in a letter dated March 10, 1701, from Lhwyd to Rowland (author of the Mona Antiqua) who observes, that it was then only retained in five or six villages towards the Land's End*.

Thus far with regard to written testimonies: I shall now proceed to oral.

My brother Captain Barrington brought a French East-India ship into Mount's Bay, in the year 1746, (to the best of my recollection) who told me, that when he sailed from thence on a cruise toward the French coast, he took with him from that part of Cornwall a seaman who spoke the Cornish language, and who was understood by some French seamen of the coast of Bretagne, with whom he afterwards happened to have occasion to converse.

I myself made a very complete tour of Cornwall in 1768; and recollecting what I had thus heard from my brother, I mentioned to several persons of that county, that I did not think it impossible I might meet with some remains of the language, who however considered it as entirely lost.

I set out from Pensance however with the landlord of the principal inn for my guide, towards the Sennan, or most western point, and when I approached the village I said, that there must probably be some remains of the language in those parts, if any where, as the village was in the road to no place whatsoever; and the only alehouse announced itself to be *the last in England*. My guide however told me, that I should be disappointed; but that if I would ride ten miles about in my return to Pensance, he would carry me to a village called Mousehole, on the western side of Mount's Bay, where there was an old woman called Dolly *Pentraeth*†, who could speak Cornish very fluently. Whilst we were travelling together towards Mousehole I enquired how he knew that this woman spoke Cornish, when he informed me, that he frequently went from Pensance to Mousehole to buy fish, which were sold by her; and that when he did not offer a price which was satisfactory, she grumbled to some other old women in an unknown tongue, which he concluded therefore to be the Cornish.

When we reached Mousehole, I desired to be introduced as a person who had laid a wager that there was no one who could converse in Cornish; upon which Dolly Pentraeth spoke in an angry tone of voice for two or three minutes, and in a language which sounded very like Welsh.

The hut in which she lived was in a very narrow lane, opposite to two rather better cottages, at the doors of which two other women stood, who were advanced in years, and who I observed were laughing at what Dolly Pentraeth said to me.

Upon this I asked them whether she had not been abusing me; to which they answered," Very heartily, and because I had supposed she could not speak Cornish." I then said, that they must be able to talk the language; to which they answered, that they could not speak it readily, but that they understood it, being only ten or twelve years younger

* See Mona Ant. p. 317.

† This name in Welsh signifies, *at the end of the sand.*

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younger than Dolly Pentraeth. I continued nine or ten days in Cornwall after this; but found that my friends, whom I had left to the eastward, continued as incredulous almost as they were before, about these last remains of the Cornish language, because (amongst other reasons) Dr. Borlase had supposed, in his Natural History of the county, that it had entirely ceased to be spoken*; it was also urged, that as he lived within four or five miles of the old woman at Mousehole, he consequently must have heard of so singular a thing as her continuing to use the vernacular tongue.

I had scarcely said or thought any thing more about this matter, till last summer having mentioned it to some Cornish people, I found that they could not credit that any person had existed within these five years who could speak their native language; and therefore, though I imagined there was but a small chance of Dolly Pentraeth's continuing to live, yet I wrote to the president, then in Devonshire, to desire that he would make some inquiry with regard to her; and he was so obliging as to procure me information from a gentleman whose house is within three miles of Mousehole, a considerable part of whose letter I shall subjoin.

"Dolly Pentraeth is short of stature, and bends very much with old age, being in her eighty-seventh year, so lusty however as to walk hither, (viz. to Castle-Horneck) above three miles, in bad weather, in the morning, and back again. She is somewhat deaf, but her intellects seemingly not impaired; has a memory so good, that she remembers perfectly well, that about four or five years ago at Mousehole, (where she lives) she was sent for to a gentleman, who, being a stranger, had a curiosity to hear the Cornish language, which she was famed for retaining and speaking fluently; and that the inn-keeper, where the gentleman came from, attended him."

[This gentleman was myself; however, I did not presume to *send* for her, but *waited* upon her.]

"She does indeed at this time talk Cornish as readily as others do English, being bred up from a child to know no other language; nor could she (if we may believe her) talk a word of English before she was past twenty years of age; that, her father being a fisherman, she was sent with fish to Pensance at twelve years old, and sold them in the

* Dr. Borlase's words are the following: "That we may attend it to the grave; this language is now altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation." Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 316. If Dr. Borlase had ever heard of this old woman, who lived within four miles of him, he would certainly have here made mention of her, as well as compleated from her his Cornish Vocabulary. Nor was it probably the fact in 1758, (when Dr. Borlase published his Natural History) that the language had *altogether ceased, so as not to be spoken any where in conversation*, because it is not impossible that the seaman who was on board Captain Barrington's ship in 1746 might be then still alive, as well as several others. It must also be recollected, that ten years after Dr. Borlase's publication, two old women (neighbours to Dolly Pentraeth) understood what she said; as also that she frequently grumbled to them in Cornish, when a proper price was not offered for her fish.

"Cornish

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" Cornish language, which the in-
" habitants in general (even the
" gentry) did then well under-
" stand. She is positive, however,
" that there is neither in Mouse-
" hole, or in any other part of the
" county, any person who knows
" any thing of it, or at least can
" converse in it. She is poor and
" maintained partly by the parish,
" and partly by fortune-telling, and
" gabbling of Cornish."

I have thus thought it right to lay before the society* this account of the last sparks of the Cornish tongue, and cannot but think that a linguist (who understands Welsh) might still pick up a more compleat vocabulary of the Cornish than any we are at present possessed of, especially as the two neighbours of this old woman, whom I have had occasion to mention, are not now above 77 or 78 years of age, and were very healthy when I saw them; so that the whole does not depend upon the life of this Cornish Sibyl, as she is willing to insinuate.

If it is said that I have stated that these neighbours could not speak the language, this should be understood that they cannot converse so readily in it as she does, because I have mentioned that they comprehended her abuse upon me, which implies a certain knowledge of the Cornish tongue. Thus the most learned men of this country cannot speak Latin fluently, for want of practice; yet it would be very easy to form a Latin vocabulary from them.

It is also much to be wished, that such a linguist would go into the isle of Man, and report to the society in what state that expiring language may be at present.

As for the Welsh, I do not see the least probability of its being lost in the more mountainous parts, for as there are no valuable mines in several of the parishes thus situated, I do not conceive that it is possible to introduce the use of English. The present inhabitants therefore and their descendants will continue to speak their native language in those districts; for the Welsh cannot settle in England, because they cannot speak the tongue; nor will English servants for husbandry live with the Welsh, because they would not understand their master. I am,

Dear Sir,
Your most faithful,
Humble Servant,
DAINES BARRINGTON.

* Viz. the society of Antiquaries of London, to whom we are indebted for the Archæologia.

MISCEL-

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MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Thoughts on Freethinking, and on Free-thinkers, particularly the late Earl of Shaftesbury *and the late Lord* Bolingbroke, *by the late Mr.* Gray; *in a Letter from Mr.* Gray *to Mr.* Stonhewer; *with Observations on these Thoughts, by Mr.* Mason, &c. *From Mr.* Mason's *Edition of Mr.* Gray's *Works.*

Cambridge, Aug. 18, 1758.

I AM as sorry as you seem to be, that our acquaintance harped so much on the subject of materialism, when I saw him with you in town, because it was plain to which side of the long-debated question he inclined. That we are indeed mechanical and dependent beings, I need no other proof than my own feelings; and from the same feelings I learn, with equal conviction, that we are not merely such: that there is a power within that struggles against the force and bias of that mechanism, commands its motion, and, by frequent practice, reduces it to that ready obedience which we call *habit;* and all this in conformity to a preconceived opinion (no matter whether right or wrong) to that least material of all agents, a thought. I have known many in his case, who, while they thought they were conquering an old prejudice, did not perceive they were under the influence of one far more danger-

ous; one that furnishes us with a ready apology for all our worst actions, and opens to us a full licence for doing whatever we please; and yet these very people were not at all the more indulgent to other men, (as they naturally should have been) their indignation to such as offended them, their desire of revenge on any body that hurt them, was nothing mitigated: in short, the truth is, they wished to be persuaded of that opinion for the sake of its convenience, but were not so in their heart; and they would have been glad (as they ought in common prudence) that nobody else should think the same, for fear of the mischief that might ensue to themselves. His French author I never saw, but have read fifty in the same strain, and shall read no more. I can be wretched enough without them. They put me in mind of the Greek sophist that got immortal honour by discoursing so feelingly on the miseries of our condition, that fifty of his audience went home and hanged themselves; yet he lived himself (I suppose) many years after in very good plight.

You say you cannot conceive how Lord Shaftesbury came to be a philosopher in vogue; I will tell you: first, he was a Lord; 2dly, he was as vain as any of his readers; 3dly, men are very prone to believe what

they do not understand; 4thly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it; 5thly, they love to take a new road, even when that road leads no where; 6thly, he was reckoned a fine writer, and seemed always to mean more than he said. Would you have any more reasons? An interval of above forty years has pretty well destroyed the charm. A dead lord ranks but with commoners: vanity is no longer interested in the matter, for the new road is become an old one. The mode of free-thinking is like that of ruffs and farthingales, and has given place to the mode of not thinking at all; once it was reckoned graceful, half to discover and half conceal the mind, but now we have been long accustomed to see it quite naked: primness and affectation of style, like the good breeding of Queen Anne's court, has turned to hoydening and rude familiarity.

It will, I think, be no improper supplement to the foregoing letter to insert a paper of Mr. Gray's, which contains some very pertinent strictures on the writings of a later Lord, who was pleased to attack the moral attributes of the Deity, or what amounted to the same thing, endeavoured to prove, "that we have no adequate ideas of his goodness and justice, as we have of his natural ones, his wisdom and power." This position the excellent author of the View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, calls the MAIN PILLAR of his system; and adds, in another place, that the FATE OF ALL RELIGION is included in this question. On this important point, therefore, that able writer has dwelt largely, and confuted his Lordship effectually. Some sort of readers, however, who probably would slight that confutation, may regard the arguments of a layman, and even a poet, more than those which are drawn up by the pen of a divine and a bishop: it is for the use of these that the paper is published; who, if they learn nothing else from it, will find that Mr. Gray was not of their party, nor so great a wit as to disbelieve the existence of a Deity*.

"I will allow Lord Bolingbroke, that the moral, as well as physical, attributes of God must be known to us only à posteriori, and that this is the only real knowledge we can have either of the one or the other; I will allow too that perhaps it may be an idle distinction which we make between them: his moral attributes being as much in his nature and essence as those we call his physical; but the occasion of our making some distinction

* In one of his pocket-books I find a slight sketch in verse of his own character, which may, on account of one line in it, come into a note here with sufficient propriety. It was written in 1761.

Too poor for a bribe, and too proud to importune;
He had not the method of making a fortune:
Could love and could hate, so was thought somewhat odd;
NO VERY GREAT WIT, HE BELIEV'D IN A GOD.
A post or a pension he did not desire,
But left church and state to Charles Townshend and Squire.

This last line needs no comment for readers of the present time, and it surely is not worth while to write one on this occasion for posterity.

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is plainly this: his eternity, infinity, omniscience, and almighty power, are not what connect him, if I may so speak, with us his creatures. We adore him, not because he always did in every place, and always will, exist; but because he gave and still preserves to us our own existence by an exertion of his goodness. We adore him, not because he knows and can do all things, but because he made us capable of knowing and of doing what may conduct us to happiness: it is therefore his benevolence which we adore, not his greatness or power; and if we are made only to bear our part in a system, without any regard to our own particular happiness, we can no longer worship him as our all-bounteous parent: there is no meaning in the term. The idea of his malevolence (an impiety I tremble to write) must succeed. We have nothing left but our fears, and those too vain; for whither can they lead to but to despair and the sad desire of annihilation? "If then, justice and goodness be not the same in God as in our ideas, we mean nothing when we say that God is necessarily just and good; and for the same reason it may as well be said that we know not what we mean when, according to Dr. Clarke, (Evid. 26th) we affirm that he is necessarily a wise and intelligent Being." What then can Lord Bolingbroke mean, when he says every thing shews the wisdom of God, and yet adds, every thing does not shew in like manner the goodness of God conformably to our ideas of this attribute in either? By wisdom he must only mean, that God knows and employs the fittest means to a certain end, no matter what that end may be: this indeed is a proof of knowledge and intelligence; but these alone do not constitute wisdom: the word implies the application of these fittest means to the best and kindest end: or, who will call it true wisdom? even amongst ourselves, it is not held as such. All the attributes then that he seems to think apparent in the constitution of things, are his unity, infinity, eternity and intelligence; from no one of which, I boldly affirm, can result any duty of gratitude or adoration incumbent on mankind, more than if he and all things round him were produced, as some have dared to think, by the necessary working of eternal matter in an infinite vacuum: for, what does it avail to add intelligence to those other physical attributes, unless that intelligence be directed, not only to the good of the whole, but also to the good of every individual of which that whole is composed.

It is therefore no impiety, but the direct contrary, to say that human justice and the other virtues, which are indeed only various applications of human benevolence, bear some resemblance to the moral attributes of the Supreme Being: it is only by means of that resemblance, we conceive them in him, or their effects in his works: it is by the same means only, that we comprehend those physical attributes which his Lordship allows to be demonstrable: how can we form any notion of his unity, but from that unity of which we ourselves are conscious? How of his existence, but from our own consciousness of existing? How of his power, but of that power which we experience

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in ourselves? Yet neither Lord Bolingbroke nor any other man, that thought on these subjects, ever believed that these our ideas were real and full representations of these attributes in the Divinity. They say he knows; they do not mean that he compares ideas which he acquired from sensation, and draws conclusions from them. They say he acts; they do do not mean by impulse, nor as the soul acts on an organized body. They say he is omnipotent and eternal; yet on what are their ideas founded, but on our own narrow conceptions of space and duration, prolonged beyond the bounds of space and time? Either therefore there is a resemblance and analogy, (however imperfect and distant) between the attributes of the Divinity and our conceptions of them, or we cannot have any conceptions of them at all: he allows we ought to reason from earth, that we do know, to heaven which we do not know; how can we do so but by that affinity which appears between the one and the other?

In vain then does my Lord attempt to ridicule the warm but melancholy imagination of Mr. Wollaston in that fine soliloquy: "Must I then bid my last farewell "to these walks when I close these "lids; and yonder blue regions "and all this scene darken upon "me and go out? Must I then "only serve to furnish dust to be "mingled with the ashes of these "herds and plants, or with this "dirt under my feet? Have I "been set so far above them in "life, only to be levelled with "them in death*?" No thinking head, no heart, that has the least sensibility, but must have made the same reflection; or at least must feel, not the beauty alone, but the truth of it, when he hears it from the mouth of another. Now what reply will Lord Bolingbroke make to these questions which are put to him, not only by Wollaston, but by all mankind? He will tell you, that we, that is, the animals, vegetables, stones, and other clods of earth, are all connected in one immense design; that we are all dramatis personæ, in different characters, and that we were not made for ourselves, but for the action: that it is foolish, presumptuous, impious and profane to murmur against the Almighty Author of this drama, when we feel ourselves unavoidably unhappy. On the contrary, we ought to rest our head on the soft pillow of resignation, on the immoveable rock of tranquillity; secure, that, if our pains and afflictions grow violent indeed, an immediate end will be put to our miserable being, and we shall be mingled with the dirt under our feet, a thing common to all the animal kind; and of which he who complains, does not seem to have been set by his reason so far above them in life, as to deserve not to be mingled with them in death. Such is the consolation his philosophy gives us, and such the hope on which his tranquillity was founded†.

* Religion of Nature delineated, sect. 9. p. 209, quarto.

† The reader, who would chuse to see the argument, as Lord Bolingbroke puts it, will find it in the 4th volume of his Philosophical Works, sect. 40, 41. His ridicule on Wollaston is in the 50th section of the same volume.

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An Essay on Indifference in Religion; by Mrs. Chapone. *From her* Miscellanies *in* Prose *and* Verse, *lately published.*

WHATEVER absurdities may arise from the fancied ardours of enthusiasm, they are much less pernicious to the mind than the contrary extreme of coldness and indifference in religion. The spirit of chivalry, though it led to many romantic enterprises, was nevertheless favourable to true courage, as it excited and nourished magnanimity and contempt of danger; which, though sometimes wasted in absurd undertakings, were of the greatest use on real and proper occasions. The noblest energies of which we are capable, can scarcely be called out without some degree of enthusiasm, in whatever cause we are engaged; and those sentiments, which tend to the exaltation of human nature, though they may often excite attempts beyond the human powers, will, however, prevent our stopping short of them, and losing, by careless indolence and self-desertion, the greatest part of that strength with which we really are endued.

How common is it for those who profess (and perhaps sincerely) to believe with entire persuasion the truth of the gospel, to declare that they do not pretend to frame their lives according to the purity of its moral precepts! "I hope," say they, "I am guilty of no great crimes; but the customs of the world in these times will not admit of a conduct agreeable either to reason or revelation. I know the course of life I am in is wrong; I know that I am engrossed by the world—that I have no time for reflection, nor for the practice of many duties which I acknowledge to be such. But I know not how it is—I do not find that I can alter my manner of living."——Thus they coolly and contentedly give themselves up to a constant course of dissipation, and a general worthlessness of character, which, I fear, is as little favourable to their happiness here or hereafter, as the occasional commission of crimes at which they would start and tremble. The habitual neglect of all that is most valuable and important, of children, friends, servants—of neighbours and dependents—of the poor—of God—and of their own minds, they consider as an excusable levity, and satisfy themselves with laying the blame on the manners of the times.

If a modern lady of fashion was to be called to account for the disposition of her time, I imagine her defence would run in this stile:—— "I can't, you know, be out of the world, nor act differently from every body in it. The hours are every where late—consequently I rise late. I have scarce breakfasted before morning visits begin—or it is time to go to an auction, or a concert—or to take a little exercise for my health. Dressing my hair is a long operation—but one can't appear with a head unlike every body else. One must sometimes go to a play, or an opera; though I own it hurries one to death. Then, what with necessary visits—the perpetual engagements to card-parties at private houses—and attendance on the public assemblies, to which all people of fashion subscribe, the evenings, you see, are fully disposed of. What time then can I possibly have for what you call domestic duties?—You talk of the

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offices and enjoyments of friendship—alas! I have no hours left for friends! I must see them in a croud, or not at all. As to cultivating the friendship of my husband, we are very civil when we meet; but we are both too much engaged to spend much time with each other. With regard to my daughters, I have given them a French governess, and proper masters—I can do no more for them. You tell me I should instruct my servants—but I have not time to inform myself, much less can I undertake any thing of that sort for them, or even be able to guess what they do with themselves the greatest part of the twenty-four hours. I go to church, if possible, once on a Sunday, and then some of my servants attend me; and, if they will not mind what the preacher says, how can I help it? The management of our fortune, as far as I am concerned, I must leave to the steward and housekeeper; for I find I can barely snatch a quarter of an hour just to look over the bill of fare when I am to have company, that they may not send up any thing frightful or old-fashioned. As to the Christain duty of charity, I assure you I am not ill-natured; and (considering that the great expence of being always dressed for company, with losses at cards, subscriptions, and public spectacles, leave me very little to dispose of) I am ready enough to give my money when I meet with a miserable object. You say, I should inquire out such, inform myself thoroughly of their cases, make an acquaintance with the poor of my neighbourhood in the country, and plan out the best methods of relieving the unfortunate, and assisting the industrious. But this supposes much more time, and much more money, than I have to bestow. I have had hopes indeed that my summers would have afforded me more leisure; but we stay pretty late in town; then we generally pass several weeks at one or other of the water-drinking places, where every moment is spent in public; and, for the few months in which we reside at our own seat, our house is always full, with a succession of company, to whose amusement one is obliged to dedicate every hour of the day."

So here ends the account of that time which was given you to prepare and educate yourself for eternity?—yet you believe the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Ask your own heart what rewards you deserve—or what kind of felicity you are fitted to enjoy? Which of those faculties or affections, which heaven can be supposed to gratify, have you cultivated and improved? If, in that eternal world, the stores of knowledge should be laid open before you, have you preserved that thirst of knowledge, or that taste for truth, which is now to be indulged with endless information? If, in the society of saints and angels, the purest benevolence and most cordial love is to constitute your happiness, where is the heart that should enjoy this delightful intercourse of affection? Has yours been exercised and refined to a proper capacity of it during your state of discipline, by the energies of generous friendship, by the meltings of parental fondness, or by that union of heart and soul, that mixed exertion of perfect friendship

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ship and ineffable tenderness, which approaches nearest to the full satisfaction of our nature, in the bands of conjugal love? Alas! you scarce knew you had a heart, except when you felt it swell with pride, or flutter with vanity. Has your piety and gratitude to the source of all good been exercised and strengthened by constant acts of praise and thanksgiving? Was it nourished by frequent meditation, and silent recollection of all the wonders he hath done for us, till it burst forth in fervent prayer? I fear it was rather decency than devotion that carried you once a week to the place of public worship—and, for the rest of the week, your thoughts and time were so differently filled up, that the idea of a ruler of the universe could occur but seldom, and then, rather as an object of terror than of hope and joy. How then shall a soul, so dead to divine love, so lost to all but the most childish pursuits, be able to exalt and enlarge itself to a capacity of bliss which we are allowed to hope for, in a more intimate perception of the divine presence, in contemplating more nearly the perfections of our Creator, and in pouring out before his throne our ardent gratitude, love, and adoration? What kind of training is the life you have passed through for such an immortality?

And, dare you look down with contempt on those whom strong temptation from natural passions, or a train of unfortunate circumstances, have sunk into the commission of what you call great crimes? Dare you speak peace to your own heart, because by different circumstances you have been preserved from them? Far be it from me to wish to lessen the horror of crimes; but yet, as the temptations to these occur but seldom, whereas the temptations to neglect, and indifference towards our duty, for ever surround us, it may be necessary to awaken ourselves to some calculation of the proportions between such habitual omission of all that is good, and the commission of more heinous acts of sin; between wasting our whole life in what is falsely called innocent amusement, and disgracing it by faults which would alarm society more, though possibly they might injure it less.

How amazing is the distance between the extreme of negligence and self-indulgence in such nominal Christians, and the opposite excess of rigour which some have unhappily thought meritorious! between a Pascal (who dreaded the influence of pleasure so much, as to wear an iron, which he pressed into his side whenever he found himself taking delight in any object of sense) and those who thing life lent them only to be squandered in sensual diversions, and the frivolous indulgence of vanity? What a strange composition is man! ever diverging from the right line—forgetting the true end of his being—or widely mistaking the means that lead to it?

If it were indeed true, that the Supreme Being had made it the condition of our future happiness, that we should spend the days of our pilgrimage here on earth in voluntary suffering and mortification, and a continual opposition to every inclination of nature, it would surely be worth while to conform even to these conditions, however rigorous: and we see, by numerous

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examples, that it is not more than human creatures are capable of, when fully persuaded that their eternal interests demand it. But if, in fact, the laws of God are no other than directions for the better enjoyment of our existence—if he has forbid us nothing that is not pernicious, and commanded nothing that is not highly advantageous to us—if, like a beneficent parent, he inflicts neither punishment nor constraint unnecessarily, but makes our good the end of all his injunctions—it will then appear much more extraordinary that we should perversely go on in constant and acknowledged neglect of those injunctions.

Is there a single pleasure worthy of a rational being, which is not, within certain limitations, consistent with religion and virtue? And, are not the limits, within which we are permitted to enjoy them, the same which are prescribed by reason and nature, and which we cannot exceed without manifest hurt to ourselves, or others? It is not the life of a hermit, or a *Pere de la Trappe*, that is enjoined us: it is only the life of a rational being, formed for society, capable of continual improvement, and consequently of continual advancement in happiness.

It is vain, however, to think of recalling those whom long habits, and the established tyranny of pride and vanity, have almost precluded from a possibility of improving by advice, and in whom the very desire of amendment is extinguished; but for those who are now entering on the stage of life, and who have their parts to chuse, how earnestly could I wish for the spirit of persuasion—for such a warning voice as should make itself heard amidst all the gay bustle that surrounds them! it should cry to them without ceasing, not to be led away by the crowd of fools, without knowing whither they are going—not to exchange real happiness for the empty name of pleasure—not to prefer fashion to immortality—and not to fancy it possible for them to be innocent, and at the same time useless.

The great Difference in the State *of* Morals, *&c. and* Taste *for the* Fine Arts, *&c. in different Countries, at the same Period; and at different Periods, in the same Country; sufficiently accountable for, from the Difference in the State of Education and Religion, in these Countries and at these Periods, without any Recourse to the concomitant Circumstances of Soil or Climate. From an Inquiry into the real and imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in* England, *by* James Barry, *Royal Academician, and Member of the* Clementine *Academy of* Bologna.

THE president Montesquieu has in some instances unfortunately followed his ingenious countryman Du Bos, in the same mistaken precipitate track of calculating genius. "As climates are distinguished (says he) by degrees of latitude, we might distinguish them also in some measure by degrees of sensibility." And he proves it by the following instance. "I have seen the operas of England and of Italy; they are the same pieces, and the same performers; and yet the same music produces

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produces such different effects on the two nations: one is so cold and indifferent, the other so transported, that it seems almost inconceivable*." I shall notwithstanding venture to say, that these different effects are easily conceivable when we chuse to reflect upon the mutability, growth, decline, and different materials of temporary national education. Is not the national taste for music, like the taste for all the other arts, constantly, though imperceptibly, changing? Is it not evident that in Italy, France and England, the different ages have had very different feelings about them? And are there not many very considerable Italians who, so far from approving of their present taste of music, have lamented its want of meaning and true expression, its degeneracy and change. But I shall leave this matter for Doctor Burney and the gentlemen who understand music, as it is fully sufficient for my purpose that changes have been admitted, and that the taste for this art, like that for all the others, depends upon the mass of education, and fluctuates accordingly.

In book xix. ch. 27. of the Spirit of Laws, it is observed, as a necessary consequence of their situation and mode of government, "that the satirical writings of the English are sharp and severe; and we find amongst them many Juvenals, without discovering one Horace." ——"Their poets have more frequently an original rudeness of invention, than that particular kind of delicacy which springs from taste; we there find something which approaches nearer to the bold strength of M. Angelo, than to the softer graces of a Rafaelle." These instances from the Roman writers are a little unlucky, and foreign to the purpose for which they were brought: as the delicate Horace was bred up in the contests of a republic, as well as the harsh and sharp Lucillius; and the severe, furious Juvenal lived in the times of slavery. As to our satirists, it is hard to say how many of them Montesquieu had read, or whether he read any of them, or how far he was master of their language, so as to be able to form a proper judgment of their style and manner. But Abbe Wincleman, who has also passed a magisterial censure upon all the English poets, was, to my own knowledge of him, so little acquainted with the language they wrote in, that he was scarcely able to understand even an ordinary article of intelligence in one of our Gazettes. But as Montesquieu was indeed a very different kind of writer, suppose we admit for the present, that he was also above prejudice, and had not, like the other, any system to maintain that was incompatible with the truth; that he did understand our language; and that, before he formed this judgment, he had given at least our best satirists a fair and dispassionate perusal. Yet, what are we to think, if, after all, he could not find in Pope's Satires, and in his Rape of the Lock, any thing of the Horatian neatness and delicacy, which all the rest of the world have found there; that in Addison he could see nothing at all of a gentlemanly turn of humour; and that Swift appeared to him to be a blunt, direct, angry writer, who never furnished any exercise to

* Spirit of Laws, book xiv. ch. 2.

the

the risible muscles, and who was unskilled in the use of wit and irony.

As to what he says in his 14th book, "that the climate of England is so distempered as to give the natives a disrelish to every thing, nay even of life; and that the English destroy themselves most unaccountably often in the very bosom of happiness," &c. it is an observation every way unworthy such a writer as Montesquieu. At least in this particular he might have informed himself better, as the knowledge of it did not depend upon any nice discernment of our language, as in the former instance. But sometimes these eagles of philosophy will soar so high, that they see nothing but clouds. A more ordinary man would have found out, nay had it been in the islands of Borneo, or Madagascar, Montesquieu would have found, that this hateful practice of suicide was brought about by a combination of moral causes; that it was of very recent introduction, and that the natives formerly were not particularly remarkable for this moroseness of disposition, and this tedium vitæ.

When we consider the compound nature of man, neither a merely sensitive being, nor yet a merely intellectual, or moral one, it will afford no small entertainment to let our thoughts wander over the various ways that the different religions of the Greeks, Romans, and the Italians, were calculated to act upon, and to occupy all the senses and the imagination, as well as the understanding of the people: even the ancient Jewish religion was not ill constructed for this, by its pompous and magnificent feasts, its music, its sacrifices, its numerous ceremonies, and their constant frequency. The ancients seem to have grounded themselves upon a persuasion that all this external of things, this allegria, feasting, and occupation of the senses, was indispensibly necessary for the bulk of mankind, whose situations in life utterly disqualified them for philosophy, subtle calculations, and deductions from the fitness of things; and who could be but little affected, and that but for a very short time, by any set of abstract, naked, speculative opinions, rigidly divested of all outside pomps and vanities of this world; and which, by despising the toys and puppet-shew work of superstition and weakness, would leave nothing to amuse the weak and ignorant, who are very numerous, and are not always confined to the lower class. Their religions were accordingly constructed in such a manner, as to afford a sort of general pursuit and source of occupation and entertainment, which grew up with every man at the same time that he was pursuing his particular avocation in life; and those who were baffled and disappointed in these particular pursuits, found an asylum and resource in recurring to the matter with which religion was amply stored, and with which he could fill up the gulph and vacuity of his mind thus sickened and forsaken by its other prospects.

Some countries, from commerce and the form of government, are remarkably distinguished for great private wealth, and its concomitants ease and luxury. In such countries Socrates, Lycurgus, and St.

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St. Paul, may agree to decry such a summum bonum, and to stigmatize it as the source of the deepest evil, but they will have little weight (even where their opinions might reach) with the inveterate habits of men, every part of whose education has tended to amplify and to overrate those objects; and who, like foolish sportsmen, build their happiness upon the capture, which is uncertain and liable to disappointment, and not in the chace, of which they could not be deprived. I have neither inclination nor ability to declaim upon the threadbare topics of the world, or the flesh, of Mammon, or Belial; and if I had, it were better spared, as these points have been long since excellently laboured, both by philosophy and religion: but I will say, that in a great kingdom, where the human passions are all afloat, and where property is from the constitution of that kingdom remarkably fluctuating, and almost like a game of chance; and where the conflict of many different modes of religion had mutually ruined the credit of each other, and, generally speaking, left nothing remaining but a great chasm of doubt and disbelief; it will be hard to find in such a kingdom a remedy and a balsam for the disgusts of an impotent sated voluptary, for the disappointment of baffled ambition, pride, avarice, and of all the other pursuits, where the hopes of multitudes of men finish in disappointment, ruin, and chagrin. There is then no general stay left, no haven where this wreck can shelter itself; the very nature and activity of his pursuits, and the passions employed in them, has kept him a stranger to real sociability, to affectionate hearty friendships, and to every thing that could now be of use; he can disburthen himself no where; he seeks solitude, and he has no fears before him to hinder his taking a leap in the dark. These things, as Dr. Young observes, might have happened in any climate, even in Eden:

> A sensual, unreflecting life, is big
> With monstruous births, and *Suicide*, to crown
> The black infernal brood.
>
> Complaint, Night V.

As to low spirits, and what the French call *ennui*, as people educate themselves into it, so, if they do not suffer it to go too far, they may educate themselves out of it again, of which I have known instances. Some men, as was observed before, are brought to this temperature of mind, by indulging themselves in melancholy, upon their losses and disappointments in matters of uncertain tenure, and which they have unwisely overrated. Others, strange as it may seem, only affect it in the beginning; and, as is often the case in love and in other things, habit is sure to convert it afterwards into a reality. Now there are two infallible remedies that might be prescribed in this disorder, one of them indeed is to be taken rather by way of preventive, and consists in setting about the acquiring of good humour and high spirits; and the method to be pursued is laid down in Lord Bacon, page 74. "Practise them (good humour and high spirits) chiefly at two several times: the one when the mind is best disposed; the other when it is worst disposed: that by the one you may gain a great step, by the other you

you may work out the knots and stondes of the mind, and make the middle times the more easy and pleasant." As for the other method of removing the spleen, when it has actually taken place, it has been practised with salutary good effect upon the Yahoes, and is laid down in Gulliver, who, from certain parities, which he has well discovered, recommends it strenuously to an English constitution, and pledges himself for the success of its application.

I hope it is not necessary to insist, that an over-attention to sensual and worldly qualifications, and an unfeeling indifference to the objects of religion and morality, can not be the natural consequence of living in any one climate more than in another; certainly not. The human passions, which are the seeds of diversity, and the instruments of good and evil, receive no character from nature but that of strength or weakness. A man with weak passions will never be either very excellent, or very vicious: but when the passions are strong and impetuous, then it is that they touch the extremes of heaven, or hell, with their virtues or their vices, according to whichever goal their habits and their education drive them. Thus it is that a man is accountable for his actions; a father for his children; and the state for its members. Timely habits and proper education might convert sensibility into humanity, pride into greatness of soul, and curiosity into a knowledge of sublime truths.

The histories of England, Greece, Italy and France, furnish many instances of great changes and revolutions in politics, religion and morality. There can be no doubt but that Epicurism, Stoicism, Pyrrhonism, or true or false Christianity might be planted successfully in any of these soils; they are equally capable of the extremes of superstition and impiety, and consequently of filling up all the mediate spaces between them; they are alike susceptible of every mode of government, of aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy. There are periods in which each country has shewn virtue to be admired and imitated; and there are others which shock us with their vices and corruptions: they have had their ages of equal laws, of anarchy, tyranny, luxury, piety and impiety. The Greeks and Asiatics were eager to make images in one age, and they were as zealous to break them in another; they had their ages of Iconoclastes and Iconcpoi, they had their times when, like the English, they thought it unlawful to paint any thing but birds, landscapes, and other still-life subjects*; and there were other, happier times, when the same people looked with a becoming contempt on such unworthy pursuits, and when all the dignity of genius was employed upon those nobler objects of the human character and the passions; the very vestiges of which are at this day the admiration of all enlightened people. The people of England have been at one period ambitious of filling up a long calendar of saints, at another they were as busily employed in blotting them out. At one time they are slavish enough

* Maimbourg's History of the Iconoclastes.

to

to hold their kingdom in vassalage to the pope; at another they laugh at his authority, and spit back interdicts and excommunications in his face.

Letter from Ignatius Sancho, *a free* Black *in* London, *to the late Reverend Mr.* Sterne, *beseeching him to bestow a little of his Attention on Slavery, as it is at this Day practised in our* West-Indies; *with Mr.* Sterne's *Answer. From Mr.* Sterne's Letters, *lately published by his Daughter.*

From *Ignatius Sancho*, to *Mr. Sterne.*

Reverend Sir,

IT would be an insult on your humanity (or perhaps look like it), to apologize for the liberty I am taking—I am one of those people whom the vulgar and illiberal call negroes.—The first part of my life was rather unlucky, as I was placed in a family who judged ignorance the best and only security for obedience.—A little reading and writing I got by unwearied application.—The latter part of my life has been, thro' God's blessing, truly fortunate—having spent it in the service of one of the best and greatest families in the kingdom—my chief pleasure has been books—Philanthropy I adore.—How very much, good Sir, am I (amongst millions) indebted to you for the character of your amiable Uncle Toby!—I declare I would walk ten miles in the dog-days, to shake hands with the honest corporal.—Your sermons have touched me to the heart, and I hope have amended it, which brings me to the point—In your tenth discourse, page seventy-eight, in the second volume—is this very affecting passage—"Consider how great a part of our species in all ages down to this—have been trod under the feet of cruel and capricious tyrants, who would neither hear their cries, nor pity their distresses.—Consider slavery—what it is—how bitter a draught—and how many millions are made to drink of it."—Of all my favourite authors not one has drawn a tear in favour of my miserable black brethren—excepting yourself, and the humane author of Sir Geo. Ellison.—I think you will forgive me; I am sure you will applaud me for beseeching you to give one half hour's attention to slavery, as it is at this day practised in our West-Indies.—That subject handled in your striking manner would ease the yoke (perhaps) of many—but if only of one—Gracious God! what a feast to a benevolent heart! and sure I am, you are an epicurean in acts of charity.—You who are universally read, and as universally admired—you could not fail.—Dear Sir, think in me you behold the uplifted hands of thousands of my brother Moors. Grief (you pathetically observe) is eloquent; figure to yourself their attitudes; hear their supplicating addresses!—alas! you cannot refuse.—Humanity must comply—in which hope I beg permission to subscribe myself,

Reverend Sir, &c.

I. S.

From Mr. *Sterne* to *Ignatius Sancho.*

Coxwould, July 27, 1767.

THERE is a strange coincidence, Sancho, in the little events (as

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(as well as in the great ones) of this world: for I had been writing a tender tale of the sorrows of a friendless poor negroe-girl, and my eyes had scarce done smarting with it when your letter of recommendation, in behalf of so many of her brethren and sisters, came to me—but why *her*, *brethren*? or yours, Sancho! any more than mine? It is by the finest tints, and most insensible gradations, that nature descends from the fairest face about St. James's, to the sootiest complexion in Africa;—at which tint of these is it, that the ties of blood are to cease? and how many shades must we descend lower still in the scale, ere mercy is to vanish with them? But 'tis no uncommon thing, my good Sancho, for one half of the world to use the other half of it like brutes, and then endeavour to make 'em so.—For my own part, I never look westward, (when I am in a pensive mood at least) but I think of the burthens which our brothers and sisters are there carrying, and could I ease their shoulders from one ounce of them, I declare I would set out this hour upon a pilgrimage to Mecca for their sakes—which by the bye, Sancho, exceeds your walk of ten miles in about the same proportion, that a visit of humanity should one of mere form.—However, if you meant my Uncle Toby more, he is your debtor. If I can weave the tale I have wrote into the work I am about —'tis at the service of the afflicted —and a much greater matter; for in serious truth, it casts a sad shade upon the world, that so great a part of it are, and have been so long bound in chains of darkness, and in chains of misery; and I cannot but both respect and felicitate you, that by so much laudable diligence you have broke the one—and that by falling into the hands of so good and merciful a family, Providence has rescued you from the other.

And so, good-hearted Sancho, adieu; and believe me I will not forget your letter.

Yours,

L. STERNE.

Arguments drawn from Interest, as well as Humanity, against the Practice of Slavery *in the* French *Colonies; and still more applicable to the* English *Colonies. From a late Voyage to the* Isle of France, *the* Isle *of* Bourbon, &c. *by a* French *Officer.*

"I KNOW not, says he, whether coffee and sugar are necessary to the happiness of Europe; but certain I am, that those two vegetables have occasioned the misery of two parts of the world. America has been depopulated to procure ground to plant them; Africa has been depopulated to procure hands to cultivate them.

It is our interest, it is said, to cultivate provisions which are become necessary to us, rather than purchase them of our neighbours; but as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and other European workmen, labour here [*viz.* in the Isle of France] in the noon-day heat, why have we not white labourers? But what would become of the present proprietors of lands? They would become more wealthy; an inhabitant would be at his ease with twenty farmers, he is poor with twenty slaves. There are supposed

to

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to be 20,000 in the Isle of France, of whom an 18th part is obliged to be renewed every year. Thus the colony left to itself would be destroyed in 18 years: so true it is, that there is no population without liberty and property, and that injustice is a bad economist.

It is said, that the *Black Code* is made in their favour. Be it so; but the cruelty of their masters exceeds the punishments allowed, and their avarice substracts the food, the rest, and the rewards which are due to them. If these wretches would make complaints, to whom should they complain? Their judges are frequently their greatest tyrants.

But we cannot govern these slaves, it is pretended, but by great severity; there must be punishments, iron collars with three hooks, whips, blocks, to which they are fastened by the foot; chains which go round their necks: they must be treated like beasts, that the whites may live like men. . . . Ah! I well know, that, when a most unjust principle is established, the most unjust conclusions are always drawn from it.

Was it not enough for these wretches to be delivered up to the avarice and cruelty of the most depraved of men, but they must likewise be the sport of their sophisms?

Some divines affirm, that, for a temporal slavery, they procure them a spiritual freedom: but most of them are bought at an age at which they can never learn French, and the missionaries do not learn their language. Besides, those who are baptized are treated like the rest.

They add, that they have deserved the chastisements of Heaven, by selling one another. Must we therefore be their executioners? Let us leave the vultures to destroy the kites.

Some politicians have excused slavery, by saying, that it is justified by war; but the Negroes do not make war with us. Allowing that human laws permit it, it should at least be restrained within the bounds which they prescribe.

Sorry I am that some philosophers, who combat abuses with so much courage, have scarce mentioned the slavery of the Negroes, except to ridicule it. They turn to a distance. They talk of St. Bartholomew, of the massacre of the Mexicans by the Spaniards, as if this wickedness was not practised in our times, and in which all Europe has a share. Is it then more wicked to kill at once some people whose opinions are different from ours, than to torture a nation to whom we owe our enjoyments? Those beautiful colours with which our ladies are adorned, the cotton with which they line their stays, the sugar, the coffee, the chocolate on which they breakfast, the red with which they heighten their complexions, all these the hand of the miserable Negroes prepares for them. Tender women, you weep at tragedies, and yet what affords you pleasure is bathed with the tears, and stained with the blood of your fellow-creatures!"

This work concludes with some pathetic reflections, of which the following, relative to the above effusions, do the author great honour.

"Life is only a short voyage, and the age of man a rapid day. I would willingly forget its storms to recollect only the services, the virtues, and the constancy of my friends.

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friends. These letters, perhaps, will preserve their names, and make them survive my gratitude. Perhaps they may reach even you, good Hollanders of the Cape! As for thee, O unfortunate Negro, who weepest on the rocks of Mauritius, if my hand, though it cannot dry up thy tears, should make them flow with regret and repentance from thy tyrants, I have nothing more to ask of the Indies, I have there made my fortune.

D. S. P."

On the savage Diversion *of* Cock-fighting.

I HAVE frequently observed, and with a degree of pleasure, the beautiful, the sprightly appearance of a well feathered cock. The luxuriant plumage of his neck, and fine tail exuberantly flowing over his back in a semicircular form, give him an air of grandeur superior, in my opinion, to any of our domestic birds. I love to see him, surrounded with his seraglio of females, strut along with great pomp, the august monarch of the dunghill. It is pleasant to observe how this creature apes reason when led by powerful instinct; he disdains to pick what the females seem to have a desire for. This refusing to make use of the power he has over them, seems as a lesson to mankind, not to tyrannize over the weaker, whom, as having power, he ought to protect and nourish. It should, I would think, afford more satisfaction to a rational being to survey these creatures enjoying themselves in innocent tranquillity, than to see them expiring in agonies occasioned by the cruelty of a set of men who stile themselves Christians. I am convinced that would our doughty gentlemen heroes of the sod, give themselves a little time to reflect on the inhumanity of such diversions, and look upon these creatures in the light I do, there would never be another cocking-match or Welch main fought in their time; and I doubt not but our children, influenced by so good an example, would hardly think of renewing such barbarity. I suppose many of these kind of sportsmen will say—"I glory in a cock." But then, the misfortune is, they glory in them no farther than as they are subservient to their wanton cruelty; for should his favourite stag (as he calls him) after having fought three successive battles, and foiled his antagonists in each, decline engaging in a fourth, or, if engaged and almost spent with toil, he should endeavour to avoid his destiny by flight, or even make the least effort to recede, his neck must be immediately twisted, as the only reward for his prowess. Thus he meets his fate from a quarter, one might imagine the least expected; and I will refer it to any man of reason, if the cruel perpetrator does not, in this case, prove himself as much a monster and a tyrant as the detested Emperor Nero. Nero wantonly tortured men, because (being a monster in nature) he exerted the height of that despotic power, which the people foolishly placed in their princes at that age, until fatal experience convinced them of that dangerous error. And I know not what many of my countrymen would

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would do, if not restrained by salutary laws.

I never, but once, was a spectator of this barbarous and ignorant amusement. I was, at that time, about thirteen years of age, and have ever since held that practice in the utmost abhorrence and detestation. The sensations I felt, even at that age, were painful. First, I was shocked to behold how strangely that once beautiful creature was disfigured. That beautiful tail which did so adorn him, was now miserably lopped, and bore great analogy to that of an ostrich. In a word, he was now so cut and mutilated, that he made a more despicable appearance than the meanest hen.

In this condition he was led to the field of battle, and because nature had not furnished him with weapons fatally keen, he was now supplied with artificial ones. I took notice of two men in striped jackets, whom I after understood stiled themselves pitters. Their business was to encourage these little combatants to destroy each other. I observed that many paid great respect to these men, and by others they were kicked and abused. The engagement began, and these little creatures exerted much agility, and mighty valourous they were in their way. Oft were the bloody weapons extracted by these doughty seconds, and as oft did they urge them to the fight. During all which time the vociferous company almost stunned my ears with their discordant din. I would gladly have retired, but it was no easy task to extricate myself from amongst them; I therefore was obliged to wait the conclusion. After many severe onsets, one of these poor creatures had an eye struck out by his antagonist's spur, which went with such violence as to pierce quite through the head. The barbarous company, instead of commiserating, announced their joy with a loud cheer, which was echoed through the whole circle. The weapon was again extracted; yet this did not suffice. The combat must be again renewed. After a few more faint struggles, being now almost spent, and their spirits quite exhausted, they fell to the ground, gasping in agonies, with heads reclined on the grass. After a few seconds one of them raised his head, and made a motion with his bill, upon which a second, and most tremendous roar, proclaimed him the victor.

I have been thus particular in describing this kind of diversion (which is practised and countenanced by men, who sometimes appear in a certain august assembly, deliberating on important matters, enforcing wise laws, dog-acts, &c.) because, should any person who never heard of such things read this, he would hardly imagine that such practices could exist amongst men of sense, who live in a civilized nation, and call themselves—"followers of Christ."

But, setting aside the cruelty of this diversion, what ruin has it brought upon families! How many poor mechanics leave their wives and children starving at home for want of bread, while they are rioting and revelling at a cocking-match! How many of the higher rank have forfeited their estates, and entailed poverty on their posterity, in order that they might pay what they call "debts of honour!" Now when such men as these commence fathers and heads of families, what kind of

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morals can they be supposed to instil into their children? Can they be supposed to teach them benevolence, gratitude, charity, compassion, and the rest of the social virtues? Are they proper persons

——"to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot,
And pour the fresh instructions o'er the mind?"

THOMSON.

Alas! the contrary is evident. For many of these kind of sportsmen have been known to abuse and beat their children for no other reason than because they gave instances of a humane, pacific disposition, in refusing to saw off the heads of poultry, or dash out the brains of a cat—"Why," they will exclaim, "are not all creatures made for man's use?" But granting this, (which many of our philosophers refuse to grant) does it follow from hence, that they were made to be the objects of our wanton cruelty? Man is always ready to stile himself "lord of the creation," but his pride makes him forget that he is a poor dependant creature himself. The following sensible and pathetic sentences, extracted from the "Œconomy of Human Life," may not be improperly introduced on this occasion, and with which I shall conclude this letter.

"Exalt not thyself to the heavens, for lo! the angels are above thee; nor disdain thy fellow inhabitants of the earth, for that they are beneath thee.—Are not they the work of the same hand? Thou who art happy by the mercy of thy Creator, how darest thou in wantonness put others of his creatures to torture? Beware that it return not upon thee."

Penrith. C. GRAHAM.

On Homer's *Geography, and Mr.* Pope's *Translation. From Mr.* Wood's *Essay on the original Genius and Writings of* Homer.

WE can produce no evidence of Homer's travels so satisfactory, as his geographical accuracy, a thorough examination of which we must reserve for a more enlarged plan of this work, if I should be ever able to complete it. For it would be impossible to give this article the consideration it deserves, without exceeding the bounds which we proposed to this essay. His map of Greece alone would take a volume to do it justice, especially as we followed Homer through that country, under the direction of Strabo, whose judicious commentary upon the geographical part of the Iliad and Odyssey leaves us less reason to regret the loss of twelve books of Apollodorus the Athenian, with twenty-three of Menogenes, and the works of several other writers on this subject; among whom Demetrius of Scepsis composed sixty books on thirty lines of the Catalogue. So diffusive and extensive an illustration does not, I confess, give a favourable idea of the work: but as an apology for Demetrius (perhaps a compliment to Homer) I must observe, that he lived within sight of Troy, upon an elevated spot, which commanded a view of the great scene of action; and of course he might be more particularly interested in that minute accuracy of his author, which fell so much under his daily observation.

The reader will be less surprised at those voluminous commentaries on the Catalogue, if he considers how highly the authority of this venerable

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venerable record was respected, even by the jurisprudence of those times. In some cities it was by law enacted, that the youth should learn the Catalogue by heart. Solon the law-giver appealed to this code, in justification of the Athenian claim against the pretensions of the Megareans, when the right to Salamis was so warmly contested by Athens and Megara. And the decision of that matter was at last left to five Spartan judges, who, on their part, admitted the nature of the evidence. And the affair was accordingly determined in favour of the Athenians, though by a different reading more favourable to their claim. We find three other litigated cases with regard to territorial property and dominion, which are said to have been determined by reference to this original chart.

That Homer should escape so entire, out of the hands of lawyers and grammarians, is a piece of good fortune to letters, upon which his friends have great reason to congratulate themselves. For, considering how cruelly both his compositions and the countries they describe have been tortured by barbarous treatment of various kinds, and the changes they have undergone in so great a length of time, his descriptions correspond more with present appearances than could be reasonably expected.

Not only the permanent and durable objects of his description, such as his rock, hill, dale, promontory, &c. continue in many instances to bear unquestionable testimony of his correctness, and shew, by a strict propriety of his epithets, how faithfully they were copied; but even his more fading and changeable landscape, his shady grove, verdant lawn, and flowery mead, his pasture and tillage, with all his varieties of corn, wine, and oil, agree surprisingly with the present face of those countries.

So remarkable a resemblance between periods so distant from each other would induce us to believe, what is not otherwise improbable, that agriculture is pretty much in the same neglected state, in that part of the world, at present, as it was in the time of the poet. I doubt much, whether his descriptions of this kind could have so well stood the test of our examination, two thousand years ago, in those days of elegance and refinement, when nature was probably decked out in a studied dress, unlike the elegant dishabille in which Homer and we found her.

But, I must own that great part of the amusement, which we enjoyed in Homer and Strabo's company, on the spot, arose as much from the investigation, as the discovery of the correspondence and resemblance. Nor can I, for that reason, promise the same entertainment to the reader, should I live to lay before him our further observations on this head; yet I hope my labour will not be entirely lost, if I can raise the attention of future commentators and translators to a matter, which has, I think, been too negligently treated. I cannot, perhaps, more effectually point out the use of a more extensive consideration of this subject, than by shewing how much a neglect of it has been injurious to the poet's truth, to which I shall at present confine myself.

I chuse to take the instances, which I shall produce for this purpose, from Mr. Pope's elegant translation, rather than from others of

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less merit; because I think they must have more weight, when collected from that quarter, to which the Iliad and Odyssey have the greatest obligations: for though Madam Dacier comes nearest to the poet's meaning, I believe it will be acknowledged, that of all the languages we know, in which Homer has hitherto appeared, it is in English alone that he continues to be a poet.

While, upon this occasion, I shall take that liberty with Mr. Pope, which a free enquiry demands, I shall not forgot how much is due to so great an ornament of our country: nor am I insensible of the great merit of his very poetical translation. I could with pleasure enlarge upon his improvements of the original, were the beauties of that work as much connected with my subject, as the ungrateful task of finding fault, in which I happen to be engaged; but, as the scope of this essay is to vindicate the truth and consistence of Homer's description, the translation comes properly before us only so far, as it contradicts that character.

Now, though it must be acknowledged, that Mr. Pope is the only translator, who has, in a certain degree, kept alive that divine spirit of the poet, which has almost expired in other hands; yet I cannot help thinking that those, who wish to be thoroughly acquainted, either with the manners and characters of Homer's age, or the landscape and geography of his country, will be disappointed, if they expect to find them in this translation. Had Mr. Pope preserved the first, viz. the manners and characters, Homer would have continued to speak Greek to most of his English readers. For, though the disguise of several passages, in a modern dress, may sometimes proceed from his not being very conversant with ancient life and manners; yet he often purposely accommodates his author to the ideas of those for whom he translates; substituting beauties of his own (as similar as he can bring them to the original) in the room of those which he despaired of making intelligible.

But as a truly poetical translation could not be effected, even by Mr. Pope, without his "venturing to "open the prospect a little, by the "addition of a few epithets, or "short hints of description;" so "the most valuable piece of geo-"graphy left us, concerning the "state of Greece in that early pe-"riod," has of course suffered by such liberties*; and, when every descriptive epithet in Homer should have been religiously preserved, Mr. Pope's alterations have produced a new map of his own, and deprived us of that merit of the original which he called upon us to admire. Thus the Græa and spacious Mycalessus of Homer become by translation,

"Græa near the main,
"And Mycalessia's ample piny plain.

Had it been proper to describe the narrow straight of the Euripus, by the name of the main, yet it is not at all distinguished, by such a situation, from several other places mentioned on this shore; and as to the ample piny plain, we searched for it to no purpose. It is, therefore, matter of doubt, whether it

* See Pope's Observations on the Catalogue.

existed

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existed in the time of Homer, though mentioned by Statius about a thousand years after. Indeed it would be difficult to assign any reason for the addition in the English, except that the rhyme requires that Græa should be near the main in the first line, and that Mycalessia (for so the translator was obliged to write it in order to make out the line) owes both to rhyme and measure her piny plain in the second.

When the additional epithets of the translator are descriptive of some permanent circumstance, as in those lines;

"From high Trœzene and Maseta's plain,
"And fair Ægina, circled by the main,"

the description (though not Homer's, and merely introduced to help out the rhyme and measure) has probably been always true; but when unauthorised, and without consulting his author, he enriches the picture with the fluctuating and transitory circumstances of husbandry, it is less excusable. Thus when he informs us, that the following two places were famous

"For flocks Erythræ, Glissa for the vine;

and mentions those

"Who plow the spacious Orchomenian
"plain;

he substitutes the state of those countries in the time of Plutarch and Statius, from whom he takes his account of them, for what it might have been in that of Homer, who connects no such ideas of pasture, vintage, and corn, with those names.

In short, those concise, but descriptive, and therefore interesting, sketches of ancient arts, customs, and manners, with which Homer has enlivened his map of Greece, cannot be translated faithfully, and at the same time poetically. Mr. Pope has succeeded surprisingly in the latter; but then his study of a flowing and musical versification frequently betrays him into a florid profusion of unmeaning ornament, in which the object is greatly disguised, if not totally lost; as when, for the grassy Pteleon of Homer, we have,

"And grassy Pteleon deck'd with chear-
"ful greens,
"The bow'rs of Ceres, and thy sylvan
"scenes."

In the same manner, the single epithet, noble, which Homer gives the Cephissus, is extended to a complete landscape.

"From those rich regions, where Cephis-
"sus leads
"His silver current thro' the flow'ry
"meads."

He is still more lavish of ornament, when he dresses up the Peneus and leafy Pelion of Homer in as much additional finery, as can be well crowded into four lines:

"Who dwell where Pelion, crown'd with
"piny bough,
"Obscures the glade, and nods his shaggy
"brows;
"Or where thro' flow'ry Tempe Penens
"stray'd,
"The region stretch'd beneath his mighty
"shade."

Here the translator gives us a picture, not without its beauties; but beauties so much his own, that they retain little of Homer, either as to the subject, or the manner.

We shall say no more at present of the Catalogue, where Rhætor is green, Likea fair, and Cynos rich, without any authority from the original; Anemonia has her stately shining turrets, and Corinth her imperial towers, Parrhasia her snowy cliffs, Tarphe her sylvan

seats, and Ætylus her low walls, from Pope, not from Homer.

It is owing to these liberties, that we find the old poet often loaded with English ambiguity, and even contradiction, for which there is no foundation in the Greek; as where Ithaca is sometimes fair, and sometimes barren: and where, in spite of the sandy coast of Pylos in one place, we have, in another,

"Alpheus' plenteous stream that yields
"Increase of harvest to the Pylian fields."

Besides those insuperable difficulties which every poetical translator of Homer has to encounter, when we consider (what it is our great object at present to point out) that he copied from nature, and trusted to his own observation, we see how this original method of collecting his materials produces a consistent whole out of corresponding parts, every object of description recurring, though in a new light, yet always agreeable to the first idea, which he conveys of it. And when we also consider, that none of his commentators, since the time of Strabo, have been at the pains of forming to themselves any distinct idea of his geography; it is not surprising, that, when they lose sight of the original, they should be inconsistent, not only with truth, but with themselves.

However, the translator's representation of the same scene of action under different appearances, in different parts of the poem, falls less under observation, than when the same description contradicts itself within the compass of a few lines; as where we see

"The great Achilles stretch'd along the
"shore,
"Where, dash'd on rocks, the broken billows roar;

though, in three lines after,

"Along the grass his languid members
"fall:"

and yet, after all, the same description, which puts him to sleep, both on the rocks, and on the grass, awakes him;

"Starting from the sands."

Should we give this sleepy Achilles to a painter, he must be strangely puzzled with the hero's rocky, grassy, sandy couch; a sort of prevarication (if I may use that expression) impracticable upon canvass.

Thus, while the poet, by judiciously selecting the mere characterizing circumstances of the object which he describes, leaves us fully impressed with truth and reality; his translator, over-studious of embellishment, wanders into inconsistence in search of it: nay, sometimes into sudden contradiction; as when the same picture of the sea is, in one line,

"The foaming flood;

and in that immediately following

"The level surface of the deep."

Much of this is, no doubt, owing to that unhappy restraint of English rhyme, which so unworthily engrosses his thoughts, that he not only frequently loses sight of his author, but is sometimes even diverted from a just sense of his beauties, and betrayed into an unfaithful translation of what he perfectly well understood. Of this distracted attention we find a ridiculous effect in that passage of the Iliad, which expresses Hector's eagerness to retrieve the honour of his brother Paris, who had proposed to decide the war by single combat with Manelaus. The spirit of the original

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ginal is as justly conceived in Mr. Pope's note, as it is unhappily misrepresented in his translation; and both together produce the following contradictory medley: "Hector stays not to reply to his brother, but runs away with the challenge immediately, with steps majestically slow."

When these discordant pictures of the same object are thus closely confronted, the falling off is so striking, that we must, in candour, suppose it the work of different hands hastily revised.

It is impossible to account, in any other way, for some of the inaccuracies in the map of Troy prefixed to the English translation. So capital an error as that of discharging the Scamander into the Ægean sea, instead of the Hellespont, is a striking specimen of the careless and superficial manner in which this matter has been treated. Yet this mistake, material as it is, does not seem to mislead the translator in other respects: for he is as inconsistent with his own incorrect map, as both he and his map are with the real situation of the ground; and, by not having ascertained any invariable and fixed idea of the scene of action, either true or false, he has led his author into a labyrinth of contradiction, out of which no imaginable disposition of the scene can extricate him.

Thus, when he supposes that the Greeks had not passed the river before the beginning of the sixth book, it is a necessary consequence of such a supposition, that they were, till then, at some miles distance from Troy. But this is inconsistent with that beautiful digression of the third book, where Priam and Helen see the Grecian leaders so distinctly from the walls of that city, as to distinguish the persons and figures of the leaders from the walls of Troy.

In short, this map would not deserve the few lines, which we bestow upon it, were it not for the respectable name of Pope, who, no doubt, trusted this inferior part of his work to unskilful or negligent hands. I was at a loss to account for so much obvious inaccuracy, collected into so small a compass, till I discovered, besides the mistakes of the draughtsman, a certain method and regularity of error, which could belong to the engraver alone, who, by a piece of negligence, not less unpardonable in the artist than fatal to geography and Homer, has given a map, which reverses the drawing from which it was engraved, and of course changes the respective situation of all the parts from right to left, and from left to right; so that the Sygeum stands where the Rhœteum should be, and the Scamander runs on that side of Troy which belongs to the Simois.

How so material an oversight should have remained hitherto unnoticed, or how Mr. Pope could contrive to explain his own reversed map*, is not to our present purpose. To say more on this head, is needless; to have said thus much, on the only chart which has hitherto attempted to illustrate the principal scene of the action of the Iliad, was unavoidable.

It has been already observed, that while places distant from Ionia are marked more distinctly, as objects of curiosity, the same attention has not been paid to these in

* See Pope's Letters with regard to this map.

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the poet's neighbourhood. Though we find him thoroughly acquainted with the scenery round Troy, these objects are introduced less upon their own account, than as circumstances connected with the action. This I take to be a principal reason, why the correctness of his map of the Troade, opening thus gradually with the story, has hitherto escaped particular observation; and has been taken for granted, upon slight examination. It is scarce to be expected that a translator of Mr. Pope's taste could, in the midst of the poetical beauties of the Iliad, submit to a dull patient attention to its mere topographical accuracy*.

But I shall not trouble the reader farther on this head, it being my object, not to condemn the translation, but to justify the original; where we do not discover, even in the boldest flights of fancy, that careless contradiction of circumstances, which history, poetry, and romance equally disclaim.

Mr. Wood next proceeds to vindicate Homer's character, as a geographer, with regard to that great poet's placing the isle of Pharos at the distance of about twelve hours sail, by a galley before a smart wind, from the land of Egypt, though that island be not quite an English mile from Alexandria. This he does, in the most masterly manner, by shewing, that there is great reason to doubt, whether any part of Lower Egypt existed in Homer's days; and that, for several ages after, the spot on which Alexandria stands, was not considered as making any part of that country. But, for this truly original performance, the narrowness of our bounds obliges us, with no small regret, to refer to the work itself

* Mr. Pope was assisted in this part of his work by Mr. Broom, who supplied most of the notes collected from former expositors of Homer, to which he added some observations of his own. Mr. Pope adopted the whole, and under his daily revisal every sheet was corrected. If Mr. Broom really went through the voluminous Commentaries of Eustathius, as is hinted in the introduction to the notes, he must have done it very superficially; and has added very little to what had been so judiciously done by Madam Dacier, at the same time not acknowledging how much he was indebted to that very learned lady. As to Eustathius, not to repeat what has been so often said in favour of that treasure of Greek learning, from which almost every later illustration of Homer has been gleaned, I shall only observe my disappointment in finding so little in him for my particular purpose. Though a bishop, and one who is said to have written in defence of the church, he makes no use of the scriptures in his commentaries. I take it for granted, that he did not understand Latin, or at least that he had not read Virgil; as he makes no use of him. Though an inhabitant of Greece, he trusts for Homer's geography to Strabo, without any additional observations of his own in respect to places in his very neighbourhood. Nor do I find that he visited Troy, though he lived so near it; nor does he remark the changes, or agreement between either the language or manners of Homer, and those of his own age, which we should naturally expect from one so well qualified and situated for forming a judgment of both. When I add to all this, that his commentaries, in my opinion, contain the dullest and most insipid, as well as the most ingenious and judicious remarks on Homer, I cannot help suspecting, that he was rather the compiler than the author of those criticisms; and that his principal merit is that of having preserved from oblivion some curious observations of writers, whose works have perished since his time.

Of

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Of Sentimental Comedy. From Elements of Dramatic Criticism, by William Cooke, *Esq.*

THOUGH the laws of the drama know no species of comedy under this title, yet as the prevalence of custom has not only of late admitted it, but given it a first-rate place on our theatres, it very properly becomes an object of enquiry in this work.

Were we to reason by analogy we should never be able to find out the cause of so unclassical a supersession; for whoever will make the comparison between that comedy left us by antiquity, and so ably continued to us by several of our English poets, with this, will find the features too dissimilar to claim the most distant reference; in the former, we have a fable founded on the laws of probability and nature; characters speaking the language of their conformation; and the whole stage reflecting the manners of the world; in the latter, names instead of characters, poetical egotisms for manners, bombast for sentiment, and instead of wit and humour, (the very essence of comedy) a driveling species of morality, which, as a term generally applied to ethics, may properly enough be called *good*, but from being falsely applied to comedy (however it may excite the *piety* of the crowd) must nauseate men of sense and education.

There is a circumstance which we think has been a leading assistant in the establishment of this false taste. Without meaning to turn reformers, and inconsiderately fall in with the vulgar opinion of generally condemning the present age, merely because it is the present age; thus much we think we are warranted to assert; that the present age, however it may be free from great and leading vices, is peculiarly marked by a *slavish effeminacy of manners*, and *universality of indolent dissipation*, unknown to former ages; hence the people of fashion, unwilling to see such just emblems of themselves on the stage as comedy *should* represent, thought it better to assume a virtue, which they had not, by crying up the theory of morality as a kind of cover for the breach of it. The lower kinds of people, having no other models in their eye, than those whom they often mistakenly call their betters, without weighing this opinion, followed their example; so that between the two parties nature began to be called vulgar, and every thing partaking of the low, humourous, or vicious, (principal ingredients in comedy) began to be under-rated, because the former had an interest in decrying them, and the latter permitted themselves to be duped by the artifice.

It is the voice of the public forms the public taste. Comedy, which is, above all walks of writing, perhaps the most difficult, and unattainable, and which, according to one of the most distinguished characters of the last age,

——"is the first pretence
To *judgment*, *breeding*, *wit*, and *eloquence*,"

being thus vitiated, there were not wanting poets, who departing from the honourable line of their profession (or, to speak more correctly, unacquainted with the principles of their profession) prescribed to this innovation. Sir Richard Steel's Conscious Lovers, we believe, was the first in this line of writing;

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writing; not that we would class this, in other respects, elegant and judicious writer, with the general run of poets who have since succeeded him in this line: we only mean to say, that the pathetic scenes of this comedy, made the first departure of any consequence, from that sterling kind of writing left us by antiquity; and consequently, the general reputation of Sir Richard Steel, who was at that time much above par as a moral writer, first gave it the stamp of fashion.

Comedy being thus debauched, like an unhappy female, began to be viewed in the light of *common game*, by those poets who dare not look up to her in the days of her chastity; such finding the intercourse easy, and the profits great, immediately hired themselves in her service. The success of one fool drew many; they had nothing to do but to exchange the *vis comica* for the pathetic, and substitute tame individual recital for natural dialogue; in short, a novel furnished them with the plot; a servile allusion to all the little chitchat, for wit and humour; and the Whole Duty of Man, Pamela, or the Œconomy of Human Life, for sentiments. Thus an art originally invented to lash the follies and imperfections of mankind, through the vehicle of ridicule; an art which should ever be considered as the greatest test of wit, breeding, and observation; an art, "whose end both at the first, and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to shew virtue her own features, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure," is changed into what is vulgarly called a moral kind of entertainment, where a citizen, it is true, may bring his wife and daughter too, with as much safety as to a Methodist chapel, but with equal prospect of improvement.

But as we mean to treat this subject otherwise than either investigating its origin, or simply declaiming on its imperfections, it will be but candid to weigh the force of the arguments which are urged by the favourers of this innovated art.

The first and most flattering to the passions of the public is, that vicious, or ridiculous characters, though sentimental writers are *piously* afraid such do sometimes exist in nature, yet it would ill become the dignity of their pens to exhibit them on the stage, lest they might become objects of imitation; hence they are for the most part excluded their pieces, or if at times admitted, but feebly sketched in the back-ground, whilst the principal figures are tricked out in all the brilliancy of virtue, without the least shade of mortality. To pass by the great defect of this practice, as it respects the laws of comedy; let us take it up on their own ground, and see how it is fitted to succeed in the reformation of manners.

The soundest philosophers have agreed, that ridicule has a much better effect in curing the vices and imperfections of men, than the examples of rigid virtue, whose duties are so sublimed, that they for the most part intimidate them from the trial. Were mankind made of that moral pliability of mind, so as to be capable of receiving the sharpest impressions of virtue, then indeed some excuse might stand for

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for the latter practice; but as their hearts are composed of as many degrees of imperfection, as there are degrees of society—what will best, and most effectually reform them, should be adopted; hence no characters should be introduced on the stage by any means whatever, above the tone of mortality, whilst the liar, rake, fop, sharper, hypocrite, glutton, &c. &c. should be always brought forwards in the highest colourings of ridicule. Similar characters in life, finding themselves thus constantly exposed on the stage, would indirectly feel the shame of their situations, and either abandon them entirely, or be taught to qualify them so as to be less inimical to society; whereas at present, by being for the most part precluded as objects of ridicule and contempt, the world loses the benefit of their reformation.

Another argument urged for our sentimental dramatists is, that as it is the world gives reputation and credit to works of art and science, it at present relishing no other species of comedy but the sentimental, they are not to be blamed for writing up to that standard. But this is ever the excuse of *little minds*, who, under a shew of complying with the world, cover their own ignorance and unfitness to stand candidates for fame and immortality; as there is nothing more certain, than that a real genius, in whatever kind, can never, without the greatest unwillingness and shame, be induced to act below his character, and for mere interest be prevailed on to prostitute his knowledge, by performing contrary to certain rules,

Whoever has heard the lives of famous sta tects, or painters, wi many instances of th whoever has made an with the better sort such a: are real lover and masters in it, r s rved their natural respect, be they nev solute, or debauched less soever of other r hor any transgressior and would chuse to and starve, rather th compliance with the trary to what they c and truth of work*.

This is virtue! re love of truth, indep nion, and above th disposition transferre of life, perfects a gives it that finish even the admiration cannot practise it.

Had the early po thus complimented complying with its unsettled appetites, done their countrym nor themselves such generous spirits, sc themselves to the wo drew it after them their way into it, of merit turned its their side; they fo dience, refined the polished the age, they may be rightl applauded: they w pointed, applause was lasting, for it w have justice done th they have survived th

* Lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics.

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live in all languages; the more each age is enlightened, the more they shine, and their fame must necessarily last as long as letters and judgment exist.

Many of our sentimental dramatic authors, it is true, may pique themselves on the superior situations in life to several of those of antiquity, and jocularly consign immortality to such who are now no longer able to enjoy it; not considering, because not feeling, that this hope of immortality was then as much their reward, as their labours have since been the benefit of posterity. They may run the comparison still further, by proving (as well by the receipts of the theatres, as by those of their booksellers) how much more exact they are in proportioning the quality and quantity of the public demand, and with what greater dexterity, and cunning, they pander in the taste of an audience: but such are to know, that success is by no means the criterion of desert; that however they may, for a while, triumph in the absence of truth and nature, the period is hastening, (if the proverb is true, that things at the *worst* must necessarily mend) when this spell of sentimental enchantment must be dissolved, and when real comedy shall once more unfurl her standard of reason on the theatre.

The public at large have sometimes their false appetites and unnatural cravings, like individuals, which (such is the situation of human affairs) time, or accident alone, must eradicate. The fanatics under Cromwell, with all the parade of hypocrisy on one side, and the vindictive spirit of revenge on the other, christened their conduct religion; and not only the dregs of the people hailed it by this name, but the guardians of the state echo'd it back on the public; yet but a few years, a very few years elapsed, when this ridiculous scene had its final close, reason once more reassumed her throne; and he that had no other pretensions to Christianity than the *starchness of his band*, or the talent of *speaking thro' his nose*, was justly reprobated as a cheat or a driveller.

On the present Rage for Lotteries.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and believe that I have as unencumbered an estate as most of my neighbours, on which I intended to have lived peaceably to the last moment of my life, without seeing London again: but this confounded quarrel with our colonies, which would have made a politician of me, if I had not married into the family of Sir Gregory Gazette, brought me to town, that I might see with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears, what we are really about, as there is no dependance on our cursed news-writers: they are always unsaying to-day what they had said yesterday, though asserted in the most positive manner: their *intelligence extraordinary*, in particular, is generally of the most trifling kind; and their *true intelligence* is generally false.——And so, Sir, in consequence of frequent disappointments of this kind, I was determined to come up to the metropolis; and accordingly wrote to a friend to hire me a ready-furnished house for the season, in Parliament-street, in order to be at the

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fountain-head; and to be sure of hearing every thing going forward; to hear how the d——d additional shillings to be raised by the land-tax, are to be laid out.——I have been in town only a few days; but I have met with occurrences enough already to make me think half the inhabitants are out of their senses, especially those who are seized with the lottery-madness.—On my taking a walk into the city, this morning, to see what alteration had been made during my state of rustication, the day being tolerably dry, I could not help looking with no small displeasure at the number of *paper-lanthorns* dangling before the doors of Lottery-offices, considering them as so many false lights hung out to draw fools to their destruction.——I do not think these expressions are too strong, as many thoughtless persons of both sexes, in the lower spheres of life, are certainly deluded by these traps, laid for their money, to such a degree, as to prove themselves the most egregious dupes imaginable.—— How many individuals have been reduced to beggary; how many families have been totally ruined by staking their all upon the turn of fortune's wheel; by the restless desire of becoming rich suddenly, to gain that wealth to which they might have more rationally aspired by a course of honest and industrious proceedings;—and the experience of every day is sufficient to convince us, that riches so gained are more serviceable to, and enjoyed with a higher relish by the possessors of them, than those which come to them by surprize; especially those which they obtain by a successful ticket.——By numberless persons suddenly enriched in this way, their wealth h foolishly spent; an has proved very fat setting their under The first prizes in ev the grand baits which turers of all kinds, f to the spendthrift: no doubt, hundreds to whom the unexpec of twenty thousand prove rather a curs sing.

While I was givin of similar reflections, the same time not a tion, in the midst of the wrong-headedne low-creatures, from of myself and famil neral contagion:— solation I returned was not of a long co

As soon as I en lour, my wife acc "Oh, my dear! been out, my cousin been here, and tall me of the lottery, th chased five tickets, have shares in five

Before I had tim approbation of M conduct, my two c jumping down with we have each got a spend all the mon eighths and sixteen must certainly ha where."

"You are certai fools," replied I.

"La, papa!" sa girl, "who knows one of the ten thou you know, will sav a fortune—as I sha

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my own, and be my own mistress into the bargain."

"That you will not, my pert madam," replied I.——"In the first place, you have a very poor chance for the sums you mention; and in the second, if you had it, you would be ten times more unfit to be your own mistress than you are at present."

My son now came in, and told us, in the way of conversation, that finding London rather an expensive place, as there were so many things to be seen; he had taken care to lay a foundation for the increase of his pocket money, by purchasing a considerable number of tickets and shares; adding, that when they came up prizes, they would more than supply his necessary demands.

"And what are you to do, if they are all blanks?" replied I.

"O, that's impossible," said he; "I have insured most of them."

"And pray, where did you get the money to do all this?" said I.

"O, I borrowed it of my cousin: I know you will pay him for me."

"No, indeed," answered I.—"He may wait till they are drawn prizes; that is, till doom's-day; or put you into the King's-Bench to teach you more wit; to punish your foolish readiness to answer for other people."

To make short of my story, Sir, I found that my whole house had, during my walk into the city, been infected with the *lotterymania*,—(if I may be allowed the expression)—from the head of it—(as I allow my wife to be during my absence) down to my kitchen-maid and post-boy, who have both pawned some of their rags; the former to buy a thirty-second, and the latter a sixty-fourth share, that they might put themselves—according to their language—in fortune's way.

On taking notice of these scandalous enormities in a nation, to an old friend of mine who dined with me, and testifying my surprize at the infatuation of those who, with very little cash in their power, should venture their all—nay, more than their own—in spite of the *chances* against them;—he informed me, that the infatuation I wondered at, originated, in a great measure, from the lures thrown out by the keepers of Lottery Offices to draw in the ignorant and unwary.——"I know a poor hard-working man," continued he, "who borrowed money to buy a lottery-ticket, and it came up a prize of 500*l*.——The happy owner, almost mad with joy, hurried to the office for the money, of which immediate payment had been promised.——To his extreme mortification, he not only found that the fellow who sold him his ticket was gone off, but that it was the property of another person, who had purchased it before. This piece of VERY TRUE *intelligence* deprived him of the little reason he had left, he died raving, and his wife and children were sent to the work-house.

Pretty doings these, Mr. Editor!—However, such doings operate upon me in such a manner, that I shall trundle my whole family down into Cheshire before the week is out: they will, there, have time to *calculate chances*, and may build their *castles in the air*, without cracking their brains, and injuring their pockets——I shall only regret my departure from London on my country's account: I shall be sorry to remove, when there is

so

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so much business of the greatest consequence going forward; but if I ever bring my household to town again during the drawing of a lottery, I will give you leave to say, that there is not a more egregious ass in England than

Your humble Servant,

CHRIST. QUIDNUNC.

A Dissertation on Almanacks; *with the Plan of a New One for the Use of People of Fashion.*

SIR,

AMONG the numerous literary Advertisements in this month, many of the *Almanacks* for the approaching New-Year make no *small* figure, though they are not of a *large* size; and if the general utility of them is seriously considered, they may rank with the most celebrated publications. They have all their several attractions for their several purchasers. To those of a *poetical* turn the *Cambridge Sheet* must be particularly acceptable, as the *Nine Muses* have joined to dress up the *twelve Months* in the *newest Parnassian fashion*; and to *this* Sheet *Vincent Wing*'s will be no contemptible supplement, as the *weather* may now be known in it by *poetical rules*.—By those who wish to keep their *bodies* in repair from January to December, the salutary rules laid down by *Rider* should be read with great care; and the *Riddles* in the *Lady's and Gentleman's Diary* will happily serve to improve the *minds* of the two sexes, by taking them off from trifling subjects, and fixing their attention upon matters of the *last* importance.——With regard to *Poor Robin's* Almanack, no *highwayman* should be without it, as there is included in it an approved method for restoring *hanged persons* to life; and Mr. *Moore's Loyal Almanack* is a very proper pocket-companion for every country-gentleman in the kingdom, especially as he has now added "observations on ploughs."

However, though all these annual productions, published by the sagacious body of Philomaths, and Astrologers, have their intrinsic merits—there is not *one*, in my opinion, among the great variety of Almanacks, contrived for the use of *people of fashion*. I have resolved, therefore, to remedy this defect, by publishing one every year under the title of the *St. James's Calendar*.

The plan which has hitherto been followed by our Almanack-makers, can be of no use whatever to the *polite world*, who are as widely separated in their manner of living from the common herd of people, as the inhabitants of *Otaheite*. To know the exact rising and setting of the sun may serve to direct the vulgar tradesman and mechanic when to open shop, or go to work; but persons of fashion, whose hours are not marked by the course of that luminary, are indifferent about its motions—and, like those who live under the Equinoctial Line, have their days and nights of an equal degree of length all the year round. The Red-letter days, pointed out in our common Almanacks, may, perhaps, be observed by some formal ladies, who regulate their going to church by them; but *people of quality* perceive no difference between the moveable or immoveable Feasts or Fasts, and know no

use

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use of Sunday, but as it serves to call them to the card-table. What advantage can a smart fellow reap from *Rider's* list of *Fairs*, which can only be of service to his groom? Or what use can any gentleman or lady make of those Diaries now inscribed to them, which are filled with algebra and mathematicks? In a word, the present uncouth way of dividing the months into saints-days, Sundays, and the like, is no more adapted to the present modes of polite life, than the *Roman Ides*, *Nones*, and *Calends*.

Instead of supposing, with the vulgar tribe of Astronomers, that the day begins at sun-rise; *my* day, commencing at the time that it usually breaks into fashionable apartments, will be determined by the rising of people of quality. Thus, the morning dawns with early risers between eleven and twelve, and noon commences at four—— when, at this time of the year, the dinner and wax-lights come in together. For want of a thorough knowledge of the distribution of the day, all who have any connection with the polite world may be guilty of many mistakes: when an honest man from the *Minories* intends a nobleman a visit after dinner, he may perhaps find him sipping his morning chocolate. The inconveniences of the Old Style in our manner of reckoning the days were so manifest, that it was thought proper to amend them by an act of parliament. I am resolved, in like manner, to introduce the new style of dividing the hours into my Almanack; for can any thing be more absurd than to fix the name of morning, noon, and evening, at present, on the same hours which bore those appellations in the reign of Queen Elizabeth? A duchess is so far from dining at *eleven*, that it often happens that her grace has not then opened her eyes on the tea-table: and a *maid of honour* would no more rise at six in the morning, as it was called by the dames of Queen Bess's court, than she would, in imitation of those dames, breakfast upon strong beer and beef-steaks. In those houses, indeed, where the hours of quality are observed by one part of the family, the impolite irregularity of the other, in adhering to the Old Style, often occasions great disturbance: for, as Lady Townly says, "such a house is worse than an inn with ten stage-coaches. What between the impertinent people of business in a *morning*, and the intolerable thick shoes of footmen at *noon*, one has not a wink of sleep all night."

The reformation which I have also made in respect to the red-letter days, is no less considerable. I have not only expunged that immense catalogue of saints which croud the Popish calendar, but have blotted out all the other saints that still retain their places in our common almanacks; well knowing, that persons of fashion pay as little attention to the apostles and evangelists, as to *St. Mildred*, *St. Bridget*, or *St. Winifrid*. I retain, indeed, the name of *St. John*, because I am sure that people of quality will not think of any body's being designed under that title, except the late Lord Bolingbroke.

Having thus discarded the saints —*people whom nobody knows*, I have taken care to introduce my readers into the best company; for the red letters in *my* calendar will serve to distinguish those days on which

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which the ladies of the first fashion keep their routes and visiting days; a work of infinite use, as well to persons of distinction themselves, as to all those who have any intercourse with the polite world. The season of the year, commonly distinguished by the appellation of *Lent*, which implies a time of *fasting*, I shall consider, according to its real signification in the *beau-monde*, as a yearly festival; and shall, therefore, mention it under the denomination of the *Carnival*. The propriety of this will be evident at first sight; since nothing is so plain, as that at this season all kinds of diversion and jollity are at their height in this metropolis. Instead of the *man in the almanack*, I at first intended to delineate the figure of a *fine gentleman* drest *au dernier gout*; but I was at length determined to suffer the old picture to remain there: as it appears to be run through the body in several places, it may not improperly represent that fashionable character—a DUELLIST.

In the place which is allotted in other almanacks for the change of weather, (as hail, frost, snow, cloudy, and the like) I shall set down the change of dress appropriated to different seasons, and ranged under the title of hats, bonnets, sacks, jesuits, brunswicks, poloneses, muffs, &c. and in a parallel column I shall point out the several parts of the body affected by these changes; such as, head, neck, breast, shoulders, face, hands, feet, legs, &c. and as Mr. *Rider* accompanies every month with seasonable cautions about sowing turnips, raising cabbages, *bloodletting*, and the like important articles, I shall give such directions as are most suitable to the fashionable world. Presuming upon the superiority of my new plan,

Thy works, *O Wing*, *O Partridge*, I despise;
And *Robin*'s for the poor, and *Rider*'s for the wise.

I am, Sir,

Decemb. 1775. Your humble servant,
COPERNICUS COURTLY.

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POETRY.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, *the* 4th June, 1775.
By Mr. WHITEHEAD, *Poet Laureat.*

YE Powers, who rule o'er states and kings,
Who shield, with sublunary wings,
Man's erring race from woe,
To Britain's sons in every clime
Your blessings waft, whate'er their crime,
On all the winds that blow!

Beyond the vast Atlantic tide
Extend your healing influence wide,
Where millions claim your care:
Inspire each just, each filial thought,
And let the nations round be taught
The British oak is there.

Tho' vaguely wild its branches spread,
And rear almost an alien head
Wide-waving o'er the plain,
Let still, unspoil'd by foreign earth,
And conscious of its nobler birth,
The untainted trunk remain.

Where mutual interest binds the band,
Where due subjection, mild command,
Ensure perpetual ease,
Shall jarring tumults madly rave,
And hostile banners proudly wave
O'er once united seas?

No; midst the blaze of wrath divine
Heaven's loveliest attribute shall shine,

And

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And mercy gild the ray:
Shall still avert impending fate;
And concord its best æra date
From *this* auspicious day.

SONG *to* ÆLLE,

Lord *of the* Castell *of* Brystowe, *in Daies of*

About the Year 920, Ælle *was Governor of the* Castle o
gained many signal Victories over the Danes, *particularly*
The following Song was made to the Memory of this Ch
Rowlle, *a* Carmelite-Friar, *and Father Confessor to*
nynge, *Founder of* St. Mary Redcliffe *Church. It was*
Year 1468, *and the Original is now in the Hands of Mr.* B
in Bristol.

O THOU (or whate remaynes of thee)
Ælle, the darlynge of futuritye!
Lette thys mie songe bolde as thie courage bee,
As everlastynge to posteritye!
Whanne Dacyas' sonnes, with hair of blood-red hue,
Lyke kynge-coppes brastynge with the mornynge d
Arraung'd in drear arraye
Upon the lethale daye,
Spredde, farre and wyde, on Watchet's shore;
Thenne dydst thou brondeous stonde,
And, with thie burlye honde,
Bespryngedde all the mees wythe gore;
Drawn by thyne anlace fell,
Down to the depthes of hell
Thousands of Dacyans went;
Brystowans, menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the blodie fyghte,
And acted deedes full quent.
O thou! where'ere (thie bones att rest)
Thie spryte to haunte delyghteth best,
Whether on the blod-embrued playne,
Or where thou kenn'st from far
The blatant cryes of warre,
Or seest some mountayne made of hepes of slayne;
Or seest the hatchedde stede
Ypraunçynge o'er the mede
And neigh to be amongest the poyntedde speres;
Or, in black armour, stalk'st arounde
Embattelede Bristowe, once thie grounde,
And glow'st ardorous onne the castle steers;

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Or herie rounde the mynsterne glare;
Let Bristowe stille bee made thie care:
Guarde it fromme somenne and consumynge fyre,
Lyke Avon's streame encyrque it rounde,
Ne lette a flamme enharme the grounde
Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyre.

Inscription *in a* Tower *at* W——, *in the* County *of* Cambridge.

WHEN Henry* stemm'd Ierne's stormy flood;
And bow'd to Britain's yoke her savage brood;
When, by true courage and false zeal impell'd,
Richard† encamp'd on Salem's balmy field;
On towers like these Earl, Baron, Vavasor,
Hung high their banners waving in the air;
Free, hardy, proud, they braved their feudal lord,
And tried their rights by ordeal of the sword;
Now the full board with Christmas plenty crown'd,
Now ravag'd and oppress'd the country round:
Yet Freedom's cause once raised the civil broil,
And Magna Charta clos'd the glorious toil.——
Spruce modern villas different scenes afford;
The Patriot Baronet, the Courtier Lord,
Gently amus'd, now waste the summer's day
In *Book-room*, *Print-room*, or in *Ferme Ornée;*
While wit, champaign, and pines and poetry,
Virtú and ice, the genial feast supply:
But hence the poor are cherish'd, Artists fed,
And vanity relieves——in Bounty's stead.
Oh! might our age in happy concert join
The manly virtues of the Norman line
With the true science and just taste which raise
High in each useful art these modern days!

Amusement *in Modern* High Life.

THE Bucks had din'd, and deep in council sat,
Their wine was brilliant, but their wit grew flat.
Upstarts his Lordship, to the window flies,
And lo, "A race, a race!" in rapture cries.
"Where? quoth Sir John—"Why, see two drops of rain
"Start from the summit of the crystal pane:
"A thousand pounds, which drop with nimblest force
"Performs its current down the slipp'ry course."

* Henry II. † Richard I.

The

The betts were fix'd, in dire suspense they wait
For victory, pendent on the nod of Fate.
Now down the sash, unconscious of the prize,
The bubbles roll like pearls from Chloe's eyes.
But ah! the glittering joys of life are short!
How oft two jostling steeds have spoil'd the sport!
So thus attraction, by coersive laws,
Th' approaching drops into one bubble draws;
Each curs'd his fate, that thus their project cross'd:
How hard their lot who neither won or lost!

X. S. G.

The FATAL SISTERS: *an* ODE, *from the* Norse *Tongue*; By the late Mr.* GRAY. *From Mr.* MASON's *Edition of Mr.* GRAY's *Works.*

NOW the storm begins to lower,
(Haste, the loom of hell prepare),
Iron-sleet of arrowy shower
Hurtles in the darken'd air.

Glitt'ring lances are the loom,
Where the dusky warp we strain,

* To be found in the *Orcades* of *Thormudus Torfæus*; *Hafniæ*, 1697, folio; and also in *Bartholinus*.

Vitt er orpit fyrir valfalli, &c.

For the better understanding of this piece, the reader is to be informed that in the eleventh century *Sigurd*, Earl of the Orkney-islands, went with a fleet of ships and a considerably body of troops into Ireland, to the assistance of *Sictrig with the silken beard*, who was then making war on his father-in-law *Brian*, King of Dublin: the Earl and all his forces were cut to pieces, and *Sictryg* was in danger of a total defeat; but the enemy had a greater loss by the death of *Brian*, their king, who fell in the action. On Christmas-day, (the day of the battle), a native of *Caithness* in Scotland saw at a distance a number of persons on horseback riding full speed towards a hill, and seeming to enter into it. Curiosity led him to follow them, till looking through an opening in the rocks, he saw twelve gigantic figures resembling women: they were all employed about a loom; and as they wove, they sung the following dreadful song; which, when they had finished, they tore the web into twelve pieces, and (each taking her portion) galloped six to the north and as many to the south. These were the *Valkyriur*, female divinities, servants of *Odin* (or *Woden*) in the Gothic mythology. Their name signifies *Chusers of the slain*. They were mounted on swift horses, with drawn swords in their hands; and in the throng of battle selected such as were destined to slaughter, and conducted them to *Valhalla*, the Hall of *Odin*, or Paradise of the Brave: where they attended the banquet, and served the departed heroes with horns of mead and ale.

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Weaving many a soldier's doom,
Orkney's woe, and Randver's bane.

See the grisly texture grow,
('Tis of human entrails made),
And the weights, that play below,
Each a gasping warrior's head.

Shafts for shuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cords along.
Sword, that once a monarch bore,
Keep the tissue close and strong.

Mista black, terrific Maid,
Sangrida, and Hilda see,
Join the wayward work to aid:
'Tis the woof of victory.

Ere the ruddy sun be set,
Pikes must shiver, javelins sing,
Blade with clattering buckler meet,
Hauberk crash, and helmet ring.

(Weave the crimson web of war)
Let us go and let us fly,
Where our Friends the conflict share,
Where they triumph, where they die.

As the paths of fate we tread,
Wading thro' th' ensanguin'd field:
Gondula, and Geira, spread
O'er the youthful king your shield.

We the reins to slaughter give,
Ours to kill and ours to spare:
Spite of danger he shall live.
(Weave the crimson web of war.)

They, who once the desert-beach
Pent within its bleak domain,
Soon their ample sway shall stretch
O'er the plenty of the plain.

Low the dauntless Earl is laid,
Gor'd with many a gaping wound:
Fate demands a nobler head;
Soon a king shall bite the ground.

Long his loss shall Erin weep,
Ne'er again his likeness see;

Long

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Long her strains in sorrow steep,
Strains of immortality!

Horror covers all the heath,
Clouds of carnage blot the sun.
Sisters, weave the web of death;
Sisters, cease; the work is done.

Hail the task, and hail the hands!
Songs of joy and triumph sing!
Joy to the victorious bands;
Triumph to the younger king.

Mortal, thou that hear'st the tale,
Learn the tenour of our song.
Scotland, thro' each winding vale
Far and wide the notes prolong.

Sisters, hence with spurs of speed:
Each her thundering faulchion wield;
Each bestride her sable steed.
Hurry, hurry to the field.

ODE *to* ADVERSITY, *by the late Mr.* GRAY.

From Mr. MASON'S *Edition of Mr.* GRAY'S *Works.*

——Ζῆνα
Τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-
σαντα, τῷ πάθει μάθος
Θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

ÆSCHYLUS, in Agamemno

DAUGHTER of *Jove*, relentless power,
Thou tamer of the human breast,
Whose iron scourge and tort'ring hour,
The bad affright, afflict the best!
Bound in thy adamantine chain
The proud are taught to taste of pain,
And purple tyrants vainly groan,
With pangs unfelt before, unpitied and alone.

When first thy sire to send on earth
Virtue, his darling child, design'd,
To thee he gave the heav'nly birth,
And bad to form her infant mind.
Stern rugged nurse! thy rigid lore
With patience many a year she bore:

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What sorrow was, thou bad'st her know,
And from her own she learn'd to melt at others' woe.

Scar'd at thy frown terrific, fly
Self-pleasing folly's idle brood,
Wild laughter, noise, and thoughtless joy,
And leave us leisure to be good.
Light they disperse, and with them go
The summer friend, the flatt'ring foe;
By vain prosperity receiv'd,
To her they vow their truth, and are again believ'd.

Wisdom in sable garb array'd,
Immers'd in rapt'rous thought profound,
And melancholy, silent maid
With leaden eye, that loves the ground;
Still on thy solemn steps attend:
Warm charity, the general friend,
With justice to herself severe,
And pity, dropping soft the sadly-pleasing tear.

Oh, gently on thy suppliant's head,
Dread goddess, lay thy chast'ning hand!
Not in thy gorgon terrors clad,
Nor circled with the vengeful band
(As by the impious thou art seen)
With thund'ring voice, and threat'ning mien,
With screaming horror's funeral cry,
Despair, and fell disease, and ghastly poverty.

Thy form benign, oh goddess, wear,
Thy milder influence impart,
Thy philosophic train be there
To soften, not to wound my heart,
The generous spark extinct revive,
Teach me to love and to forgive,
Exact my own defects to scan,
What others are to feel, and know myself a man.

VERSES *to* SOLITUDE. *From* MISCELLANIES *in Prose and Verse, by Mrs.* CHAPONE, *Author of* Letters on the Improvement of the Mind.

THOU gentle nurse of pleasing woe!
To thee, from crowds and noise and show,

With

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With eager haste I fly.
Thrice welcome, friendly Solitude!
O let no busy foot intrude,
Nor list'ning ear be nigh.

Soft, silent, melancholy maid!
With thee to yon sequester'd shade
My pensive steps I bend;
Still, at the mild approach of night,
When Cynthia lends her sober light,
Do thou my walk attend!

To thee alone my conscious heart
Its tender sorrow dares impart,
And ease my lab'ring breast;
To thee I trust the rising sigh,
And bid the tear that swells mine eye
No longer be suppress.

With thee among the haunted groves
The lovely sorc'ress fancy roves,
O let me find her here!
For she can time and space controul,
And swift transport my fleeting soul
To all it holds most dear!

Ah no!—ye vain delusions hence!
No more the hallow'd influence
Of solitude pervert!
Shall fancy cheat the precious hour,
Sacred to wisdom's awful pow'r
And calm reflection's part?

O wisdom! from the sea-beat shore
Where, list'ning to the solemn roar,
The lov'd * Eliza strays,
Vouchsafe to visit my retreat,
And teach my erring, tremb'ling feet
Thy heav'n protected ways!

Oh guide me to the humble cell
Where resignation loves to dwell,
Contentment's bow'r in view.
Nor pining grief with absence drear,
Nor sick suspense, nor anxious fear,
Shall there my steps pursue.

* Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, a lady well known to the literary a beautiful Ode to Wisdom.

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There let my soul to *Him* aspire
Whom none e'er sought with vain desire,
Nor lov'd in sad despair!
There, to his gracious will divine
My dearest, fondest hope resign,
And on my tenderest care!

Then peace shall heal this wounded breast,
That pants to see another blest,
From selfish passion pure;
Peace, which when human wishes rise
Intense, for aught beneath the skies,
Can never be secure.

ODE *on the* PLEASURE *arising from* VICISSITUDE, *left unfinished by the late Mr.* GRAY; *with Additions to complete it, by Mr.* MASON. *From Mr.* MASON'S *Edition of Mr.* GRAY'S *Works. The* Additions *are in* Italicks.

NOW the golden morn aloft
Waves her dew-bespangled wing,
With vermil cheek, and whisper soft
She wooes the tardy spring:
Till April starts, and calls around
The sleeping fragrance from the ground;
And lightly o'er the living scene
Scatters his freshest, tenderest green.

New-born flocks, in rustic dance,
Frisking ply their feeble feet;
Forgetful of their wintry trance
The birds his presence greet:
But chief, the sky-lark warbles high
His trembling thrilling extacy;
And, lessening from the dazzled sight,
Melts into air and liquid light.

Rise, my soul! on wings of fire,
Rise the rapt'rous choir among;
Hark! 'tis nature strikes the lyre,
And leads the general song:
Warm let the lyric transport flow,
Warm, as the ray that bids it glow;
And animates the vernal grove
With health, with harmony, and love.

Yesterday

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Yesterday the sullen year
Saw the snowy whirlwind fly;
Mute was the music of the air,
The herd stood drooping by:
Their raptures now that wildly flow,
No yesterday, nor morrow know;
'Tis man alone that joy descries
With forward, and reverted eyes.

Smiles on past misfortune's brow
Soft reflection's hand can trace;
And o'er the cheek of sorrow throw
A melancholy grace;
While hope prolongs our happier hour,
Or deepest shades, that dimly lower
And blacken round our weary way,
Gilds with a gleam of distant day.

Still, where rosy pleasure leads,
See a kindred grief pursue;
Behind the steps that misery treads
Approaching comfort view;
The hues of bliss more brightly glow,
Chastis'd by sabler tints of woe;
And blended form, with artful strife,
The strength and harmony of life.

See the wretch, that long has tost
On the thorny bed of pain,
At length repair his vigour lost,
And breathe, and walk again:
The meanest floweret of the vale,
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common sun, the air, the skies,
To him are opening paradise.

Humble quiet builds her cell,
Near the source whence pleasure flows;
She eyes the clear * crystalline well,
And tastes it as it goes.
While far below the *madding* croud
Rush headlong to the dangerous flood,
Where broad and turbulent it sweeps,
And perish in the boundless deeps.

Mark where indolence, and pride,
Sooth'd by flattery's tinkling sound;

* So Milton accents the word:
On the crystalline sky, in sapphire thron'd. P. L. Book v

Go, softly rolling side by side,
Their dull, but daily round:
To these, if Hebe's self should bring
The purest cup from pleasure's spring,
Say, can they taste the flavour high
Of sober, simple, genuine joy?

Mark ambition's march sublime
Up to power's meridian height;
While pale-ey'd envy sees him climb,
And sickens at the sight.
Phantoms of danger, death, and dread,
Float hourly round ambition's head;
While Spleen, within his rival's breast,
Sits brooding on her scorpion nest.

Happier he, the peasant, far,
From the pangs of passion free,
That breathes the keen, yet wholesome air
Of rugged penury.
He, when his morning task is done,
Can slumber in the noontide sun;
And hie him home, at evening's close,
To sweet repast, and calm repose.

He, unconscious whence the bliss,
Feels, and owns in carols rude,
That all the circling joys are his,
Of dear vicissitude.
From toil he wins his spirits light,
From busy day the peaceful night;
Rich, from the very want of wealth,
In heav'n's blest treasures, peace and health.

An ODE *for the* REGATTA, *or* WATER-JUBILEE. *Performed on* Friday, *the 23d of* July, 1775, *at* RANELAGH.

BRITANNIA! blest with soft repose,
(Whose fields in richest robes are drest,
Whose vallies spread their verdant vest)
Thus from her peaceful palace rose,
And to the *Deities* her pray'r addrest!
" O'er my fair isle (the glory of the main)
This day may love triumphant reign!"

The goddess never prays in vain;
At Jove's supreme propitious nod,
Forth from the chambers of the main,
Quick darts the coral-crowned god!

Glad

Glad Tritons at his presence sounding!
Notes from Albion's rocks rebounding!
His awful trident shakes the ground!
What solemn silence reigns around!
Nor surges lash the trembling shore,
Nor dare the winds tumultuous roar;
But slowly slide the conscious billows—
Softly wave the listening willows!
Whilst Neptune with majestic smile
Accosts the goddess of our isle!

"To crown this chosen, happy day,
My offspring shall my will obey;
The daughter of the genial main,
The queen of youth and rosy smiles!
(Queen of dimple-dwelling wiles)"
Come with all her Paphian train!
She comes! the conscious sea subsides!
Neptune curbs his hundred tides!
Smooth the silken surface lies,
Where Venus' flow'ry chariot flies!
Paphian maids around her move,
Keen ey'd hope, and joy, and love!
Close by her side, her darling son she brings,
With quiver full! he claps his wanton wings
He takes his aim! behold each pointed dart!
With pleasing anguish pierce the destin'd hear

Love and music sprung from heav'n!
Sov'reigns of the human soul!
And by nature wisely giv'n
Ruder passions to controul.
Beauty's empire far extends,
O'er the ocean's wide domain!
From the world's extremest ends,
To Britannia's happy plain.
Behold! in every youthful breast
(Thames' banks have nurst the flame)
Venus, ever welcome-guest,
Courts the generous sons of fame!

(Full Chorus)

Happy island! happy king!
Where the free-born subjects live!
Where the circling seasons bring
All that love and glory give.

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BALLAD *sung at the same Time and Place, and on the same Occasion, with the preceding* Ode.

YE lords and ye ladies who form this gay throng,
Be silent a moment, attend to our song!
And while you suspend your fantastical round,
Come bless your sweet stars, that you're none of you drown'd.
Derry down.

As you've long been detain'd, with daughters and spouses,
From your parks and your lawns, and your fine country houses,
Ere for summer's dull season you bid us adieu,
We present you a feast, and a novelty too.

—Enough of festinos, champetres enough,
Bal-pares, and frescos, and such worn-out stuff:
But how to amuse ye?—Aye there was the question,
A Regatta was thought of—Oh lucky suggestion!

From the lagunes of Venice we've stolen the hint;
And hope you'll acknowledge there's some merit in't,
Nay we trust you'll pronounce it cool, useful, and hearty,
As old father Thames is made one of the party.

For say, should Britannia ungratefully treat,
The friend of her commerce, the nurse of her fleet?
Shall he who with toil wafts your treasure to shore,
In her hours of amusement be thought of no more?

Array'd in his best, in his holiday clothes,
To-night the gay Thames his assistance bestows,
And as usual, to render the shew more complete,
We've ransack'd the wardrobe of Tavistock-street.

We've friends in the court, and we've friends in the city,
No doubt then our plan is both useful and pretty,
Since the six clubs have join'd to defray all the charges,
And the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen lent us their barges.

Did you mind how each candidate tugg'd at the oar,
How the managers storm'd, how the constables swore?
Shall ye ever forget how the mob was delighted,
When the boats all ran foul, and the ladies were frighted?

But the races are o'er, the procession is clos'd,
The landing effected, the clamour compos'd;
The fare that's before ye, we hope you'll agree,
Is better than coffee, rolls, butter, and tea.

Bal

But ere ye return, and your faces vermillion,
With twisting all'mande, and with frisking cotillion,
Thus with crotchet and ballad we greet every guest,
And welcome ye all to our otter-like feast.

We've strove to amuse you by water and land;
Once Torre to please ye had fire at command:
To charm ye should be the four elements' care,
So the next time we'll fix on a plan in the air.

EPILOGUE *to the Tragedy of the* INFLEXIBLE CAPT
by Miss HANNAH MOORE; *as it was acted at the Th*
Bath. *By* DAVID GARRICK, *Esq.*

WHAT son of physic but his art extends,
As well as hands, when call'd on by his friend
What landlord is so weak to make you fast,
When guests like you bespeak a good repast?
But weaker still were he whom fate has plac'd
To soothe your cares, and gratify your taste,
Should he neglect to bring before your eyes
Those dainty dramas which from genius rise;
Whether your luxury be to smile or weep,
His and your profits just proportion keep.
To-night he brought, nor fears a due reward,
A Roman Patriot by a Female Bard.
Britons, who feel his flame, his worth will rate,
No common spirit his, no common fate,
INFLEXIBLE and CAPTIVE must be great.
'How,' cries a sucking fop, thus lounging, straddling,
(Whose head shews want of ballast by its noddling)
'A woman write? Learn, Madam, of your betters,
'And read a noble Lord's POSTHUMOUS LETTERS.
'There you will learn the sex may merit praise
'By making puddings—not by making plays:
'They can make tea and mischief, dance and sing;
'Their heads, tho' full of feathers, can't take wing.'
I thought they cou'd, Sir; now and then, by chance,
Maids fly to Scotland, and some Wives to France.
He still went noddling on—'Do all she can,
'Woman's a trifle—play-thing—like her fan.'
Right, Sir, and when a wife, the rattle of a man.
And shall such things as these become the test
Of female worth? The fairest and the best
Of all Heaev'n's creatures? For so Milton sung us,
And with such champions, who shall dare to wrong us!
Come forth, proud man, in all your powers array'd;
Shine out in all your splendor—Who's afraid?

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Who on French wit has made a glorious war,
Defended Shakespeare, and subdu'd Voltaire?
Woman*:—Who, rich in knowledge, knows no pride,
Can boast ten tongues, and yet not satisfy'd?
Woman†:—Who lately sung the sweetest lay?
A woman, woman, woman‡ still I say.
Well then, who dares deny our power and might?
Will any married man dispute our right?
Speak boldly, Sirs, your wives are not in sight.
What, are you silent? Then your are content;
Silence, the proverb tells us, gives consent.
Critics, will you allow an honest claim?
Are you dumb too? This night has fix'd our fame.

EPILOGUE *to the* RIVALS.

Spoken by Mrs. BULKLEY.

LADIES for *you*—I heard our poet say——
He'd try to coax some *moral* from his play:
'One moral's plain, cry'd I, without more fuss:
'Man's social happiness all rests in us—
'Thro' all the drama—whether d—n'd or not—
'*Love* gilds the *scene*, and *women* guide the *plot*.'
From ev'ry rank obedience is our due—
D'ye doubt?—The world's great stage will prove it true.
The cit—well skill'd to shun domestic strife—
Will sup abroad;—but first—he'll ask his *wife*:
John Trot, his friend—for once will do the same,
But then—he'll just *step home to tell my dame.*——
The *surly 'squire*—at noon resolves to rule,
And half the day—zounds! madam is a fool!
Convinc'd at night—the vanquish'd victor says,
Ah Kate! *you women have such coaxing ways!*
The *jolly toper* chides each tardy blade—
Till reeling Bacchus calls on love for aid:
Then with each toast, he sees fair bumpers swim,
And kisses Chloe on the sparkling brim.
Nay, I have heard, that statesmen—great and wise—
Will *sometimes* counsel with a lady's eyes;
The servile suitors—watch her various face;
She smiles preferment—or she frowns disgrace,
Curtsies a pension here—there nods a place.

* Mrs. Montague, author of an Essay on the Writings of Shakespeare.
† Mrs. Carter, well known for skill in ancient and modern languages.
‡ Miss Aikin, who lately published some excellent poems.

Nor

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Nor with less awe, in scenes of humbler life,
Is *view'd* the *mistress*, or is *heard* the *wife*.
The poorest peasant of the poorest soil,
The child of poverty, and heir to toil—
Early from radiant love's impartial light,
Steals one small spark, to chear his world of nigh
Dear spark—that oft thro' winter's chilling woes,
Is all the warmth his little cottage knows.
The wand'ring tar—who not for *years* has pres
The widow'd partner of his *day* of rest—
On the cold deck—far from her arms remov'd—
Still hums the ditty which his Susan lov'd:
And while around the cadence loud is blown,
The boatswain whistles in a softer tone.
The *soldier*, fairly proud of wounds and toil,
Pants for the *triumph* of his Nancy's smile:
But ere the battle should he list' her cries,
The lover trembles—and the hero dies!
That heart, by war and honour steel'd to fear,
Droops on a sigh, and sickens at a tear.
But, ye more cautious, ye nice judging few,
Who give to beauty only beauty's due;
Tho' friends to love—ye view with deep regret
Our conquests marr'd—our triumphs incomplete,
'Till polished wit more lasting charms disclose;
And judgment fix the darts which beauty throws:
In female breasts did sense and merit rule,
The lover's mind would ask no other school;
Sham'd into sense—the scholars of our eyes,
Our beaux from *gallantry* would soon be wise;
Would gladly light, their homage to improve,
The lamp of knowledge at the torch of love.

EPILOGUE *to the new Comedy of* The CHOLERI

Written by Mr. GARRICK, *and spoken by Mrs.* ABI

AS I'm an artist, can my skill do better
Than paint your pictures? For I'm much your deb
I'll draw the out-lines—finish at my leisure—
A groupe like you would be a charming treasure!
Here is my pencil, here my sketching-book,
Where for this work I memorandums took;
I will in full, three quarters, and profile,
Take your sweet faces, nay, your thoughts I'll steal.
From my good friends above, their wives and doxies,
Down to Madame and Monsieur in the boxes:

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Now for it, Sirs, I beg from top to bottom,
You'll keep your features fix'd till I have got 'em.
First for fine gentlemen my fancy stretches,
They'll be more like, the slighter are the sketches.
Such unembodied form invention racks;
Pale cheeks, dead eyes, thin bodies, and long backs——
They would be best in shades, or virgin's wax.
To make fine ladies like, the toil is vain,
Unless I paint 'em o'er and o'er again:
In frost, tho' not a flower its charms discloses,
They can, like hot-houses, produce their roses.
At you, Coquettes, my pencil now takes aim!
In love's change-alley playing all the game,
I'll paint your ducklings waddling out quite lame.
The prude's most most virtuous spite I'll next pourtray;
Railing at gaming—loving private play.
Quitting the gay bon-ton, and wou'd-be-witty,
I come to you, my patrons, in the city:
I like your honest, open English looks;
They shew too—that you well employ your cooks!
Have at you, now—nay, Mister—pray don't stir,
Hold up your head, your fat becomes you, Sir;
Leer with your eyes—as thus—now smirk—Well done!
You're ogling, Sir—a haunch of venison.
Some of your fickle patriots I shall pass:—
Such brittle beings will be best on glass.
Now, courtiers, you—looks meant your thoughts to smother,—
Hands fix'd on one thing—eyes upon another.
For politicians I have no dark tints—
Such clouded brows are fine for wooden prints.
To distant climes if modern Jasons roam,
And bring the golden fleece with curses home,
I'll blacken them with Indian ink—but then
My hands, like theirs, will ne'er be clean again.
Tho' last, not least in love, I come to you*!
And 'tis with rapture nature's sons I view;
With warmest tints shall glow your jolly faces,
Joy, love, and laughter, there have fix'd their places,
Free from weak nerves, bon ton, ennui, and foreign graces.
I'll tire you now no more with pencil strictures;
I'll copy these—next week send home your pictures.

* To the Galleries.

PROLOGUE

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PROLOGUE *to the Comedy of* BON TON;

Written by Mr. COLMAN;

Spoken by Mr. KING.

FASHION in ev'ry thing bears sov'reign sway,
And words and periwigs have both their day:
Each have their purlieus too, are modish each
In stated districts, wigs as well as speech.
The Tyburn scratch, thick clubs, and Temple tye,
The parson's feather-top, frizz'd broad and high!
The coachman's cauliflower, built tiers on tiers!
Differ not more from bags and brigadiers,
Than Great St. George's, or St. James's stiles,
From the broad dialect of Broad St. Giles.
What is BON TON?——Oh, damme, cries a Buck,
—Half drunk—ask me, my dear, and you're in luck;
Bon Ton's to swear, break windows, beat the watch,
Pick up a wench, drink healths, and roar a catch.
Keep it up! Keep it up! damme, take your swing!
Bon Ton is life, my boy; Bon Ton's the thing!
Ah! I loves life, and all the joys it yields—
Says Madam Fussock, warm from Spital-fields.
Bone Tone's the space 'twixt Saturday and Monday,
And riding in a one-horse chair o' Sunday!
'Tis drinking tea on summer afternoons
At Bagnigge Wells, with china and gilt spoons!
'Tis laying by our stuffs, red cloaks and pattens,
To dance cow-tillions, all in silks and sattins!
Vulgar! cries miss. Observe in higher life
The feather'd spinster, and thrice feather'd wife!
The CLUB's Bon Ton. Bon Ton's a constant trade
Of rout, festino, ball and masquerade!
'Tis plays and puppet-shews; 'tis something new;
'Tis losing thousands ev'ry night at Lu!
Nature it thwarts, and contradicts all reason;
'Tis stiff French stays, and fruit when out of season!
A rose, when half a guinea is the price;
A set of bays, scarce bigger than six mice;
To visit friends you never wish to see;
Marriage 'twixt those who never can agree;
Old dowagers drest, painted, patch'd, and curl'd;
This is Bon Ton, and this we call the world;

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* [True, says my Lord; and thou my only son,
Whate'er your faults, ne'er sin against Bon Ton!
Who toils for learning at a public school,
And digs for Greek and Latin, is a fool.
French, French, my boy's the thing! jasez! prate, chatter!
Trim be the mode, whipt syllabub the matter!
Walk like a Frenchman! for on English pegs
Moves native awkwardness with two left legs.
Of courtly friendship form a treacherous league;
Seduce men's daughters, with their wives intrigue;
In sightly semicircles round your nails;
Keep your teeth clean—and grin, if small talk fails—
But never laugh, whatever jest prevails!
Nothing but nonsense e'er gave laughter birth,
That vulgar way the vulgar shew their mirth.
Laughter's a rude convulsion, sense that justles,
Disturbs the cockles, and distorts the muscles.
Hearts may be black, but all shou'd wear clean faces;
The Graces, boy! The Graces, Graces, Graces!]
Such is Bon Ton! and walks this city thro';
In building, scribbling, fighting, and virtù,
And various other shapes, 'twill rise to view.
To-night our Bayes, with bold, but careless tints,
Hits off a sketch or two, like Darley's prints.
Should connoisseurs allow his rough draughts strike 'em,
'Twill be Bon Ton to see 'em and to like 'em.

Vers a Mademoiselle CLAIRON, *a l'occasion d'une Fête connue sous le nom de l'Inauguration de la Statue de M. De* VOLTAIRE, *& célébrée chez Mademoiselle* CLAIRON *en* Octobre, 1772, *dans laquelle cette actrice, habillée en prêtresse d'*Apollon, *posa une Couronne de Lauriers sur le Buste de l'Auteur de Zaire, & Recita un Ode de M.* MARMONTEL, *en son honneur. Par* M. De Voltaire.

LES talents, l'esprit, le génie
Chez Clairon sont trés-assidus:
Car chacun aime sa patrie:
Chez elle, ils sont tous rendus,
Pour célébrer certaine orgie,
Dont je suis encore tout confus:
Les plus beaux momens de ma vie
Sont donc ceux que je n'ai point vus;
Vous avez orné mon image
Des lauriers qui croissent chez vous:
Ma gloire, en dépit des jaloux,
Fut en tous les tems votre ouvrage.

* The lines between crotchets are omitted at the theatre.

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WHEN—rarely now to public eyes confess'd—
The sun of Shakespeare beams on Garrick's b
To circling crowds he deals the electric fire,
As joy or grief, as love or rage, inspire.
Such storms of mirth once eas'y Pritchard rais'd;
Such wat'ry eyes on melting Cibber gaz'd;—
But ah! their chaplets fade beneath the tomb,—
On Garrick's head may wreaths more lasting bloom!
But say, shall Fame declare, while Shakespeare dies,
His old confed'rate, England's Roscius, flies?
Sees Smith inter his lovers' cold remains,
And savage Macklin hang his kings in chains?
Nature's plain dress far off lets Reddish fling,
And lead her forth a prim, patch'd, powder'd thing?
Shall equal wrong attend his publish'd lays,
Where critic ivy choaks poetic bays?
His obvious sense shall Warburton refine,
And Hanmer smooth each nobly rugged line?
His language Tibbald vamp with faithless art,
And Upton's learning freeze his plastic heart?
Shall final ruin Johnson, Stevens, bring,
Who clog, with notes of lead, his active wing;
While press'd he sinks, and but survives to tell
That Sexton Capel tolls his passing-bell?
Garrick! 'tis thine his suff'ring worth to shield,
Bestride the vanquish'd, and regain the field;
One meaning glance of eyes, like thine, can show
What lab'ring critics boast in vain to know.—
Once more let Cawdor grasp his midnight steel,
And John his wish half utter, half conceal;
In death's sad hour bid gay Mercutio smile,
Or sportive Philip Austria's calf revile;
Else, idly sculptur'd, Hampton's God appears
A boast of wealth, a sight for gaping peers;
For, while thy tongue deserts his friendly strain,
Thy generous hand has rear'd his shrine in vain.

GRACE. *By Mr.* GARRICK.

YE beaux esprits, say, what is GRACE?
Dwells it in motion, shape, or face?
Or is it all the three combin'd,
Guided and soften'd by the mind?

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Where it is *not*, all eyes may see;
But where it *is*, all hearts agree:
'Tis there, when easy in its state,
The mind is elegantly great;
Where looks give speech to every feature,
The sweetest eloquence of nature;
A harmony of thought and motion,
To which at once we pay devotion.
—But where to find this *nonpareil!*
Where does this female wonder dwell,
Who can at will our hearts command?
—Behold in public—CUMBERLAND!

VERSES *upon Mrs.* CREWE. *By the Hon. Mr.* CHARLES FOX.

WHERE the loveliest expression to features is join'd,
By nature's most delicate pencil design'd;
Where blushes unbidden, and smiles without art,
Speak the softness and feeling that dwell in the heart:
Where in manners, inchanting, no blemish we trace,
But the soul keeps the promise we had from the face;
Sure philosophy, reason, and coldness must prove
Defences unequal to shield us from love:
Then tell me, mysterious enchanter, Oh tell!
By what wonderful art, by what magic spell,
My heart is so fenc'd that for once I am wise,
And gaze without raptures on Amoret's eyes:
That my wishes, which never were bounded before,
Are here bounded by friendship, and ask for no more?
Is't reason? No; that my whole life will belye,
For who so at variance as reason and I?
Is't ambition that fills up each chink of my heart,
Nor allows any softer sensation a part?
Oh no! For in this all the world must agree
One folly was never sufficient for me.
Is my mind on distress too intensely employ'd,
Or by pleasure relax'd, by variety cloy'd?
For alike in this only, employment and pain,
Both slacken the springs of those nerves which they strain,
That I've felt each reverse, that from fortune can flow,
That I've tasted each bliss that the happiest know,
Has still been the whimsical fate of my life,
Where anguish and joy have been ever at strife.
But, tho' vers'd in th' extremes both of pleasure and pain,
I am still but too ready to feel them again!
If then for this once in my life I am free,
And escape from a snare might catch wiser than me;

'Tis

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'Tis that beauty alone but imperfectly charms,
For, tho' brightness may dazzle, 'tis kindness that warms:
As on suns in the winter with pleasure we gaze,
But feel not their warmth, tho' their splendor we praise;
So beauty our just admiration may claim,
But love, and love only, the heart can inflame.

VERSES *to the* LADIES. *By Lady* CHUDLEIGH, *Grandmother to the present Duchess of* KINGSTON.

WIFE and servant are the same,
They only differ in the name:
For when that fatal knot is ty'd,
Which nought but death can e'er divide:
When she the word *obey* has said,
And man by law supreme is made,
Then all that's kind is laid aside,
And nothing's left but state and pride.
Fierce as an eastern prince he grows,
And all his innate rigour shows.
Then but to look, to laugh, or speak,
Will the nuptial contract break.
Like mutes she signs alone must make,
An never any freedom take:
But still be govern'd by a nod,
And fear her husband as her god;
Him still must serve, him still obey,
And nothing act, and nothing say,
But what her haughty lord thinks fit,
Who with the pow'r has all the wit.
Then shun, oh! shun that wretched state,
And all the fawning flatt'rers hate.
Value yourselves, and men despise,
You must be proud, if you'll be wise.

An OLD BACHELOR's *Reflections on* MATRIMONY.

DOWN to the vale of life I tend,
Where hoary age creeps slowly on:
And with the burd'ning thought I bend,
That youth and all its joys are gone!

Successive years have roll'd away
In fancied views of future bliss:
But—'twere the phantoms of a day—
And all *that* future dies in *this*.

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Now, with a retrospective eye,
I look far back to early life,
When Hymen promis'd to supply
My highest wishes in—a wife.

I waited, hop'd, and trusted still
That time would bring th'expected day;
But never, happ'ly, to my will,
Did fortune throw it in my way.

Too nice, too wise, too proud was I,
To wed as taught by nature's rule;
The world was still to chuse for me—
And I—the condescending fool.

Hence are my days a barren round
Of trifling hopes, and idle fears;
For life, true life, is only found
In social joys, and social tears.

Let moping monks, and rambling rakes,
The joys of wedded love deride;
Their manners rise from gross mistakes,
Unbridled lust, or gloomy pride.

Thy sacred sweets, connubial love,
Flow from affections more refin'd;
Affections sacred to the dove,
Heroic, constant, warm, and kind.

Hail, holy flame! hail, sacred tye!
That binds two gentle souls in one!—
On equal wings their troubles fly,
In equal streams their pleasures run.

Their duties still their pleasures bring;
Hence joys in swift succession come;
A queen is she, and he's a king,
And their dominion is—their home.

Happy the youth who finds a bride
In sprightly days of health and ease:
Whose temper, to his own allied,
No knowledge seeks but how to please.

A thousand sweets their days attend!
A thousand comforts rise around!
Here husband, parent, wife, and friend,
In ev'ry dearest sense is found.

Yet think not, man, 'midst scenes so gay,
That clouds and storms will never rise;
A cloud may dim the brightest day,
And storms disturb the calmest skies.

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But still their bliss shall sound its goal;
Nor shall their comforts hence remove:
Bitters are oft salubrious found,
And lovers quarrels heighten love.

The lights, and shades, and goods, and ills,
Thus finely blended in their fate,
To sweet submission bow their wills,
And make them happy in their state.
Marshfield.

The TOMBS. *From the French of Mons.* L.

THE other day unheedful wand'ring,
To a solitude I stray'd,
Where the lucid stream meand'ring,
Curling, with sweet zephyr play'd:

Cool'd by the wave, the gentle breezes
With refreshing softness blow;
And all around the prospect pleases,
Hills, and woods, and meadows glow.

Onward I stray'd the scene enjoying,
When to a ruin'd pile I came,
Which, the rude tooth of time destroying,
Scarce deserv'd an Abbey's name.

Where once had shone the spiry towers,
In the golden eye of day,
Now the lone screech-owl nightly scowers—
Undistinguish'd mortals lay—

Save those whose monumental glory
Rose the ruin'd arch above;
Who with an epitaph or story
'Gainst annihilation strove.

The Conqueror's first rever'd in battle,
Monarch of a vast domain;
His high delight the cannon's rattle,
Or the blood-imbrued plain.

Round the tomb were spears and lances,
Tales of thirty battles won,
Whilst by the sculptor's living fancies
Kings and princes are undone.

Beneath a cypress branch luxurious
Was of marble white a tomb;
Its ornaments attract the curious,
Who from distant cities come.

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There were the rose and lily twining,
Flowrets bloom, and lambkins breathe;
The lute, the lyre, the trumpet shining,
Hung around with laurel wreath:

Who then can such a tomb inherit?
Who but the Poet, king of lays,
He was; and round the world his merit
Swept with inexpressive praise.

Near this, with nought of decoration,
Save an humble net entwin'd,
Appear'd a tomb of lowly station—
Here the Fisherman reclin'd.

"Ah me!" said I, "this wretched neighbour,
"Knew of nought but care and strife;
"Endless his hardships, toils and labour,
"His, I ween, was not a life."

"And why," replied a passing stranger,
"Call it not a life, I pray?
"Say, does the field of death and danger
"Give a nobler form of clay?

"Each of these men in life's short minute
"Sought his final end of bliss;
"The world's expanse and all within it
"Teach the moralist but this:

"The end attain'd by Fisher, Poet,
"Hero, all the sons of men,
"Differs but in the means which shew it,
"Whether the Net, the Sword, or Pen."

Soho, Sept. 12. R. J. TEEDE.

Dialogue between a Nobleman, in a Dream in which he fancied himself dead, and a dead beggar buried by the Side of him. From the FRENCH.

I Dreamt that, bury'd in my fellow clay,
Close by a common beggar's side I lay;
And, as so mean a neighbour shock'd my pride,
Thus (like a corpse of quality) I cry'd,
'Away! thou scoundrel; henceforth touch me not;
More manners learn, and at a distance rot.'
"Thou scoundrel! in a louder tone, cry'd he,
Proud lump of dirt, I scorn thy words and thee;
We're equal now, I'll not an inch resign,
This is my dunghill, as the next is thine.'

An

An ELEGY *on Mrs.* Bowes.* *By Lady* M. W.

HAIL happy Bride! for thou art truly blest
Three months of pleasure crown'd with en
Merit like yours was Heaven's peculiar care;
You lov'd—yet tasted happiness sincere:
The sweets of love to you were only shewn,
The sure, succeeding, bitter dregs unknown.
You had not yet the fatal change deplor'd,
The tender lover for the imperious Lord;
Nor felt the pangs that jealous fondness brings,
Nor wept the coldness from possession springs:
Above your sex, distinguis'd in your fate,
You trusted, yet experienc'd no deceit,
Swift were your hours, and wing'd with pleasur
No vain repentance gave a sigh to you:
And, if superior bliss Heav'n can bestow,
With fellow Angels you enjoy it now.

EPITAPH *in Hallifax Church*

HERE lies interr'd a zealous grave divine,
Meek, loving, lov'd, only with sin at strif
Who heard him, saw life in his doctrine shine,
Who saw him, heard sound doctrine in his life;
And in the same cold bed here rests his wife:
Nor are they dead, but sleep; for he ne'er die
That waits for his sweet Saviour's word, *Arise.*

EPIGRAM.

By Dr. DODDRIDGE, *on his Motto,* Dum vivimus,

LIVE, while you live, the Epicure will say,
And take the pleasure of the present day:
Live while you live the sacred preacher cries,
And give to God each moment as it flies.—
Lord, in my view let both united be!
I live in pleasure when I live to Thee.

* First wife to Mr. Bowes, father to the present Lady

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In SOMNUM.

SOMNE levis! quanquam certissima mortis imago,
Consortem cupio te tamen esse tori.
Alma quies, optata veni! nam sic sine vita
Vivere quam suave est, sic sine morte mori!

The above lines to Sleep, imitated in ENGLISH.

AH! gentle sleep, though on thy form impress'd
Death's truest, strongest, lineaments appear,
To share my couch, thy presence I request,
And soothe my senses with repose sincere.
Come, wish'd for rest! then all my cares relieve,
For at thy kind approach all cares retire:
Thus, without life, how sweet it is to live!
Thus, without death, how pleasing to expire!

E. G.

On a GENTLEMAN's *saying he would dance with none but fair* LADIES.

Spoken extempore by two Young LADIES.

SYMON does vow, nay he does swear,
He'll dance with none but what are fair;
Suppose we women shou'd dispense
Our hands to none but men of sense;
Suppose, well madam,—and what then?
Why Sir, you'd never dance again.

ATTRACTION *and* REPULSION. *A* FABLE.

REPULSION to Attraction cry'd,
"Why do you draw me thus aside?"
Attraction answer'd in a crack,
"If I pull this way, you pull back;
Both are endued with equal might,
To keep the equilibrio right.
Shou'd you, Repulsion, push too hard,
The universe would soon be marr'd;
And I, to quit my destin'd law,
Shou'd soon the world to ruin draw;
Then ne'er to join in friendship chafe,
'Tis opposition keeps us safe."

Thus

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Thus in a nation parties view,
Some *this*, and others *that* pursue;
The quarrel has a good effect,
For if *these* cheat us, *those* detect;
But should they leagues of friendship strike,
Why then they'd all be rogues alike.

The following Lines were sung by DURASTANTI, *when she took her Leave of the English Stage. The Words were in haste put together by Mr.* POPE, *at the earnest Request of the Earl of* PETERBOROW.

GENEROUS, gay, and gallant nation,
Bold in arms, and bright in arts;
Land secure from all invasion,
All but Cupid's gentle darts!
From your charms, oh who would run?
Who would leave you for the sun?

Happy soil, adieu, adieu!
Let old charmers yield to new.
In arms, in arts, be still more shining;
All your joys be still increasing;
All your tastes be still refining;
All your jars for ever ceasing:
But let old charmers yield to new:
Happy soil, adieu, adieu!

A Burlesque of the above Lines, by Dr. ARBUTHNOT.

PUPPIES, whom I now am leaving,
Merry sometimes, always mad,
Who lavish most when debts are craving,
On fool, and farce, and masquerade!
Who would not from such bubbles run,
And leave such blessings for the sun?

Happy soil, and simple crew!
Let old sharpers yield to new;
All your tastes be still refining;
All your nonsense still more shining:
Blest in some *Berenstad* or *Boschi*,
He more aukward, he more husky;
And never want, when these are lost t'us,
Another Heidegger and Faustus.
Happy soil, and simple crew!
Let old sharpers yield to new!
Bubbles all, adieu, adieu!

A FARE-

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(Never published in his Works.)

DEAR, damn'd, distracting town, farewell!
Thy fools no more I'll teize:
This year in peace, ye critics, dwell,
Ye harlots, sleep at ease!

Soft B—— and rough C——'s, adieu.
Earl Warwick make your moan,
The lively H——k and you
May knock up w——s alone.

To drink and droll be Rowe allow'd
Till the third watchman toll;
Let Jervase gratis paint, and Frowd
Save three-pence and his soul.

Farewell Arburthnot's raillery
On every learned sot;
And Garth, the best good christian he,
Altho' he knows it not.

Lintot, farewell! thy bard must go;
Farewell, unhappy Tonson!
Heaven gives thee, for thy loss of Rowe,
Lean Philips and fat Johnson.

Why should I stay? Both parties rage;
My vixen mistress squalls;
The wits in envious feuds engage,
And Homer (damn him!) calls.

The love of arts lies cold and dead
In Hallifax's urn;
And not one Muse of all he fed,
Has yet the grace to mourn.

My friends, by turns, my friends confound,
Betray, and are betray'd:
Poor Y——r's sold for fifty pound,
And B———ll is a jade.

Why make I friendships with the great,
When I no favour seek?
Or follow girls seven hours in eight,—
I need but once a week?

Still

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Still idle, with a busy air,
Deep whimsies to contrive;
The gayest valetudinaire,
Most thinking rake alive.

Solicitous for others ends,
Tho' fond of dear repose;
Careless or drowsy with my friends,
And frolic with my foes.

Laborious Lobster-nights farewell!
For sober, studious days;
And Burlington's delicious meal,
For sallads, tarts, and pease.

Adieu to all but Gay alone,
Whose soul, sincere and free,
Love's all mankind, but flatters none,
And so may starve with me.

A SPANISH MADRIGAL, *by* D. LEWIS MARTIN.

IBA cogiendo flores,
Y guardando en la falda
Mi ninfa, para hacer una guirnalda;
Mas primero las toca
A los rosados labios de su boca,
Y les dá de su aliento los olores;
Y estaba (por su bien) entre una rosa
Una abeja escondida,
Su dulce humor hurtando;
Y como en la harmosa
Flor de los labios se hallò? atrevida,
La picò, sacò miel, fuese volando.

TRANSLATION, *by Mr.* GARRICK.

FOR me my fair a wreath has wove,
Where rival flow'rs in union meet;
As oft she kiss'd this gift of love,
Her breath gave sweetness to the sweet.
A bee within a damask rose
Had crept, the nectar'd dew to sip;
But lesser sweets the thief foregoes,
And fixes on Louisa's lip.

There,

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There, tasting all the bloom of spring,
Wak'd by the rip'ning breath of May,
Th' ungrateful spoiler left his sting,
And with the honey fled away.

A TRANSLATION *of* LATIN VERSES. *From the* ARABIC.

MY boy, the glasses hither bring,
Present the balmy treasure;
More briskly pour it round the ring,
And pour it without measure.
Wine can lovers pangs assuage;
Wine allays the cares of age.

The wine is like to ruddy Sol;
The cup, of hue so mellow,
To portly Cynthia, fair and full,
Courting her lordly fellow.
Brisker rouse the ruddy light;
Pour on wine to make it bright.

What though, in beauty's transient hour,
The roses lose their blushing?
Above, the purple nectar pour,
And strow them fresh and flushing.
Let Philomel forsake the grove;
Wine inspires the song of love.

Heed not fortune's scornful frown:
In bumper's drown all sorrow;
Sleep, soon, shall all our wishes crown,
And crown them till to-morrow.
Bring round to me the nectar'd stream,
Wine inspires the golden dream.

How sweet the genial flush of drink!
Larger draughts give larger pleasure?
Sit we till we cease to think
On aught besides our mellow treasure.
My friend be jovial right or wrong,
We'll drink our glass and sing our song.

Caithness. MUSÆUS.

CHORUS

CHORUS SONG *in the Comedy of* EASTWARD HO, *re*
Name of OLD CITY MANNERS. *By Mr.* BAN

PUSH the jovial bowl about;
Ere we part, we'll see it out,
And wit and mirth shall reign, boys;
Many cares, we all may know,
And many hardships undergo,
Before we meet again, boys.

CHORUS.

Yet hand in hand,
By sea or land,
When met we'll sing and roar;
And, lest our joy
Dull thoughts destroy,
We'll laugh and think no more.

North or South, or East or West,
We'll have liquor of the best;
For whereso'er we're bound, boys,
In the bowl our joys shall swim,
And, while we fill it to the brim,
They ne'er can run a-ground, boys.
Yet hand in hand, &c.

Life is like the present hour,
Mark'd with blended sweet and sour,
Our time flies swift along, boys;
Like a bowl of punch is man:
And now discover, if you can,
The moral of my song, boys.
Yet hand in hand, &c.

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Account of Books for 1775.

The Poems of Mr. Gray: To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings, by W. Mason, *M. A.* 1 *Vol.* 4to.

MR. Mason very justly disclaims all apology for the work with which he has obliged the world. His well-chosen motto, *Est adhuc hominibus et cura et officium; sunt qui defunctorum quoque amicos agant;* is his praise, as well as his justification. The work does credit both to his friend and to himself.

The lives of learned men are in their writings, and their character is best seen in their private letters. We entirely agree with our author in his censure on Dr. Sprat's objection to the publication of private letters, as shewing the souls of men *undrest*. It is the justest curiosity in the world, to see men as they are, without the parade and incumbrance of the ceremonious formalities that are put on, either to impose on the world, or conform to it: they either make men appear what they are not, or hinder us at least from seeing what they are. This curiosity carries us as strongly to the poet, as to the statesman, the general, or the legislator. The objection to the publication of private letters, in truth, goes no further than to say, that what is not fit to be seen, *is* not fit to be seen. Any thing indecent or indelicate, ought not to be exhibited. Any secrets which tend to destroy the repose and the satifaction of private life, ought not to be discovered: whatever would revive forgotten animosity, ought not to be disclosed: but we are not to suppose, that the retirement of considerable men, either in an active or speculative sphere, can be wholly consumed and wasted in an unworthy manner: and much is to be known of the secrets of social, and even domestic intercourse, which neither disturbs the living, nor defames the dead. The private thoughts of those, whose public thoughts have attracted our attention, must be worthy, as surely they are natural, objects of an enlightened curiosity, and tend, like every other work of ingenuity, to enlarge and open the mind of the reader.

Mr. Mason professes to make his author his own historian; which Mr. Gray's correspondence with his friends enables him, in a great measure, to perform.

He divides his work into parts, the first concluding with Mr. Gray's going on his travels.

The second comprehends his correspondence on his travels; and of course the account of them. His letters are wrote with great elegance and taste: but though the scene of his tour has too often been the subject

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subject of ingenious pens, to allow him the advantage of novelty; yet the intelligent reader cannot miss entertainment and information. A melancholy circumstance attends this stage of Mr. Gray's life. The travels of an ingenious young man, is commonly the pleasantest period of his life! but Mr. Gray had the misfortune to have a difference with Mr. Walpole, with whom he travelled: this naturally embittered his satisfaction, and very probably obstructed his road to fortune. Mr. Mason acquaints us with a circumstance that does infinite honour to Mr. Walpole, who has, it seems, authorized him to exculpate the friend that is gone, from the blame of this unhappy difference: an act that certainly exempts Mr. Walpole too from any share of censure: and we must, in justice to them both, suppose that the cause, which may divide the best men, could alone have separated them, meer difference of constitutional humour.

The third part begins with his return home, soon after which he had the misfortune (perhaps the greatest our nature is liable to) of losing the friend and companion of his younger days, and earlier studies, Mr. West; whose letters, if we had nothing else of his in this work, shew him to have had a very ingenious and elegant mind. Mr. Mason does not allow him to have been equal to his friend Mr. Gray; but we see that he was a good critic: the little he says upon his friend's *Agrippina* (p. 136.) is indeed the critic of a friend, who cannot be an Aristarchus; but it shews Mr. West to have been a sound judge.

The third finishes Mr. Gray's ingenious labours. In the remaining part, th
him a recluse, s
wholly in reading,
professes an abhor
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Mr. Mason's chara
poet, the better p
tionate friend. W
one of Mr. Gray
friend Mr. West.

Florence,

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from you; and
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not sometimes blam
much care ever to

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has the air of an introduction, designed to soften a very harsh reproof that is to follow; but it is no such matter: I only meant to ask, Why did you change your lodging? Was the air bad, or the situation melancholy? If so, you are quite in the right. Only, is it not putting yourself a little out of the way of a people, with whom it seems necessary to keep up some sort of intercourse and conversation, though but little for your pleasure or entertainment, (yet there are, I believe, such among them as might give you both) at least for your information in that study, which, when I left you, you thought of applying to? for that there is a certain study necessary to be followed, if we mean to be of any use in the world, I take for granted disagreeable enough (as most necessities are) but, I am afraid, unavoidable. Into how many branches these studies are divided in England, every body knows; and between that which you and I had pitched upon, and the other two, it was impossible to balance long. Examples shew one that it is not absolutely necessary to be a blockhead to succeed in this profession. The labour is long, and the elements dry and unentertaining; nor was ever any body (especially those that afterwards made a figure in it) amused, or even not disgusted in the beginning; yet, upon a further acquaintance, there is surely matter for curiosity and reflection. It is strange if, among all that huge mass of words, there be not somewhat intermixed for thought. Laws have been the result of long deliberation, and that not of dull men, but the contrary; and have so close a connection with history, nay, with philosophy itself, that they must partake a little of what they are related to so nearly. Besides, tell me, Have you ever made the attempt? Was not you frighted merely with the distant prospect? Had the Gothic character and bulkiness of those volumes (a tenth part of which perhaps it will be no further necessary to consult, than as one does a dictionary) no ill effect upon your eye? Are you sure, if Coke had been printed by Elzivir, and bound in twenty neat pocket volumes, instead of one folio, you should never have taken him up for an hour, as you would a Tully, or drank your tea over him? I know how great an obstacle ill spirits are to resolution. Do you really think, if you rid ten miles every morning, in a week's time you should not entertain much stronger hopes of the Chancellorship, and think it a much more probable thing than you do at present? The advantages you mention are not nothing; our inclinations are more than we imagine in our own power; reason and resolution determine them, and support under many difficulties. To me there hardly appears to be any medium between a public life and a private one; he who prefers the first, must put himself in a way of being serviceable to the rest of mankind, if he has a mind to be of any consequence among them: nay, he must not refuse being, in a certain degree, even dependent upon some men, who already are so. If he has the good fortune to light on such as will make no ill use of his humility, there is no shame in this; if not, his ambition ought to give place to a reasonable pride, and he should apply to the cultivation

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his own mind those abilities which he has not been permitted to use for others' service. Such a private happiness (supposing a small competence of fortune) is almost always in one's power, and the proper enjoyment of age, as the other is the employment of youth. You are yet young, have some advantages and opportunities, and an undoubted capacity, which you have never yet put to the trial. Set apart a few hours, see how the first year will agree with you, at the end of it you are still the master; if you change your mind, you will only have got the knowledge of a little somewhat that can do no hurt, or give you cause of repentance. If your inclination be not fixed upon any thing else, it is a symptom that you are not absolutely determined against this, and warns you not to mistake mere indolence for inability. I am sensible there is nothing stronger against what I would persuade you to, than my own practice; which may make you imagine I think not as I speak. Alas! it is not so; but I do not act what I think, and I had rather be the object of your pity, than that you should be that of mine; and, be assured, the advantage I may receive from it, does not diminish my concern in hearing you want somebody to converse with freely, whose advice might be of more weight, and always at hand. We have some time since come to the southern period of our voyages; we spent about nine days at Naples. It is the largest and most populous city, as its envi deliciously fertil Italy. We saile Baiæ, sweated in dined in the grott strangers do; saw procession, and queen, and the c (which is a wond you of another tin to Rome for a left it (left Rom ther for the sum seen * an epistl that seems to n and thought, an poetic fire. I opinion. Now, Mr. Walpole and wondered you shc a certain imitatior lished last year b yours, with whic raptured and enm

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An Essay on the o Writings of Ho *parative View present State of lustrated with c late* Robert W 4to.

THE late Mr. established taste and ingenu cation of the R The same classica conductor in the p read the Iliad an countries where where Ulysses tra

* The reader will find this in Dodsley's Miscellany, Mr. Walpole's Fugitive Pieces.

† Gilbert West, Esq. This poem, "On the Abuse o also in Dodsley's Miscellany.

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Homer sung. The researches of a person of an ingenious and enlightened mind, making such a journey upon such a principle, cannot but engage the attention of the world of curiosity and erudition.

Our author undoubtedly studied Homer with great care and attention, and with no less sagacity. We must do him the justice to say, that with all the fondness that it is natural for an author to bear to his subject, and which is so justly due to such a subject as Homer, he does not seem to be blinded by his zeal, or hurried in that unlimited admiration, which has carried others to the excess of imagining that the origin of all knowledge, and all science, was to be found in Homer. Mr. Wood may, perhaps, be thought by some to trespass on the other side; he does not conceive, that the learning of Homer could, from the age he lived in, by any possibility have been very extensive: neither does he allow that the Egyptians, from the state of their own knowledge, could have furnished Homer with that extensive fund of information that has been imagined. The section of this work on Homer's religion and mythology, where this discussion of Egyptian learning falls in, is very worthy of the ingenious reader's attention.

The author has so divided his work, as to fix a distinct consideration to each of the several points that have, from the days of Aristotle down to our own, engaged the curiosity of the learned world.

We are sorry that the limits of our work does not allow us to make a longer extract than the two following, in which we think there will be found very just and well-founded criticism, as well as a great deal of good taste.

Our author has added a description of the Troade, or country of Troy; in which he has taken great pains. The change of the face of the country, in such a long succession of ages, by earthquakes, as well as new inhabitants, required that the pains should not be small; and we must leave to the reader's own good sense to judge how far his position is made out.

The following extracts will, we think, engage the reader to enter more deeply into the work.

"Having taken a short view of the poet at home, if, according to our proposed order, we follow him abroad; I think we shall find him a traveller of curiosity and observation.

If our conjectures with regard to his country are well-founded, he lived in an island, or upon the sea-coast. The Asiatic Greeks did not spread into the inland parts of that continent, but confined themselves to the shore, looking towards their mother country with an attachment and respect unknown to later ages.

When the great objects of human pursuit, whether wealth, power, honours, or science, were not to be acquired at home, it is not reasonable to suppose, that a turn of mind like Homer's, should sit down contented with the poverty, ignorance, and inglorious insignificance of his native spot. For though ambition or avarice might not, yet curiosity, which we cannot doubt his possessing in a great degree, would naturally draw him forth into the active scene. An impatient thirst after knowledge was in those days only to be satisfied by travelling. The tranquillity and security essentially

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tially necessary to studious retirement, were unknown to that state, either of letters or government, at least in Greece. Homer therefore had only the great book of Nature to peruse, and was original from necessity, as well as by genius.

Few countries of the same extent have so much sea-coast as Greece. The intercourse of its inhabitants with other countries, or with one another, was mostly kept up by water. There is no land-journey regularly described, either in the Iliad or Odyssey, except that short one of Telemachus from Pylos to Sparta; and even there Nestor submits to the choice of his guest the alternative of going by sea, though much the longest way.

In this state of things, and considering how much the various occupations of high and low life were then confined to one rank and order of men, it is not extraordinary that we should find the poet so conversant in the language and manners of the sea, and so knowing, as well in the business of the shipwright as of the sailor. Indeed, it is only by following him through each of those arts, that history is furnished with the earliest account of them. Let us therefore first examine his method of building, and next his manner of navigating a ship.

If we compare the naval force of the different states of Greece at the time of the Trojan war with that of the same countries afterwards when Ægina, Corinth, and Athens, had turned their thoughts to trade and navigation; we shall find that their progress, as maritime powers, did not correspond with the account of their shipping, as it is accurately stated in Homer. It is natural to suppo from its advant should be among the continent of G country began to l vernment, which self by commerc undoubtely a power. But this the heroic, or, wh thing; the mystical When Corinth furn under Agamemnon extent of sea-coas islands under his co far the greatest nav time, she is bar without any distinc the consideration w wards acquired in t The fleet, which ass consisted of open ha a sort of galleys wi for rowing or sailing launched, and dra beach occasionally, shore, and served as for soldiers who w tune mariners. Th in Homer that allud sea-engagement; or any idea of that ma ing on war. Those p traordinary length, v tions, seem to have an offensive weapon ing; and may have b in landing. When Ulysses talk of comm expeditions, and des with a fleet: or wh said to have taken ships only; the allu numbers, which they on shore. Their bo der, and ballast, b The name of it doe Homer; nor was t

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instrument known. If we may form a judgment from the raft of Ulysses, there was no metal employed; the timbers being fastened by pegs. In short, we know, from good authority, that ship-building had not made any great progress in Greece before the expedition of Xerxes. The best accounts that we can collect of the naval engagements of those times, is a proof of this.

It is, no doubt, difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles. But whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account, which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his Persæ, of that action; and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded, must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.

Agreeably to this account of ancient ships and ship-building, we see, that though Homer's seamen are expert in their manœuvre, yet they are confined to the precautions of that timid coasting navigation, which is at this day practised in the Mediterranean, in slight undecked vessels, unfit to resist the open sea. Their first care is, to venture as little as possible out of sight of land, to run along shore, and to be ready to put in, and draw up their ships on the beach, if there is no port, on the first appearance of foul weather.

We find Nestor, Diomedes, and Menelaus, consulting at Lesbos upon a doubt which this imperfect state of the art alone could suggest. The question was, Whether, in their return to Greece, they should keep the Asiatic coast till they past Chios, which was the most secure, but the most tedious way home; or venture directly across the open sea, which was the shortest, but the most dangerous?

I was present at a consultation on the same sort of question, near the same place, and under the same circumstances, as far as they concern the illustration of our present inquiry. It was in the year 1742, that I happened to be on board his Majesty's ship the Chatham, then escorting the Turkey trade from Constantinople to Scanderoon. When we were between Mytelene and Scio, and due north of the latter, in a dark night, with a brisk gale at north-west, our Greek pilot proposed pushing through the channel of Scio; but our officers, not caring to engage so much with the land in that narrow passage, preferred the broad course, and, hawling close up to the wind, left the island of Scio on the larboard side.

If we compare our situation with that of Nestor, Diomede, and Menelaus, who had the ablest pilot of that age on board, we see, that though our destinations were different, our point under deliberation was so far precisely the same, that we both doubted between the shortest and the surest way. They ventured to sea though it was most dangerous; we chose it because it was most safe; and this constitutes one of the great differences between ancient and modern navigation.

As the most respectable commentators on Homer have, by their different constructions of part of the passage here alluded to, deviated from that plain sense of the poet,

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poet, in which, I think, his accuracy consists, I shall enter a little more largely into the consideration of the lines, which describe this navigation, in order to ascertain their meaning. Though it may carry us a little beyond the object immediately before us, it will only anticipate a specimen of his historical accuracy (one of the proposed objects of this essay), and will shew how cautious we should be not to disturb that delicate connection and thread of circumstances, which are seldom disranged, even by the smallest alteration, without endangering his truth and consistence.

Should we, in this view, strip those lines of their poetical dress, and extract a plain narrative or journal from the most literal and natural construction of the whole passage, it will, with very little paraphrase, and that entirely furnished by the poet himself, produce the following piece of ancient history.

" The demolition of Troy be-
" ing at length accomplished, Aga-
" memnon and Menelaus, disagree-
" ing about the farther measures
" to be taken upon that occasion,
" summoned a council, in order
" to state their different opinions.
" But this was done precipitately,
" in the evening, an unseasonable
" time for deliberation, when the
" chiefs, rising from table, and
" heated with wine, came impro-
" perly prepared for considerations
" of that moment. The event
" corresponded with the irregula-
" rity of such a proceeding; for,
" the council being assembled, Me-
" nelaus proposed, that they should
" embark for Greece; but Aga-
" memnon advised them first to
" appease the wrath of Minerva
" by a hecatomb. This produced
" a debate, which
" altercation betw
" so that the ass
" tumultuously,
" to any resolutio
" The Grecian
" these means, d
" parties, one esp
" ments of Agam
" other those of M
" last were Nesto
" Ulysses; who, l
" their women an
" next morning,
" for Tenedos; w
" ficed to the god
" a propitious voy
" Here a seco
" for Ulysses's par
" to the comman
" turned to Tro
" foreseeing the n
" happen, pruder
" voyage the se
" Diomede, leavi
" hind at Tenedos
" nelaus followe
" them the same
" where he foun
" ting whether,
" season, it were
" to consult the
" slower method
" by Mimas and
" to risk the sho
" make directly fo
" They prefer
" peditious cours
" third day from
" wind proving
" they made Ge
" Having so
" complished the
" part of their
" offered a sacri
" Neptune; and
" still fair, the
" voyage the fou
" coast of Greece

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" the Sunian promontory, Mene-
" laus had the misfortune to lose
" his pilot Phrontis, who died
" suddenly. Though impatient
" to see his native country, he
" stopped here to perform the fu-
" neral rites, and pay the last du-
" ties to his skilful friend; but
" Diomede continued his voyage,
" and arrived the same day at Ar-
" gos, being the fourth from his
" departure from Troy. Nestor
" took the advantage of the same
" fair wind, which carried him to
" Pylos."

This journal of four days navigation is so entirely Homer, and Homer only, the circumstances of time and distance correspond so exactly with one another, and bore so scrupulous an examination, when we made the same voyage, that I shall not trouble the reader with any other confutation, either of Eustathius or Madam Dacier's sense of this passage. The first was led into an error by mistaking the meaning of one word, and the last, by mistaking the distance from Lesbos to Eubœa; but both by attending more to grammatical criticism than to the genius and character of the poet, and of the age when he wrote.

Though, from the general character, by which Homer constantly distinguishes the Phœnicians as a commercial, sea-faring people, it has been naturally supposed, that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to distant voyages: yet I think we cannot be at a loss to account for the poet's acquiring at home all the knowledge of this kind, which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were among the earliest navigators, particularly the Phocæans and Milesians. The former are expressly called the discoverers of Adria, Iberia, Tuscany, and Tartessus. They are said to be the first among the Greeks, who undertook long voyages; and we find they had established an intercourse, and even formed close and friendly connections, on the ocean, as early as the time of Cyrus the Great. The Milesians were so remarkable for colonization, that they had founded above seventy cities in different parts of the world, and were respectable at sea long before the Persian invasion. Nor can we, except from the resources of their navigation and commerce, account for their being a match for the Lydian monarchy, as early as the reign of Gyges; up to which period, from that of Crœsus, we can trace these two nations almost constantly at war.

When we consider how far back this leads us, upon explicit historical authority, and without the equivocal and suspicious aid of etymology, upon which Phœnician colonization is so much extended; it does not seem probable, that Homer's countrymen should have arrived at so flourishing a state of navigation, so soon after his age, without having made some progress towards it before his time.

To what extent navigation was known to him, either from his own experience or the information of others, is rendered difficult to ascertain, by the constant method he follows of preserving some reality in his wildest fictions. The history of the Cimmerians seems to have furnished some of his ideas with regard to the gloomy infernal shades, and the distinguishing features in the Phœacian character are

Phœnician,

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Phœnician. Even where he is most fabulous, he takes the hint from tales propagated before his time, and embroiders his own variations on that extravagance, which had already the sanction of popular credulity. Thus the poet's genius, though impatient of the limited knowledge of his age, is unwilling to abandon nature; and when he seems to desert her, it is in favour of some pleasing irregularity, which vulgar opinion had substituted in her place. This mixture of something, that was either true, or commonly believed to be so, with regard to the scene of his fabulous narration, is observable in his description of the islands of Circe, Æolus, and, above all, in that of Calypso.

His knowledge of the sun setting in the ocean might fall within the observation even of that confined state of navigation which we may reasonably allow to his age; for it is probable, that not only the Phœnicians, but the Poet's countrymen, had passed the Pillars of Hercules, and of course could, as eye witnesses, report such an appearance. But how he could learn that the sun rises out of the ocean, or that the globe is entirely surrounded by water, was so much beyond my idea of his experience, that I continued to attribute this knowledge to guess and conjecture; till upon further consideration I was induced to think, that this account of the ocean, upon which so much of his geographical science is founded, will, if rightly understood, rather convince us of his ignorance upon that head; and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now convey surprised that, so m rodotus should treat ocean, where the poetical fiction.

HOMER's V

Under the artic country, we have a observations on the climate; but his na rally engages us in deration of this subj only those which four cardinal points tioned in the Iliad In the storm which pares against Ulysse Calypso's island, the duced in the followi rus, Notus, Zephyrus

So imperfect a list responds with the co tion of those times, to expect more than of their nature and qu of the ancients imag Poet meant to expres of those principal wi epithets; which they convey the idea (for v seem the Greek lan yet found a name), it discovered where he of them together, as i already taken notice reas and Zephyrus b Thracian mountains o sea; for if we tran terally, the North-w bring that description nature and truth*.

Taking those wind in which the Poet has

* See Martyn's Virgil, 8vo. p. 336. Pliny, H. N. l. 2. c. 4 p. 608, 609, notes. See Hesiod. Theog. v. 388.

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we find their most remarkable difference of character is, that Eurus and Notus are more mild and gentle, Zephyrus and Boreas more stormy and boisterous. The two first are introduced less frequently than the last; for, as allusions of this kind generally serve to illustrate animated pictures, the characters of Zephyrus and Boreas best suit the Poet's purpose upon such occasions. Accordingly we find them employed oftener in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. Eurus is never distinguished by an epithet: and Notus only by that of swift. They are never represented as persons, except in one instance; they are described by qualities, the reverse of those of their antagonist winds; for Eurus is employed in melting the snow, which Zephyrus brings down; and Notus covers the mountain-tops with clouds which it is the business of Boreas to dispel.

Zephyrus is called hard blowing, rapid, the swiftest of all the winds, noisy, whistling or rattling, moist, and is represented as bringing rain or snow.

I find two passages in the Odyssey, which seem to give an idea of Zephyrus, different from this general character, and more like the Zephyr of modern poetry. One is in the Poet's description of the Elysian plain, "where neither winter's "snow nor rain are seen, but a "continual refreshing Zephyr "blows from the ocean;" the other is the description of Alcinous's gardens, where the rich vegetation is ascribed to a constant Zephyr.

When we recollect (what I have above attempted to prove) that the Zephyr of Homer's country, upon which he must have formed his familiar ideas of that wind, blew from the mountains of Thrace; and that the two instances which I have given, are the only ones in which he describes the qualities of that wind in a distant western climate, instead of contradiction and inconsistence, we discover an extensive knowledge of nature. For, while he is accurate in his accounts of the known appearances of his own country, he accommodates his description to what he had either heard or seen in distant parts. To have used the gentle Zephyr, in a simile addressed to Ionian readers, or to have given the character of severity to that of western climates, would have been equally incorrect.

Both Zephyrus and Boreas make their appearance as persons; they are equally concerned in kindling the funeral pile of Patroclus, at the prayer of Achilles. Xanthus and Balius, the immortal horses of that hero, are the offspring of Podarge and Zephyrus; a pedigree worthy of Homer's imagination, but, perhaps, like many of his fictions, engrafted upon some tradition, which had popular prejudice on it's side. For a strange notion prevailed, that upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean mares were impregnated by the west wind; and however ridiculous this opinion may appear, it has been seriously supported by grave and respectable writers of a more enlightened age. As to the amours of Zephyrus and Flora, they are the

It is extraordinary that Hesiod should omit Eurus, Theog. v. 379, 869. See Strabo, l. 1. p. 28, where the ancient writers upon winds are mentioned, Trasyalcis, Aristotle, Timosthenes, Bion.

natural

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natural mythology of later poets and of a more western climate, and unknown to Ionia and Homer.

Boreas is rapid and violent, but serene and drying; dispels clouds, brings hoar-frost and snow, is clear, pure, wholesome, and reviving.

This account of Boreas coincides much more with that of modern poetry, and is in general more agreeable to the experience and observation of western climates, than that of Eurus and Zephyrus.

It has probably been owing to Homer's example, that succeeding poets and artists, though in other respects departing from his description of those subjects, often represent Boreas and Zephyrus as persons. Their air and figure are familiar to us in the machinery of modern poetry, as well as in the works of painters and sculptors, who give the character of harsh and aged severity to one, and that of youthful beauty and gentleness to the other; while Eurus and Notus, especially the latter, appear so seldom in a human shape, and are so imperfectly described, that we have no determinate idea of their dress or persons.

We find the figures of the four principal with the four intermediate winds, in alto relievo, bigger than life, on the octagon tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. As this is the only monument of antiquity, that I have seen, where they are so well executed and so well preserved, I examined them with a view to those conformities between the poet and the sculptor, by which we sometimes trace the borrowed idea to its original source, but with little success. Whether it was that the artist was confined to certain ideas by th this tower, which adapted to the me or that his invent to his execution, ture to judge; but ness of attitude, dr racter, in those wi make it very diffic their names, were t over each figure.

I cannot finish t out comparing Hc as navigators, in or superior accuracy with regard to th cumstances of nat The winds which in his poem, are ad sailing, to which pay the same atte confine myself to The description of Æneas from Carth inconsistent with tr lity, in this respe dictory to itself. I morning with a we is very improperly able; but before he of Carthage, we fin his course with a nor is still more contrary course; when, in the gotten clear of the changes to the west v nostic of a stormy ni in this situation, or reef their sails and but, finding it va with this west wind fore called favoura the stars in a very concluding that he the coast of Sicily, island."

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Travels in Asia Minor: *or, an Account of a Tour made at the Expence of the Society of* Dilettanti. *By* Richard Chandler, *D. D. Fellow of Magdalen College, and of the Society of Antiquaries, 1 Vol. 4to.*

THE author dedicates his work to his employers: and we altogether agree with him in the praise they deserve. He will forgive us, that for a moment we defer the praise that is due to his ingenious labours, while we do justice to the liberal and enlightened principles of his patrons, who engaged him in this work.

The Society of Dilettanti, in a manner, exculpate our times from the imputation of sordid and selfish enjoyments: they do credit to their rank and fortune, when their patronage and liberality are employed in a noble attention to arts and letters.

Dr. Chandler has executed his work with care and diligence; and it was a work not to be executed by any man, who was not furnished with a fund of knowledge and learning. We will not presume to pass a judgment either of dissent, or agreement, on the justness of many conjectures of Dr. Chandler; it was part of his duty to suggest his opinions; and so far from censuring his so doing, we rather regret that he has not even been more liberal in his conjectures, as the very offer of an opinion, tends to the investigation of truth, tho' it may not immediately hit upon it, as it creates that discussion and examination, without which the justness of no proposition can be ascertained. Whether the opinion of the Barrows, supposed to be those of Achilles, and other classical heroes, is well founded or not, we must suspend our judgment, till Dr. Chandler favours the world with other essays; but we regret that they could not be made part of this present work.

The utility of travels, on the principle these were made, is too apparent to need discussion. The present manners which prevail in that country, so long the seat of science, arts, commerce, and refinement, and the contrast of its present state with its ancient history, is a subject which gives a peculiar and touching interest to all relations of travels into the dominions of the Grand Seignior. The author makes us feel this impression, in a very lively and sensible manner, in many parts of his work. It were to be wished that the cuts of the several ruins had accompanied the narrative of the travels. As they were the great object of the journey, it seems in a manner defective, as it is certainly less entertaining without them.

Our extract shall begin from his sight of mount Ida, comprehending the description of the Turks.

"The next morning we had passed Psyra, corruptly called Ipsera; Scio was on our right hand; Lesbos or Mitylene on our left; and the mouth of the gulph of Smyrna not very remote before us. The plague, as we were informed at Leghorn, having appeared at this place in the spring, our captain was unwilling to arrive there before it should have ceased, and now resolved to proceed directly to Constantinople. The gale was fair, and the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, it being common in summer to meet with a contrary

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contrary wind, and to be detained on the sea or forced to anchor off Tenedos. We were opposite cape Baba or Lectos, a promontory of mount Ida, in the evening; and had in view Tenedos and Lemnos and the main land both of Europe and Asia. We could discern fires on Lesbos, as before on several islands and capes, made chiefly by fishermen and shepherds, who live much abroad in the air; or to burn the strong stalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains. In the day-time a column of smoke often ascends, visible afar.

Saturday, August the 25th, the sun rising beautifully behind mount Ida disclosed its numerous tops, and brightened the surface of the sea. We were now entering the Hellespont, with the Troad on our right hand, and on the left the Cherronese or peninsula of Thrace. About six in the morning we were within Sigeum and the opposite promontory Mastusia. They are divided by a very narrow strait. We then passed between the two castles erected by Mahomet the Fourth in 1659. That on the European side stands high, the other low: and by each is a town. These structures, with the houses, the graceful minarets and cypresses, the mountains, and islands, and shining water, formed a view exceedingly delicious. The cocks crowed ashore, and were answered by those in our coops on board, the waves broke on the Asiatic beach with an amusing murmur, and the soft air wafted fragrance.

We now saw a level and extensive plain, the scene, as we conceived, of the battles of the Iliad, with barrows of heroes, and the river Scamander, which had a bank or bar of sand at the mouth. The stream was then inconsiderable, but, we were told, is in winter frequently swollen to a great size, and discolours the sea far without the promontories. The shore of the Cherronese, as we advanced, was steep, of a dry barren aspect, and contrasted by the Asiatic coast, which rises gently, mount Ida terminating the view. The width of the Hellespont, the smoothness of the water, and the rippling of the current, reminded us of the Thames. Xerxes but slightly degraded it, when he stiled it a salt river.

We now approached the inner castles, which were erected by Mahomet the second, and command a very narrow strait, dividing the two continents. By each is a town; and at that in Asia was hoisted a white flag near the sea-side, and also a red one with the cross. These belonged to the English and French nations. As we had agreed to land here, the captain, when we were abreast with the Asiatic castle, brought the ship too, and made a signal for a scheick or wherry to come along side. Our baggage was lowered into it with great expedition, and we quitted the ship, which fired three guns, and sailed away.

After leaving the Anglicana, we had scarcely time to contemplate the savage figures of our boatmen, who had their necks and arms bare, and their faces yellow from the sun, before we reached land. The current carried us below the castle, where we saw on the shore two Turkish women. But what figures! each wrapped in a white sheet, shapeless, and stalking

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Turks assembled on the beech to view the ship, seemed as it were a new species of human beings. They were in general large and tall; some with long, comely or venerable beards, of a portly mein and noble presence, to which their high turbans and loose garments, of various lively colours, greatly contributed; adding, besides their majesty, to the apparent bulk of the wearers.

We were received on the shore by the English consul, a fat, well-looking Jew, who, after bidding us welcome in broken Italian or Lingua Franca, conducted us through the town to his house, in the quarter assigned to that nation. We ascended some stairs into a room, which had a raised floor covered with a carpet. Round three sides was a low sopha with cushions for leaning. The cooling breeze entered at the wooden lattices of the windows. Their law not permitting the Jews to touch fire on their sabbath, our host was in distress about our entertainment. However we were soon presented with the customary refreshments, a pipe of lighted tobacco; a spoonful of sweet-meat put into our mouths; and coffee in a china cup, which was placed in one of filligree-work, to prevent it from burning our fingers. The consul then introduced to us a young man his brother, and his wife and daughter; the latter a girl in a long white vest, with a zone about her middle, her feet naked, her nails dyed red, her hair platted and hanging down her back. She came to us, and taking the right hand of each separately, kissed and gently moved it to her forehead.

complying with the oriental mode of sitting cross-legged, but at dinner it was necessary, the table being only a large low salver, placed on the carpet. A variety of dishes were served up in quick succession, and we were supplied rapidly with cups of wine. We had no plates, or knives and forks, but used our fingers. The whole repast and the apparatus was antique. It concluded with fruits of wholesome quality and exquisite flavour, figs and melons such as are peculiar to hot climates, and grapes in large and rich clusters fresh from the vineyard. The consul ate with us, while his brother waited, with another Jew. When we had finished, we washed, one of our attendants bringing an ewer, a bason and a towel, and pouring water on our hands. We then received each a cup of coffee, and our host, who was much fatigued with his sultry walk to the beach and afterwards to the governor to inform him of our arrival, retired with the whole family to sleep, as is the universal practice toward noon, when the heat becomes exceedingly intense.

In the evening we went with the consul to view the town. We found the houses numerous, mostly of wood and mean, and the streets very narrow. We saw the manufactory of earthen ware, which is considerable; and we supposed this fashion had never altered, the jars and vessels in general retaining the old shapes, and seeming formed by ancient models. The situation of the place is low and subject to epidemical disorders. Besides these, the plague, which commonly visits the inhabitants every year, is remarkabl

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remarkably destructive, and seldom fails to make a long stay. The cœmeteries are swelled to a great extent round the town, and filled with broken columns, pieces of granate, and marble fragments, fixed as grave-stones; some carved with Turkish characters in relievo, gilded and painted. In the Armenian burying-ground we discovered a long Greek inscription on a slab of white marble, but not legible. On a rocky eminence on the side next the Propontis is a range of windmills.

The town and castle has on the south a river, which descends from mount Ida. Its source, as we were told, is seven hours up in the country; and its violence, after snow or rains upon the summits, prodigious. A thick wall has been erected, and plane trees disposed to keep off the torrent, and protect the buildings from its assaults. At the mouth, like the Scamander, it had then a bar of sand. The bed was wide, stony, and intersected with green thickets, but had water in the cavities, at which many women, with their faces muffled, were busy washing linen, and spreading it on the ground to dry.

This river enables us to ascertain the site of the inner castles, a point of some consequence in the topography of the Hellespont. Its antient name, as appears from Strabo, was Rhodius; and it entered the sea between Dardanus and Abydos. The remnants of marble, which we saw in the burying-grounds about the town, have been removed thither chiefly from the ruins of these cities, particularly of the latter, which was the most considerable. The consul showed us a head of an image of the Virgin Mary, which was bish of a church European side, o Rhodius, was Cyr *row of Hecuba*, wh conspicuous, and w the castle.

We returned, v nished our survey, where we supped bout sunset. Soon was dark, three embroidered were press in the room, cupied; and delive of us; the carpet cushion serving, tion, instead of a was left burning c the consul retired which lay in the s an adjoining apartm led off our coats expected to be mu sleeping on shore. been apprized of a which haunts the pl rather the houses of t of us could not ob moment, but waite of dawn with a degre equalled only by ferings, which ca cribed.

We had agreed i to visit some neigh on the continent, w cipal islands near th Hellespont. Early the consul asked for chase provisions, whi necessaries, were pu or wherry. He em between the hours nine by our watches Turks, who rowed and a Jew servant. with the consul, s

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fore us, on a small carpet; as the
s or master of the boat did behind,
ering with the handle of the helm
er his shoulder.

We soon crossed the Hellespont,
d coasting by the European shore,
v several solitary king-fishers,
th young partridge, among vast
gle rocks. The winter torrents
l worn deep gullies, but the
rses were dry, except a stream,
ich we were informed, turns a
ll. A narrow valley, or two,
s green with the cotton plant
d with vines, or sowed with
in.

After passing the mouth of a
rt or bay called anciently Coelos,
e landed about eleven on the
ronese of Thrace, near the
st European castle, within the en-
nce of the Hellespont; and as-
nded to the miserable cottage of
poor Jew in the town. Here a
at was spread on the mud-floor
a room by the sea-side, and the
tables we had provided, were
aced on it. The noon-tide heat
this place was excessive. The
nsul retired, as usual, to sleep;
hile we alsorested, or were amused
ith the prospect from the win-
w. Beneath us was the shining
nal, with Cape Mastusia on the
ght hand; and opposite, the
siatic town and castle, with the
ble plain divided by the Sca-
ander; and the barrows men-
ned before, two standing by each
her not far from the shore, with
Sigéum, and one more remote.

The ancient name of this town,
hich is exceedingly mean and
retched, was Eleûs. The streets
lanes are narrow and intricate.
It is on the north-side of the castle,
and ranges along the brink of a pre-
cipice.

When the heat was abated a
little, we were informed that the
governor gave us permission to re-
fresh in his garden. We dismissed
his messenger with a bac-shish or
present of three piasters*, and an
excuse, that we were just going
away; but this was not accepted;
and we paid another piaster for see-
ing a very small spot of ground,
walled in, and containing nothing,
except two vines, a fig and a pome-
granate tree, and a well of excel-
lent water.

The Turks, after we were land-
ed, had rowed the wherry round
Mastusia, and waited for us with-
out the point. In our way to them,
by the castle-wall, we saw a large
Corinthian capital; and an altar,
made hollow and used as a mortar
for bruising corn. Near the other
end of the town is a bare barrow.
By this, was formerly the sacred
portion of Protesilaus, and his
temple, to which perhaps the
marble fragments have belonged.
He was one of the leaders in the
Trojan expedition; and was killed
by Hector. Afterwards he was wor-
shipped as a hero, and reputed the
patron or tutelar deity of Eleûs.

On our arrival at the wherry,
which was behind the castle, we
found our Turks sitting on the
ground, where they had dined,
chiefly on ripe fruits, with ordinary
bread. We had there a wide and
deep gulf, a portion of the Ægean
sea anciently called Melas, on our
right hand; with Imbros, toward
the entrance, twenty-five miles

* A piaster is about half a crown English, and is equal in value to thirty
raus. These are a small silver coin, about the size of an English penny.

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from Mastusia, and twenty-two from Lemnos, which lay before us, and beyond these, other islands, and the continent of Europe, in view. We had intended to visit Lemnos, and the principal places in that quarter, but, the wind proving contrary, we now steered for Tenedos, and, after rowing some time with a rough sea, hoisted sail: we passed by some islets, and about three in the afternoon, reached the town. On opening the harbour, we discovered in it, besides small-craft, three Turkish gallies waiting to convey the Venetian bailow or resident, who was expected daily, to Constantinople; the ships of that republic being by treaty excluded from navigating the Hellespont.

The island Tenedos is chiefly rock, but fertile. It was anciently reckoned about eighty stadia or ten miles in circumference, and from Sigéum twelve miles and a half. Its position, thus near the mouth of the Hellespont, has given it importance in all ages; vessels bound toward Constantinople finding shelter in its port, or safe anchorage in the road, during the etesian or contrary winds, and in foul weather. The Emperor Justinian erected a magazine to receive the cargoes of the corn-ships from Alexandria, when detained there. This building was two hundred and eighty feet long, ninety-broad, and very lofty. The voyage from Egypt was rendered less precarious, and the grain preserved, until it could be transported to the capital. Afterwards during the troubles of the Greek empire, Tenedos experienced a variety of fortune. The pirates, which infested these seas, made it for many years their place of rendezvous; and Othman seized it in 1302, procured vessels, and from thence subdued the other islands of the Archipelago.

The port of Tenedos has been inclosed in a mole, of which no part now appears above water, but loose stones are piled on the foundations to break the waves. The basin is encompassed by a ridge of the mountain. On the south side is a row of wind-mills and a small fort; and on the opposite, a castle by the shore. This was taken in the year 1656 by the Venetians in four days, but soon after abandoned, as not tenable. The houses, which are numerous, stand at the foot, or on the slope, of an acclivity; with a flat between them and the sea, formed partly by soil washed down from above. They reckon six hundred Turkish families, and three hundred Greek. The church belonging to the latter is decent.

We found here but few remains of antiquity worthy notice. We perceived on our landing a large and entire sarcophagus or stone coffin serving as a fountain, the top-stone or lid being perforated to admit a current of water, which supplies the vent below; and on one side is an inscription. Near this we saw part of a fluted column converted into a mortar for bruising corn; and in a shop was a remnant of tesselated pavement then recently discovered. In the streets, the walls, and burying-grounds, were pieces of marble, and fragments of pillars, with a few inscriptions.

In the evening, this being Sunday and a festival, we were much amused with seeing the Greeks, who were singing and dancing, in several companies, to music, near

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the town; while their women were sitting in groups on the roofs of the houses, which are flat, as spectators, at the same time enjoying the soft air and serene sky.

We were lodged much to our satisfaction in a large room, with a raised floor matted, on which we slept in our clothes, in company with two Jews and several Greeks; a cool breeze entering all night at the latticed windows, and sweetening our repose.

In these countries, on account of the heat, it is usual to rise with the dawn. About day break we received from the French consul, a Greek with a respectable beard, a present of grapes, the clusters large and rich, with other fruits all fresh gathered, We had, besides, bread and coffee for breakfast, and good wines, particularly one sort, of an exquisite flavour, called mascadell. The island is deservedly famous for the species of vine which produces this delicious liquor.

We had been told, that an antient building remained on the south side of the island, not much out of our way to the ruins of a city, called Eski-Stamboul, on the continent of Asia. Our Turks were waiting at the boat, and we just ready to join them, when we were informed that a scheik was arrived from the Asiatic Dardanell, which we had lately left, and that the presence of the consul was required on some very urgent business at Constantinople. His brother, who had set sail in the morning early to overtake him, remained with us in his stead, and soon won our regard by his attention and civility,

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